

Ethical Leadership For A Morally Transformed Society 2004 - 2007


Current trends, issues and future policy options


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Table Of Contents

(Click on titles to jump to content in document)

	A General Introduction To The Ethical Leadership Project (ELP)	10
	(1) Rationale And Context.....	11
	(2) Historical Background.....	11
	(3) Objectives.....	11
	(4) Research Strategy.....	12
	4.1. Research guidelines of the ELP	
	4.2. Guidelines for conferences	
	4.3. Guidelines for training and education workshops	
	4.4. Publications	
	(5) Activities: 2005-2007.....	13
	(6) Vision And Mission.....	14
	(7) Conclusion.....	14
	(8) Acknowledgements.....	14
	About The Contributors	15
	● Lunga Adam.....	15
	● Prof Teresa Barnes.....	15
	● Dr Willa Boezak.....	15
	● Mr Mbuyiselo Botha.....	15
	● Lynn Brown.....	16
	● Barbara Burger.....	16
	● Flip Buys.....	16
	● Rudi Buys.....	17
	● Dr Lydia Cairncross.....	17
	● Zizamele Cebekhulu.....	17
	● Pooven Chetty.....	18
	● Karl Cloete.....	18
	● Dr Maretha De Waal.....	18
	● Uno de Waal.....	18
	● Prof Jan du Toit.....	19
	● Richard Dyantyi.....	19
	● Tony Ehrenreich.....	19
	● Trenton Elsley.....	20
	● Getrude Fester.....	20
	● Ryland Fisher.....	20
	● Jerome Fortune.....	21
	● Hammaad Gamaldien.....	21
	● Lance Greyling.....	21
	● Ms. Nazma Hendricks.....	21
	● Geordin Hill-Lewis.....	22
	● Randall Howard.....	22
	● Nomvulazana Constance (Mummy) Jafta.....	22
	● Mastura Jamodien.....	22
	● Dr Marjorie D Jobson.....	23
	● Bennet Joko.....	23
	● Rev Bafana Khumalo.....	24
	● Prof NN Koopman.....	24
	● Prof Sandy Lazarus.....	24
	● Dr Clint Le Bruyns.....	25
	● Natalie Leibrandt.....	25
	● Dr Desiree Lewis.....	25
	● Rabbi Matthew Liebenberg.....	26


● Hansie Louw.....	26
● Dr Lionel Louw.....	26
● Mike Louw.....	26
● Ms ME (Nana) Magomola.....	27
● Tahirih Matthee.....	27
● Ludwe Mbhele.....	27
● Sifiso Mbuyisa.....	27
● Prof Sheila Meintjes.....	28
● Lungiswa Memela.....	28
● Gerald Mhelembe.....	29
● Dr Vanguard Mbuyiseli Mkosana.....	29
● Dr Nokuzolo Mndende-Icamagu.....	29
● Mafole Mokalobe.....	30
● Janine Myburgh.....	30
● Prof Pamela Naidoo.....	30
● Sibongile Ndashe.....	30
● Prof Brian O'Connell.....	31
● Max Ozinsky.....	31
● Archie Palane.....	32
● Patrick Parring.....	32
● Fr Rev Peter-John Pearson.....	33
● Virginia Petersen.....	33
● Nosey Pieterse.....	33
● Dumisani Rebombo.....	34
● Roger Ronnie.....	34
● Rev Courtney Sampson.....	34
● Fatima Shabodien.....	35
● Prof Tammy Shefer.....	35
● Prof Augustine Shutte.....	35
● Ferdinand Smith.....	35
● Swami Vidyananda.....	36
● Susan van der Merwe.....	36
● Rev Keith Vermeulen.....	36
● Celia Walter.....	36
● Engela S Volmink.....	37
● Leanie Williams.....	37
● Prof Oliver Williams.....	37
● Myrtle Witbooi.....	38

Section 1:

 Ethical Leadership In & Through The Family	39
Introduction.....	40
Background.....	40
Chapter Outlines.....	40
• Chapter 1: The Family Foundation As A Source Of Hope	41
Introduction.....	41
● Dr Lionel Louw: The Family As Foundation.....	41
● Rev Courtney Sampson: Hope - In The Midst Of Strife, In Spite And Despite It, We Have Survived.....	42
• Chapter 2: Contemporary Ethical Challenges Of Families	43
● Prof Nico Koopman.....	43
• Chapter 3: A Family Outside The Box	46
● Engela S. Volmink.....	46
• Chapter 4: Families And Inter-Faith Dialogue	48

● Swami Vidyananda: Morals And Ethical Leadership In And Through A Hindu Perspective.....	48
● Tahirih Matthee: The Family In A World Community. The Teachings Of The Baha’l Faith.....	50
• Chapter 5: Family Perspectives From The Dept. Of Social Services And Poverty Alleviation	54
● Virginia Petersen.....	54
• Chapter 6: Ethical Leadership In And Through The Family Workshops	60
Elim Family Workshop.....	60
Gugulethu Family Workshop.....	60

Section 2:

 Ethical Leadership In & Through Religion & Secular Traditions	61
Introduction.....	62
Chapter Outlines.....	62
• Chapter 1: A Religious Perspective	64
● Fr Rev Peter-John Pearson.....	64
● Prof Sandy Lazarus: A Community Psychology Perspective.....	70
• Chapter 3: Interfaith Reflections	81
● Dr Nokuzolo Mndende-Icamagu: An African Religion’s Response.....	81
● Rabbi Matthew Liebenberg: Religion Building Ethical Leadership In A Democratic Civil Society.....	84
● Tahirih Matthee: The Bahá’í Faith.....	88
● Swami Vidyananda: Ethical Formation Through Religion.....	91
● Keith Vermeulen: Christianity’s Role In Morality, Ethics, And Diversity.....	92
● Dr Willa Boezak: The Council Of Religious Leaders Commission And The Role Of Religious Communities.....	94
● Celia Walter: Ethical Leadership In And Through Buddhism.....	97
• Chapter 4: Religious Youth Networks And Integrated Youth Development	102
● Rudi Buys.....	102
• Chapter 5: Philosophy On Religion And Ethical Leadership	107
● Prof Augustine Shutte.....	107
• Chapter 6: Challenges Of Diversity And Building Social Capital	112
● Virginia Petersen.....	112
• Chapter 7: Religion And Diversity Workshops	114
Franschoek Community Of Faith Workshop.....	114
West Bank And Philippi Diversity Workshops.....	115

Section 3:

 Ethical Leadership In & Through Youth	116
Introduction.....	117
Background.....	117
Chapter Outline.....	118
• Chapter 1: Ethical Leadership Within An African Context	119
● Prof Brian O’Connell.....	119


• Chapter 2: Perspectives From Tertiary Student Leadership	129
● Leanie Williams: Ethics And Morality For Leadership In Tertiary Institutions.....	129
● Uno De Waal: Are Ethics Different For Tertiary Students?.....	132
● Gerald Malembe: Good Leadership And Confidence For Society.....	133
● Ludwe Mbhele: Student Leadership And Governance.....	134
● Mastura Jamodien: Women In Leadership Positions.....	137
• Chapter 3: Psychological And Cultural Factors Influencing An Ethical Mindset	139
● Prof Pamela Naidoo.....	139
• Chapter 4: Perspectives From Youth Leaders In Political Organizations	141
● Pooven Chetty: Building A Foundation For A New Generation.....	141
● Ferdinand Smith: Perspectives From Youth Leaders In Political Organizations.....	143
● Geordin Hill-Lewis: Ethics As The Immovable Mast.....	144
● Natalie Leibrandt: Nurturing Civil Society To Promote Ethical Leadership.....	146
• Chapter 5: Perspectives From School Learners	149
● Lunga Adam: Future Leaders Or Perpetrators Of Immorality.....	149
● Barbara Burger: Morality For Dick And Jane.....	151
● Hammaad Gamiieldien: Morality 'Cast In Stone' Within The Youth.....	153
• Chapter 6: Perspectives From Youth Leaders In Political Organizations	155
● Rudi Buys.....	155
• Chapter 7: Ethical Leadership In And Through Youth Workshops	157
George Youth Workshop.....	157
Paarl Youth Workshop.....	158

Section 4:

 Ethical Leadership In & Through Gender	159
Introduction And Background.....	160
Chapter Outline.....	161
• Chapter 1: Moral Transformation And Ethical Leadership In And Through	163
● Sue van der Merwe: Women And Men.....	163
• Chapter 2: Gender Based Violence And Child Sexual Assault	168
● Rev Bafana Khumalo: Seeking Creative And Positive Male Involvement.....	168
● Prof Sheila Meintjes: A War - Gender Based Violence And Child Sexual Abuse.....	170
● Lungiswa Memela: The Impact Of Socialization On Adults And Our Children.....	173
● Nazma Hendricks: Rape Crisis And The Context Of Rape.....	175
• Chapter 3: Gender Roles With Respect To Socialization, Religion, Culture And Tradition	176

● Sibongile Ndashe: Gender And Tradition - Are We Willing To Acknowledge The Leadership Vacancy?.....	176
● Dr Marjorie Jobson: Through A Gender Lens - Taking Account Of Socialization, Religion, Culture And Tradition. An Exploration.....	181
• Chapter 4: South African Men's Identities And Women's Equality	185
● Mbuyiselo Botha: South African Men And Women's Contested Relationships.....	185
● Gertrude Fester: Social Transformation Through Gender Mainstreaming.....	187
● Dr Desiree Lewis: Gender Mainstreaming In South Africa - Current Ethical And Political Challenges.....	192
• Chapter 5: Moral Transformation, Health And Sexuality (Reproductive Rights And HIV/AIDS)	197
● Dumisani Rebombo: Moral Transformation In And Through Health And Sexuality.....	197
● Prof Tammy Shefer: Gender And Power In (Hetero) Sexual Relationships In Contemporary South African Contexts.....	200
• Chapter 6: Perpetuation Of Gendered Crookedness In Higher Education	209
● Prof Teresa Barnes.....	209
• Chapter 7: Gender, Globalization And Poverty	212
● Dr Maretha de Waal: The Feminization Of Poverty As A Significant Problem.....	212
● Dr Clint Le Bruyns: Moral Transformation And Public Life.....	216
• Chapter 8: Ethical Leadership In And Through Gender Workshops	218
UWC Gender Workshop.....	218
Ethical Leadership And DCS Gender Staff Workshop.....	219
Department Of Correctional Services Management Workshop.....	221

Section 5:

 Ethical Leadership In & Through The Labour	222
Background And Introduction.....	223
Chapter Outlines.....	223
• Chapter 1: The Challenge Of Moral Renewal In Labour	225
● Dr Vanguard Mkosana.....	225
• Chapter 2: Theoretical Orientation: Ethical Leadership - In And Through Labour?	232
● Prof Nico Koopman.....	232
• Chapter 3: Ethical Challenges And Opportunities Of Globalization - With Specific Reference To NEPAD, Unemployment, Gender And The Informalization And Casualization Of Labour - And Its Impact On Workers In South Africa	234
● Randall Howard: Democratic Foundation For Moral Regeneration.....	234
● Mummy Jaftha: NEPAD, Unemployment, Gender, In-formalization And Casualization Of Labour.....	238
● Dr Clint Le Bruyns: Poverty, Unemployment And Wage Inequality And Its Impact On Crime.....	243
• Chapter 4: The Impact Of Unemployment, Poverty And Income Inequalities On Crime - The Labour Perspective	245
● Zizamele Cebekhulu.....	245
• Chapter 5: Critical Introspection And Audit On Labour Leadership: Responsibility, Accountability And Best Practices In Workplace Transformation And The Restoration Of Human Dignity And Human Rights	250

● Tony Ehrenreich: Transformative Leadership Changing The World.....	250
● Archie Palane: Strategic And Visionary Leadership: Integrating Regional And Global Coordination.....	255
● Pulane Lucas Mthiane: Collective Bargaining And The Mineworkers Of South Africa.....	258
• Chapter 6: Ethical Rationale And Practices Underlying Collective Bargaining And Wage Negotiations	259
● Trenton Elsley	259
● Mike Louw: Conflict Of Interests Versus Collective Bargaining.....	263
● Jerome Fortune: The Implementation Of A Code Of Ethics.....	265
● Mafole Mokalobe: Opportunities And Restraints Of ASGISA And JIPSA - The Implications For Skilled And Unskilled Workers.....	266
• Chapter 8: HIV/AIDS In The Workplace: Identifying Ethical Best Practices	269
● Myrtle Witbooi: The Isolation Of Domestic Workers.....	269
● Prof Jan Du Toit: Collective Management Responsibilities.....	271
• Chapter 9: The Opportunities And Restraints Of ASGISA And JIPSA - The Implications For Skilled And Unskilled Workers	279
● Flip Buys	279
• Chapter 10: Ethical Leadership In The World Of Work Workshops	286
Worcester Labour Workshop.....	286
Saldanha Bay Labour Workshop.....	287

Section 6:

 Ethical Leadership In & Through Business	289
Background.....	290
Chapter Outline.....	290
• Chapter 1: Theoretical Orientation - Ethical Leadership In And Through Business	292
● Dr Clint Le Bruyns.....	292
• Chapter 2: Ethical Business Practices In South Africa - Perception And Reality	294
● Nosey Pieterse: Situation Ethics.....	294
● Nana Magomola: Ethics Is Good Business.....	297
• Chapter 3: Beyond The Bottom Line - Business Success Through Social Investment And Corporate Governance	301
● Janine Myburgh: Business And Industry As Gatekeeper Of Ethical Norms.....	301
● Dr Lionel Louw: Corporate Social Investment Of The South Africa's Corporate Citizens.....	304
• Chapter 4: BEE - Social Impact, Expectations And Limitations	305
● Patrick Parring: No Real Social And Economic Changes For Ordinary South Africans.....	305
● Roger Ronnie: A Working Class Perspective.....	307
• Chapter 5: Responsible Corporate Citizenship And The Ideals Of The U.N. Global Impact	316
● Prof Oliver Williams.....	316

Section 7:

 Ethical Leadership In & Through Politics	318
Background.....	319
Chapter Outline.....	319
• Chapter 1: The Ethical Challenge Of A Morally Renewed Society	322
● Rev Courtney Sampson.....	322
• Chapter 2: Perceptions And Reality From Political Parties In The Western Cape	326
● Lance Greyling (ID): Losing Sight Of The Ethical Dimension Of Politics.....	326
● Max Ozinsky (ANC): Views And Perceptions Of The ANC In The Ethical Leadership Domain.....	329
● Hansie Louw (ACDP): How To Get Housing Out Of The Political Domain.....	332
• Chapter 3: Thirteen Years After Apartheid: The Quest For Democratic Governance	335
● Tony Ehrenreich.....	335
• Chapter 4: Bridging Inequality - Race, Class, Cultural Differences And Poverty In The Western Cape	341
● Ryland Fisher: The Impact Of Race On Poverty And Poverty On Race.....	341
● Karl Cloete: A South African Communist Party Perspective.....	346
• Chapter 5: Transformation Through Land Redistribution In The Western Cape	352
● Fatima Shabodien.....	352
• Chapter 6: The Provincial Growth And Development Strategy – The Vision Of IKapa Elihlumayo	364
● Ms Lynn Brown (MEC).....	364
• Chapter 7: A Developmental State-Cross Sectoral And Integrated Approach In 15 Priority Areas In The Western Cape	367
● Sifiso Mbuyisa.....	367
• Chapter 8: Integrated Sustainable Home Settlements With Developmental And Well Governed Municipalities With Effective Service Delivery	375
● Mr Richard Dyantyi (MEC).....	375
• Chapter 9: Challenges Of Health Inequality Between The Private And Public Sectors	378
● Dr Lydia Cairncross.....	378
• Chapter 10: Ethical Leadership In And Through Politics: Perceptions And Reality	386
● Bennett Joko.....	386





A General Introduction To The Ethical Leadership Project (ELP)

The quest for a morally transformed South African society was never before in its history as prevalent and urgent as the recent and current conscious and unconscious calls for ethical leadership. South Africa and the Western Cape, specifically, is witnessing an unprecedented scourge of decay of its societal moral fibre (The Argus, 11 August 2007). Democratic transformation, secularization and globalization has challenged the Ubuntu nation on all levels of its existence with unreflective ethical decisions, actions and habits and ultimately questionable, immoral situations. The violent crime rate, rape and killing of women and young girls, corruption and general abuse of the vulnerable is a desperate call for help and sound rationale and justifiable actions.

This publication is the result of a group of people who responded to that call.

The Ethical Leadership Project as a focused research-based initiative of the Moral Regeneration Movement in the Western Cape, gathered the reflections of a diverse group of individuals from Higher Education Institutes, FBO's, NGO's, Government, Unions, Business, and reflective practitioners - on ethical issues relating to their worlds of work and life.

This publication represents broad and pluralistic perspectives on ethical leadership, with regard to different institutions and sectors. The objective is not to systematize the rich and diverse contributions from different philosophical, theological, economical, cultural and social traditions. The ideal is to present a true picture or ethical framework of the diverse and rich cultures and traditions characteristic of our society.

The contributions in this publication are from 'ordinary' children, young people, women, men, academics, theologians, philosophers, reflective practitioners, public and private workers, business people, politicians, social workers, etc.

The content in this publication reflects the different conference-specific themes. These themes are generic, but sector/institution specific, which comprises of the various views of exponents on their area of work and experience.

The general theme is: Ethical Leadership in and through ... with the specific topic, for example, Business, etc. The first section deals with the topic "Family". The second section focuses on Religion and Secular Traditions. The third section deals with the theme Youth. The fourth section addresses the theme Gender. The fifth section focuses on the theme Labour. The sixth section deals with the topic Business and the last section on the theme Politics.

Over the next few pages, we will introduce you to the Ethical Leadership Project, using the following sub-chapters:

- (1) Rationale and Context
- (2) Historical background
- (3) Objectives
- (4) Research strategy
- (5) Activities
- (6) Research Strategy
- (7) Vision and Mission
- (8) Acknowledgments

(1) Rationale And Context

The Ethical Leadership Project was launched in 2005 and is a joint research and teaching project on the building and strengthening of ethical leadership.

The following institutions constitute its corporate identity: Moral Regeneration Movement (MRM), Beyers Naudé Centre for Public Theology (University of Stellenbosch), University of the Western Cape (UWC), Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT), Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) and The Office of the Premier of the Western Cape.

Since the advent of South Africa's democracy in 1994 there has been widespread conviction that, in order to give effect to a democratic constitution and particularly a bill of human rights, it is crucial to build and sustain a human rights culture. The importance of building communities and institutions where people are inspired to embody and practice the vision articulated in the constitution - people who recognize and respect the human dignity of others, with a sense of responsibility to and for others, has continuously been expressed.

It is Nelson Mandela who during his presidency said that we need "RDP of the soul". The question is: What is required for the formation of good South African citizens – people of good moral character who can make a contribution toward transformation in family life, schools, faith communities, businesses, political parties, the media, advocacy groups and service organizations, in the economic sector and various structures of governance? This is a question with which leadership of structures within civil society, the business sector and government has to grapple with. Nair's views on a renewed leadership focus (which encapsulates the relevance and importance of the Ethical Leadership Project) are:

"Leadership by example is not only the most pervasive but also the most enduring form of leadership. And because the world is becoming more interconnected, standards of leadership have an impact that extends around the globe. Now, as ever before, a higher standard of leadership will serve us all."

Nair, K 1996. *A Higher Standard of Leadership: Lessons from the life of Gandhi*

 [To Contents Page](#)

(2) Historical Background

The Ethical Leadership Project came into being as an initiative of the national Moral Regeneration Movement (MRM), specifically after a consultative conference which was held in Stellenbosch, September 2004 with the focus on Ethical Leadership.

In January 2005 an interim board was established and functioned with a twofold mandate, namely (a) that of the national MRM, and (b) that of the office of the Premier in the Western Cape. The Premier's vision of the Moral Regeneration Movement in the Western Cape was that it should be an ideology adopted by all departments within provincial government as opposed to a provincial MRM structure. The Ethical Leadership Project was identified as the first project to be undertaken as an initiative of the MRM within the Western Cape Province.

The first conference on Ethical Leadership in and through the Family took place in August 2005. An Annual General Meeting (AGM) was held as closure to the conference, in order to elect a board.

 [To Contents Page](#)

(3) Objectives

The following objectives define the aim of the project:

- ◆ Contribute to the development of ethical leadership in various spheres of society, viz. politics, economy, civil society (by engaging, interacting and interfacing with educational institutions, faith communities' religious organizations, sport, culture, families, neighbourhoods, advocacy groups, etc) and the media;

- ◆ Explore ways of moral transformation that would promote, advocate and instill values which underpin a culture of human rights in a democratic society;
- ◆ Through interdisciplinary, in-depth, evidence-based and participatory research explore processes and ways in which moral (re)construction and development of ethical leadership can be enhanced;
- ◆ Through research articulate the modes (socialization, discipline, value transmission, character formation, moral development, etc.) and avenues (families, neighbourhoods, schools, sport and cultural bodies, art, media, etc.) of moral formation and moral transformation;
- ◆ On the basis of research, offer opportunities for education, training and skills development through conferences and workshops;
- ◆ Document conference and workshop proceedings as educational resource material for future training programs, workshops on ethical leadership and new research initiatives;
- ◆ To contribute to building social capital in the Western Cape Province;
- ◆ To ensure the sustainability of the project through relevant, reliable service that will enhance the credibility of the project and secure future funding.

 [To Contents Page](#)

(4) Research Strategy

The research strategy is participatory in nature and forms the foundation of the entire work of ELP. The following aspects form the contours of the research strategy:

4.1. Research guidelines of the ELP

- ◆ The ELP aims at providing space for storytelling, discussion, education and training on the theme of ethical leadership. This process is research oriented. That means: it is on the one hand, informed by research; it on the other hand does inform and strengthen research; it enhances new research.
- ◆ Research involves knowledge and theory building. This knowledge and theories serve the aim of the formation of ethical leadership in various walks of life (family, youth, education, religion, media, arts, sport, culture, politics, economics , etc.). Ethical leadership involves adhering to, embodying and actualizing the human rights values of the South African Constitution, specifically the Bill of Rights.
- ◆ This knowledge-and-theory building is scientific and academic. Inputs are made by experts (academics and reflective practitioners) in various fields (family, youth, education, religion, media, arts, sport, culture, politics, economics , etc.).
- ◆ Research, knowledge- and theory building is also participatory and entails grassroots involvement. Storytelling is an important mode of this type of research.
- ◆ Knowledge and theory building occurs at conferences where
 - ⑥ academic research is discussed and deepened, and
 - ⑥ research-informative practices in, amongst others, the storytelling mode, occurs.
- ◆ Research is disseminated by means of conferences; workshops; book publications; course material; pamphlets; newsletters, etc.
- ◆ The research of the ELP is coordinated by the ELP Research Committee, a full-time research administrator, and other co-opted members.

4.2. Guidelines for conferences

The following elements constitute the general proceedings of conferences:

- ⑥ Research input from experts in academic life;
- ⑥ Practical input from reflective practitioners;
- ⑥ Grassroots research input (storytelling);
- ⑥ A platform for dialogue, discussion and reflection.

4.3. Guidelines for training and education workshops

The following elements constitute workshops: training sessions in various modes, e.g. inputs from facilitators; panel discussions; discussions of case studies, appropriate movies etc.

The training and workshop activities facilitate sharing and storytelling, but the emphasis is on education, the acquiring of knowledge and the strengthening of skills for moral values.

4.4. Publications

The dissemination of contributions of the various academia and reflective practitioners form a key objective of the work of ELP. These contributions are being developed into book publications, scientific articles, quarterly newsletters, and documentary audio and visual material.

Appropriate literature for conferences, and course material for workshops are developed and made available at conferences and workshops. Pamphlets on the formation of ethical leadership in different spheres of life are distributed for the general public and designated sectors.

 [To Contents Page](#)

(5) Activities: 2005-2007

The project has successfully planned and organized seven different conferences and fourteen related workshops. The following two-day conferences and one-day workshops were held:

- a) **The Ethical leadership in and through the family Conference** was held in Cape Town on 17 and 18 August 2005. Two regional workshops, based on the outcomes of the family conference, were held in **Elim** (Elim Moravian Church Hall) and **Gugulethu** (JZ Zwane Centre) on 4th November 2005 and 22 November 2005, respectively.
- b) **The Ethical Leadership in and through Religion Conference** was held on 3 & 4 May 2006. Three regional workshops, based on the outcomes of the conference, were held in **Franschoek** on 29 October 2006 and **Wesbank** and **Philippi** on 19th April and 11th May 2006, respectively.
- c) **The Ethical Leadership in and through Youth Conference** was held on 22 & 23 June 2006. Two regional workshops, based on the outcomes of the conference, were held in **George** on 27 July 2006 and **Paarl** on 2 August 2006, respectively.
- d) **The Ethical Leadership in and through Gender Conference** was held on 12 & 13 September 2006. Two regional workshops, based on the outcomes of the conference, were held at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) on the 21 October 2006 and at **Goodwood's Correctional Facility** on 19 October 2006, respectively. An additional workshop was held in **Saldanha Bay** for senior management members of the Department of Correctional Services, Western Cape Province on 26 November 2006.
- e) **The Ethical Leadership in and through Labour Conference** took place on 3 & 4 April 2007. Two regional workshops, based on the outcomes of the conference, were held in **Worcester** on 26 May 2007 and **Saldanha Bay** on 28 July 2007.
- f) **The Ethical Leadership in and through Business Conference** took place on 26 June 2007. Two regional workshops, based on the outcomes of the conference, will be held in **Paarl** on 31 October 2007 and 1 November 2007.
- g) **The Ethical Leadership in and through Politics Conference** was held on 6 & 7 September 2007. Two workshops will be held in two **Boland** rural communities.

 [To Contents Page](#)

(6) Vision And Mission

The vision of the project is:

A morally transformed society through ethical leadership.

The mission is:

To empower a critical number of leaders, at all levels of society with knowledge, skills and values to foster moral transformation.

 [To Contents Page](#)

(7) Conclusion

The credibility of the Project has been established and has been strengthened as the various themes on ethical leadership in the different sectors have develop in and through conferences and workshops.

The commitment to develop ethical leaders within the rubric of moral regeneration in the country emerges more strongly to impact more widely in, specifically the Western Cape.

 [To Contents Page](#)

(8) Acknowledgements

A word of gratitude for the **Department of Social Services** as the key stakeholder and sponsor of the project in materializing the project and its objectives.

The various participants and speakers at conferences and workshops are herewith also thanked for their valuable contributions for the building of social capital in the Western Cape.

The unyielding support and motivation of the staff, **Ms Sue Mcwatts** and **Ms Franwin Francis**, is hereby acknowledge for a thankless, yet unstinted work ethic in orchestrating conferences and workshops of the highest standard.

The **Board of the ELP** are acknowledged for their inspiring vision and motivation for the development of the project.

A word of gratitude for the transcription of audio tapes goes to **Melissa September**, second year Journalism student at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology, Bellville and **Caitlin Dames**, second year Language and Culture student at Stellenbosch University.

 [To Contents Page](#)

May this publication serve the vision and mission of the ELP to foster a morally transformed society in and through ethical leadership...



About The Contributors

(Listed Alphabetically)



📍 Lunga Adam

Lunga Adam was a matric student at Phakama Secondary School in 2006 when he became one of the three prize winners for the ELP's essay competition of that year. He received his prize at the ELP Youth Conference.

Contribution/s:

[Future Leaders Or Perpetrators Of Immorality - Pg 148](#)



📍 Prof Teresa Barnes

Teresa Barnes is an associate professor of history at the University of the Western Cape. She was a senior researcher at the Center for the Study of Higher Education at UWC for four years. Her degrees are in the subject of International Relations and African economic history, from Brown University in the United States, and from the University of Zimbabwe. She has taught courses on colonial and post-colonial Africa, gender and history. Her current research interests are institutional culture, gender and institutional transformation, and the politics of curriculum change.

Contribution/s:

[Perpetuation Of Gendered Crookedness In Higher Education - Pg 208](#)



📍 Dr Willa Boezak

He is a Minister of Religion and a member of the National Council of Khoi Chiefs of South Africa. He is the National Chaplain of the Khoi-San people. In his theological studies he specialized in ethics. He possesses knowledge of and expertise in Khoi-San culture. Dr. Boezak is currently an active member of the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic communities. Previously he taught at the University of the Western Cape.

Contribution/s:

[The Council Of Religious Leaders Commission And The Role Of Religious Communities - Pg 93](#)



📍 Mr Mbuyiselo Botha

Mr Mbuyiselo Botha taught privately at Kelokitso High School in the school's Adult Centre Programme. He taught at this school for two years then moved on to work as a receiving clerk at African Cables, which is located in the Vereeniging area. He then became a full-time general secretary of the Sharpeville Civic Association focusing on rent boycotts as a strategy to destroy the evil of system of apartheid. He then moved on to work for the South African Red Cross Society as a community organizer a programme sponsored and supported by the International Committee of the Red Cross based in Geneva Switzerland. This programme offered amongst others education and First Aid training in disadvantaged violent prone

communities.

Mr Botha started working for the South African Instates for Medical Research where he assisted various organisations in drawing up their HIV Aids policy in the work place as well as published various articles on HIV /Aids and Politics within South Africa prior to 1994. Mr Botha has also worked for the United Nations Development Programme as a consultant focusing on how the UN can assist in bringing about sustainable

programs which focuses on men's involvement in ending gender violence. Mr Botha is currently involved in training men on masculinity, culture, religion and how men and boys are socialized within the broader South African context. He has also appeared on various television programs and presently writes a weekly Sunday column in the Sunday Sun which is entitled "Man to Man Talk".

Contribution/s:

[South African Men And Women's Contested Relationships - Pg 184](#)

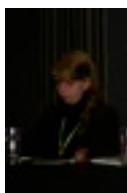


Lynn Brown

Lynn Brown was born in Cape Town on September 26, 1961 and grew up in Mitchell's Plein. She is a qualified teacher, who also completed a certificate in Gender Planning Methodology at the University College, London, in 1993. She was elected to parliament during South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994. During her ten years as an ANC member of parliament she has served as a member of various parliamentary committees, including health and welfare, education and culture. She also served terms as an ANC chief whip and speaker of the Western Cape Provincial Parliament. In May 2004, she was appointed Western Cape Minister of Finance, Economic Development and Tourism. Following a cabinet reshuffle in July 2005, her portfolio has been refined to that of MEC for Finance and Tourism. Ms Brown's interests are playing golf, reading and an admiration of arts and culture.

Contribution/s:

[The Provincial Growth And Development Strategy – The Vision Of IKapa Elihlumayo - Pg 363](#)



Barbara Burger

Barbara Burger was a matric student at Montagu High School in 2006 when she became one of the three prize winners for the ELP's essay competition of that year. She received his prize at the ELP Youth Conference.

Contribution/s:

[Morality For Dick And Jane - Pg 150](#)



Flip Buys

Flip obtained a degree in Communications and Political Science at the Potchefstroom University in 1988, and an honours degree in Labour Relations at the RAU in 1992. He was a member of the PUK SRC, chairman of the Chess Club, vice-chairman of the mission service organization Hulprojek and editor of the opinion magazine Perspektief. Upon completion of his studies Flip joined Eskom and advanced to a position as Head: Labour Relations and Communication of an Eskom business unit. He subsequently accepted a position at the Mine Workers Union. After his election as General Secretary of the MWU, Flip and the new leadership team repositioned and transformed the trade union into Solidarity, with more than 100 000 mainly Afrikaans-speaking members, largely in the higher technological industries and skilled occupations. A number of other trade unions linked up with Solidarity, and today the trade union regards itself as a mainstream organization (with relations with all labour groups, including many Cosatu affiliates) that focuses on the interests of their members. Solidarity has established a strong business arm that includes a personnel agency, while Solidarity's Helping Hand Fund provides study bursaries and runs emergency feeding projects at many primary schools. Flip is a director of the Mines Pension Fund, alternate director of the Rand Mutual Insurance Company, director of the Heritage Foundation, councillor of the North West University, director of the Rapport Onderwysfonds and a member of the Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie. He is chairman of Solidarity's healthcare company, Solidarity Health Care, and a director of the financial services company, Fin-Q. He has been the recipient of medals of honour from various organisations, including Afrikaner cultural organisations. Flip gained provincial colours for chess at school. He is fond of reading and writing and regularly addresses conferences. He is 44 and married to Melanie. The couple has four children.

Contribution/s:
[The Opportunities And Restraints Of ASGISA And JIPSA - The Implications For Skilled And Unskilled Workers - Pg 278](#)



Rudi Buys

Rudi Buys is a graduate from the University of Stellenbosch B.Th (1998) and B.D (2000). He is currently employed as a Corporate Affairs officer at Media24 Head office, focussing on the iGubu Leadership Development Centre, motivational coaching and articles on leadership. He has experience as a Youth Developer for the Dutch Reformed Church in Stellenbosch; positions as Vice President of the SA Universities Student Council and Vice Chairperson of the Stellenbosch University Representative Council and has been selected to represent the Province internationally in various programmes.

Contribution/s:
[Religious Youth Networks And Integrated Youth Development - Pg 101](#)
[Perspectives From Youth Leaders In Political Organizations - Pg 154](#)



Dr Lydia Cairncross

She was born in Cape Town. Her schooling took place in Harare, Zimbabwe and Johannesburg. Lydia, graduated with an MBChB with First Class Honours in 1999 from the University of Cape Town. She did her Internship at George Hospital and Community Service in the Eastern Cape in Umtata and Port Elizabeth. She is currently a specialist trainee in the Department of Surgery at the University of Cape Town. Dr Cairncross is a member of the Treatment Action Campaign in the Eastern Cape and TAC Health Worker Representative on NEC in 2003-2004. She is also an active member of the Coalition against Public Health Cuts launched this year in response the threatened budget cuts and bed closures at public hospitals.

Contribution/s:
[Challenges Of Health Inequality Between The Private And Public Sectors - Pg 377](#)



Zizamele Cebekhulu

Zizamele Cebekhulu is the current President of the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union. He joined POPCRU in 1990 and was initially elected as the Chairperson of the then Eastern Transvaal Region since inception. In 1996, he was elected as President until to date. He joined the police service 1984 and is still in the employ of the South African Police Service. Zizamele has been instrumental in the restructuring of POPCRU and has led the organization through many challenges. He is a member of the Central Executive Committee of COSATU and has completed his Masters in Business Administration (MBA). Zizamele has presented many papers on various topics in international and national conferences and seminars. He has also contributed articles in accredited and non-accredited journals on topics related to the criminal justice sector.

Contribution/s:
[The Impact Of Unemployment, Poverty And Income Inequalities On Crime - The Labour Perspective - Pg 244](#)



📍 Pooven Chetty

Member of ACDP from 1998 to present; Treasurer of Hanover Park branch from 2003 to 2005; Treasurer of Western Cape youth from 2003 to 2004; Deputy chair and organizer of Western Cape youth from 2004 to present; Treasurer of ACDP Western Province PEC from 2004 to present; Treasurer of the ACDP national youth from 2005 to present.

Contribution/s:

[Building A Foundation For A New Generation - Pg 140](#)



📍 Karl Cloete

ANC Councillor on the Transitional Council in 1993. Resigned as Councillor when NUMSA adopted the position that full-time officials of the union cannot be Councillors. Chairperson of Radio Atlantis. Executive member of the Atlantis RDP Forum. Member of COSATU's Regional Economic Development Working Group (REDWG) in 1992.

Member of the COSATU Western Cape REC. Played a key role in the Numsa Motor strike in 1998. National Project Coordinator of NUMSA's Organizational Renewal Project Former member of the Mafikeng NUMSA National Congress Resolutions Committee in 2000. Former NUMSA representative on the COSATU National Congress Resolutions Committee. Bargaining Team member in MIBCO negotiations until 2000. MERSETA Regional Committee member. NUMSA National Task Team member in developing strategies for Labour's intervention in MERSETA. NUMSA Western Cape Regional Secretary 2001 - 2008. Member of the NUMSA National Executive Committee (NEC) and Central Committee (CC). Member of the SACP Provincial Executive Committee. SACP PEC member on the Party Building Commission. Current SACP Western Cape Provincial Chairperson & representing the SACP Western Cape on the SACP Central Committee.

Contribution/s:

[A South African Communist Party Perspective - Pg 345](#)



📍 Dr Maretha De Waal

Maretha de Waal is Head of Research of the Commission on Gender Equality, based at the historical Women's Jail on Constitution Hill. In this capacity, she oversees monitoring and evaluation research of the CGE, and undertakes research on gender-based discrimination in the public and private domains of our society.

As a gender activist, she takes a keen interest in the women's movement and the many manifestations of patriarchy and sexism that deprive us of our right to dignity, equality and

freedom.

Contribution/s:

[The Feminization Of Poverty As A Significant Problem - Pg 211](#)



📍 Uno De Waal

He is a member of the Students' Representative Council of Stellenbosch University.

His portfolio is Marketing and Media which entails opening new marketing opportunities for students as well as creating platforms and infrastructure that students

can use. Further, in the Media portfolio he is entrusted with developing campus publications such as the Matiedagboek and Stellenbosse Student (the student yearbook) as well liaising with the other media institutions on campus, Die Matie student newspaper and MFM 92.6fm. In other areas he is a moderator for an online forum and active in the Street Art movement in South Africa. He has a strong interest in where business, the internet, technology, social networks, politics and art intersect. He is involved with developing a youth art program aimed at giving young students a platform to sell their artwork in a gallery space. He is studying BA (Value and Policy Studies) which is focused on developing leaders in a knowledge environment. He has been interested in the way in which companies and corporations can play a positive role in society, especially one

where there are massive inequalities and disparities when it comes to income and levels of consumption. His end goal is to establish an ethical auditing company, after which he wants become a professional philanthropist.

Contribution/s:

[Are Ethics Different For Tertiary Students? - Pg 131](#)



Prof Jan Du Toit

Prof Jan du Toit is the director of the Africa Centre for HIV/AIDS Management. He joined Stellenbosch University in 1972, and taught consumer psychology, ergonomics, advertising and corporate social investment. He studied at the Universities of Copenhagen (Denmark) and Saarbrücken (Germany), as well as the Cranfield School of Management in England. He has taught at the University of Syracuse (New York) and the Wharton School of Business in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Du Toit is involved in many community development projects. A project in the former Transkei of which he is cofounder and project leader won the prestigious President's Award from Mnr. Nelson Mandela in 1998. Du Toit serves on a technical task team of the South African National AIDS Council and is a board member of the BATSA Signature Trust. His current research interest includes models for community development and best practices in HIV/AIDS management.

Contribution/s:

[Collective Management Responsibilities - Pg 270](#)



Richard Dyantyi

Mr Dyantyi is the Provincial Minister of Local Government and Housing. MEC Dyantyi has a long record of activism and leadership within youth structures. Mr Dyantyi has been extensively involved in community matters, starting as a volunteer at the Khayelitsha Advice Office in 1991. He also served as key Negotiator for Khayelitsha Education Forum and Community Policing Forum. He served as a core member of the establishment of the Khayelitsha Development Forum. In 1996 - 1998 he served as Chairperson of the Khayelitsha Housing Initiative Forum as well as co-driver of the Presidential Khayelitsha Development Programme. The MEC has previously worked as the ANC Elections Co-coordinator in the run-up to the 1994 elections, as Researcher with the Foundation for Contemporary Research (FCR), as well as on the implementation side of the Integrated Development Planning Process for the New City of Cape Town.

Contribution/s:

[Integrated Sustainable Home Settlements With Developmental And Well Governed Municipalities With Effective Service Delivery - Pg 374](#)



Tony Ehrenreich

Mr Ehrenreich is the COSATU Western Cape Provincial Secretary. Tony Ehrenreich has fought for labour rights since 1990 when he joined NUMSA as a labour organizer in Cape Town. He is an international labour representative on the World Trade Organization and the International Confederation of Labour Trade Committee, among other international trade organizations. He represents the labour constituency on the boards of WESGRO and the Provincial Development Council, NEDLAC Trade and Industry Chamber, and the South African Trade and Investment Council. Tony Ehrenreich is a qualified motor-mechanic and holds a Diploma in Adult Education from UCT. He is currently completing a Master's Degree in Comparative Economics at UWC.

Contribution/s:

[Transformative Leadership Changing The World - Pg 248](#)

[Thirteen Years After Apartheid: The Quest For Democratic Governance - Pg 333](#)



Trenton Elsley

Trenton Elsley is Project Manager and Researcher at the Labour Research Service (LRS) in Cape Town. The Labour Research Service was established in 1986 as a non-profit labour service organization and continues to specialize in research, dialogue-building and developmental projects with the broad aim of strengthening civil society and a particular focus on the world of work. His focus is on incomes and livelihoods broadly and collective bargaining in particular. His work centres on developing a knowledge base from which trade unions may engage in informed and effective collective bargaining. A critical link in this regard is that between research and role-player and as such a great deal of attention is given to grounding the work of the LRS among trade union representatives. He makes regular contributions to the LRS publications, Bargaining Indicators and Bargaining Monitor

Contribution/s:

[Ethical Rationale And Practices Underlying Collective Bargaining And Wage Negotiations - Pg 257](#)



Gertrude Fester

For most of her life Gertrude Fester was a political activist. Her focus was working with grassroots women's organizations and is a founder member of various organizations, e.g. United Women's Congress, Federation of South African Women and Women's National Coalition. In the 1990s she initiated the Gender Advocacy Project, Women's Education Artistic Voice and Expressions (WEAVE), a black women's writing collective to encourage and facilitate women's writing and Women's Hope Education and Training Trust, (WHEAT), an NGO supporting potential women community leaders.

She has publishes nationally and internationally, focusing mainly on women's issues. Her one woman play based on her experiences in solitary confinement (she was tried for treason), The Spirit cannot be Caged, has been performed in China, Cuba and Nicaragua amongst others. Gertrude taught English and Drama (1976-1978) and lectured at Hewat College of Education (1982-1996). She was an ANC member of National Parliament until 1999. Other political portfolios were gender and transformation consultant to the Minister of Minerals and Energy and a Commissioner on Gender Equality, a constitutional position tasked with monitoring, promoting and protecting Gender Equality. Her studies include BA (UCT), Education Post Grad (UNISA) and Master's in Women and Development at Institute for Social Studies (The Hague). She submitted her PhD (London School of Economics) in 2005. She received the Hammet - Hellman Human Rights Prize for Writers in 1997. In 2001 she was the Wynona Lipman Chair for Women Political leaders at the Centre for American Women and Politics, Rutgers University and Distinguished Visiting Professor at the African and Afro-American Studies Dept. at Washington University in St Louis, USA. Her current activism and research is on violence against women and sexual citizenship and the impact of religion and culture on women's citizenship.

Contribution/s:

[Social Transformation Through Gender Mainstreaming - Pg 185](#)



Ryland Fisher

Ryland Fisher is a former editor of the Cape Times. He is the author of the book Race. He is currently the Executive Chairman of the Cape Town Festival. He is the former CEO of Sekunjalo Media Holdings (Pty) Ltd. He was a Rockefeller Research Fellow at Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia. Ryland was awarded the Award of Appreciation for Print Media (2006) in New York. Ryland serves as a director of the Cape Town Community Housing Company (Pty) Ltd and the Applied Fiscal Research Centre (AFReC) (Pty) Ltd. Previously, he owned and ran Ryland Fisher Communications. He was also the Chief Executive Officer of Thinta Media (Pty) Ltd. He recently acted as a special adviser to South Africa's Minister of Justice and Constitutional Development.

Contribution/s:

[The Impact Of Race On Poverty And Poverty On Race - Pg 339](#)



Jerome Fortune

Jerome is originally from Kensington, here in Cape Town. and currently stays in Bellrail, Bellville (the old Spoorweg Camp), with his lovely wife, Bronwyn, who is also a shop-steward

He became a Shop-steward in 1997, at Transnet Housing. It is currently up for Disposal, as per Maria Ramos (Transnet Restructuring Plan). He became a Lob in 2001. In 2003, he was elected as National Wage Negotiator for support services in Transnet Bargaining Council. He was twice re-elected. Today he is still involved with bargaining and wage negotiation. In 2004, he was elected as SATAWU, Western Cape's Chairperson. In 2006, he was re-elected a POBC for the Western Cape. Once again, it was proven, that if you are a leader that uses ethics, values and principals, workers will put their trust in you. He is also a keen Sports-person, and represented Western Province in Soccer. He qualified as a Soccer Coach and had the privilege of coaching soccer players like Quinton Fortune, Shaun Bartlett and many others. Currently, he was chosen as Chairperson in his Community. He is also a leader in the Neighborhood Watch.

Contribution/s:

[The Implementation Of A Code Of Ethics - Pg 263](#)



Hammad Gamaldien

Hammad Gamaldien was a matric student at Wynberg Boy's High School in 2006 when he became one of the three prize winners for the ELP's essay competition of that year. He received his prize at the ELP Youth Conference.

Contribution/s:

[Morality 'Cast In Stone' Within The Youth - Pg 151](#)



Lance Greyling

Lance Greyling is a Member of the National Parliament for the Independent Democrats. He is the Chief Whip of the parliamentary caucus as well as the interim National Policy Convenor. His major areas of interests are environment, rural development, energy and African affairs. Before assuming public office Lance Greyling was the Regional

Programme Manager for GLOBE Southern Africa, where he was in charge of capacitating

Members of Parliament in the Southern African region on environmental and sustainable development issues. Lance Greyling is also presently enrolled on a part-time Masters programme on sustainable energy through the sustainability institute housed at the University of Stellenbosch. He has an honours degree in African Studies which he obtained from the University of Cape Town. He is also a lifelong fellow of the Emerging Leaders Programme hosted by Duke University and the UCT Graduate School of Business. He sits on the board of My Life, an organization aimed at empowering youth who are currently living on the streets. He also sits on the board of the Bulungula Incubator, an NGO concerned with rural development and Sizwe Sonke an HIV/Aids organization.

Contribution/s:

[Losing Sight Of The Ethical Dimension Of Politics - Pg 324](#)



Ms. Nazma Hendricks

Nazma Hendricks is the counselling coordinator for Rape Crisis, Cape Town Trust and they are situated at the Saartjie Baartman Centre in Heideveld. Ms. Hendricks has been working for Rape Crisis for the past two (2) years. She is currently completing her Master's degree in Psychology at the University of the Western Cape (UWC). Ms.

Hendricks also works with various community organisations by training lay leaders in counselling.

Contribution/s:

[Rape Crisis And The Context Of Rape - Pg 174](#)



Geordin Hill-Lewis

Geordin Hill-Lewis is currently studying an Honours Degree in Politics, Philosophy and Economics at the University of Cape Town, completing his dissertation on political ethics. He was the founding Chairperson of the UCT branch of the Democratic Alliance Students Organization (DASO) and has assisted in the formation of DASO branches on campuses across the country. He served on the SRC at UCT in 2007 as the Student Societies Co-ordinator and viewed his time on the SRC as one of his most valuable experiences. Geordin is of the view that South Africans must begin to demand the highest standards of ethical leadership, if we are to keep our nation firmly on the right course. He also works part time as a researcher for the Democratic Alliance in Parliament.

Contribution/s:

[Ethics As The Immovable Mast - Pg 142](#)



Randall Howard

Randall Howard matriculated at Rylands High School in Gatesville in 1979 and has been an executive member of Cosatu, Nedlac and ITF from 1980-1986. From 1986-1988 he has been chairperson of the branch and Cosatu regional treasurer. In the period 1988-1993 Randall was organizer, branch secretary and deputy general secretary of Satawu (formerly TGWU). Since May 2000 he has been the General Secretary of Satawu.

Contribution/s:

[Democratic Foundation For Moral Regeneration - Pg 232](#)



Nomvulazana Constance (Mummy) Jafta

Nomvulazana (Mummy) began her profession initially as an unqualified teacher. She enrolled at UWC and completed her BA degree and HDE diploma during 1985 and 1993 respectively.

Mummy is an educator by profession. She majored in Sociology, History and Xhosa. Other subjects include political Science and Linguistics.

She has also acquired a B.ED degree at the University of the Orange Free State.

She has joined the South African Democratic Teachers Union, SADTU as the National Gender Coordinator from 1998-2000. Mummy then joined COSATU as the National Gender Coordinator until currently.

She is currently the Deputy President for the Women’s Committee of the International Confederation of Trade Unions ICFTU that have later merged with WCL to become ITUC international Trade Union Confederation. She is also the President of the Women’s Committee of the same organization at a regional level i.e. ICFTU AFRO, now known as ITUC AFRO. She has represented the women workers in various international platforms such as the WSSD, WCAR, CLUCC, including the current world Conference on Rural Women Development.

Contribution/s:

[NEPAD, Unemployment, Gender, In-formalization And Casualization Of Labour - Pg 236](#)



Mastura Jamodien

Mastura Jamodien works as a Student Development Officer at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology. She obtained her Masters Degree: Education at CPUT, her Btech: Education at Technikon RSA and two Diplomas at CPUT. She also received a Merit Award while studying at CPUT. She is currently studying her PhD: Education at the University of the Western Cape.

As a part-time lecturer at the Business Faculty, Mastura is involved in both undergraduate and postgraduate courses. She specializes in issues related to Information Administration

and Office Administration and at the College of Cape Town, Early Childhood Development. Her research compares isiXhosa Pre-school children's conceptual development in Xhosa and English classrooms.

Contribution/s:

[Women In Leadership Positions - Pg 136](#)



Dr Marjorie D Jobson

A medical graduate with 14 years experience of anaesthetics practice. Lecturer in Internal Medicine for students in the allied health sciences and in Building Civil Society Organisations for third year medical students, MEDUNSA Campus of the University of Limpopo.

An Associate of the Institute for Women's and Gender Studies participating in research and in community outreach activities.

Co-founder of All Africa Women for Peace, an organization that works on enabling women for decision-making with a special focus on their involvement in peace agreements and in post-conflict peace-building activities.

Former Chairperson & most recently Acting Director of Khulumani Support Group, the national membership organization of 54,000 victims and survivors of apartheid-era political violence, working on advancing social justice and redress for survivors .

Appointed by President Thabo Mbeki as a Commissioner on the Commission to Protect and Promote the Rights of Cultural, Religious & Linguistic Communities (November 2003).

Board Member, The Peoples' Agenda – involved in the development and promotion of local economic development programmes.

Partner in Senankangwedi, an NGO involved in facilitating programmes with rural women and young people in association with Ms Mmatshilo Motsei.

Founder Board Member, Siyafunda Haven and Care Centre, Soshanguve.

Board Member, African Independent Churches' Development Programme.

Former co-chairperson of Pretoria Black Sash and participant in Black Sash Campaigns to end Capital Punishment and the Campaign to Stand for the Truth in association with the S A Council of Churches and COSATU.

Visited prisoners on death row to gather information on the names of prisoners who had received notices of execution towards securing court records to check whether the prisoner had received a fair trial. The Campaign succeeded in securing sufficient stays of execution that President de Klerk instituted a moratorium on the death penalty and the issue was deferred for the Constitutional Court; Participated in action to desegregate the buses in Pretoria and when that goal was achieved within one week, targeted the casualty and outpatient departments of the Pretoria state hospital. Former Board Member, Land Access Movement of South Africa (LAMOSA). Facilitator, Keerom Honey Project, involving 20 widows in developing a successful sustainable livelihoods project producing honey, Rural Limpopo. Teacher of Dances of Universal Peace. Facilitator of Community Building Experiences. Married with two children and two foster children.

Contribution/s:

[Through A Gender Lens - Taking Account Of Socialization, Religion, Culture And Tradition. An Exploration - Pg 180](#)



Bennet Joko

Bennet is the Western Cape Chairperson of the Pan Africanist Congress. He received his Bsocsc and PG Dip. O & M at UCT.

Contribution/s:

[Ethical Leadership In And Through Politics: Perceptions And Reality - Pg 385](#)



Rev Bafana Khumalo

Bafana Khumalo is currently a Co-Director of the Sonke Gender Justice Project, an NGO focusing on the challenges of HIV / AIDS, Gender Equality and Human Rights. He was the Deputy Chairperson of the Commission on Gender Equality until April this year. Prior to being appointed to the CGE in 2001 he was a pastor and director of the Lobethal Lutheran Conference Centre and later the Executive Director of the Lutheran Communion in Southern Africa (LUCSA) where he managed the SADC Region and was responsible for project implementation including designing, facilitating and monitoring training programmes for member churches in South Africa and the SADC region. Active in the anti-apartheid struggle, he worked with the Soweto Civic Association and subsequently participated in the peace accords. At the CGE he has assisted National and Provincial Departments of Government to plan and coordinate many activities related to men, gender and HIV/AIDS. These include the development of the National Gender Machinery Working Group on Men and Gender Equality, and running a multi-year "Men's Dialogue" in all nine provinces.

Contribution/s:

[Seeking Creative And Positive Male Involvement - Pg 167](#)



Prof NN Koopman

BA (1984); BTh (1985); BThHons (1987); MTh (1993); DTh (2001), all at UWC.

He deems it a privilege to be engaged with Theology, which stands as scientific reflection on the contents of the Christian faith, in service of the church, society and, ultimately, of God and his coming kingdom.

He served as pastor in the Uniting Reformed Church in Atlantis for four years and, thereafter, for four years as university chaplain at the University of the Western Cape. He also served as lecturer and later as vice-rector of the Huguenot College, Wellington, for six years. Now he teaches Ethics and Dogmatics at Stellenbosch.

He is currently working on books with themes of moral formation in congregations and society, moral decision-making and preaching. He has already written research articles on themes such as industrial ministry, church unity, preaching, racism, church and state relations, the role of the Holy Spirit in ethics and Christian ethics in post-apartheid South Africa.

Contribution/s:

[Contemporary Ethical Challenges Of Families - Pg 42](#)



Prof Sandy Lazarus

Supervision and involvement in various research projects with community organisations, education institutions, and government departments. This has included co-convenorship of the School Guidance Policy Research Group of NEPI, the Western Cape Education Support Services Policy Research and Development Group, the Western Cape Education Department's Education Management and Development Centre (EMDC) research project, the Inclusive Education Project of the national Department of Education; the development of a policy for health promotion in South Africa for the Department of Health; the UWC/NRF/Fulbright supported research on the role of indigenous healing systems and practices in education support services; and the development of a community resources mapping process, in collaboration with Nolungile School and the East Metropole EMDC in Khayelitsha. Her special areas of focus are life-skills education (general aspects, as well as particular focus on human rights education special needs / inclusive education (in particular, looking at managing diversity).

Contribution/s:

[A Community Psychology Perspective - Pg 69](#)



📍 Dr Clint Le Bruyns

Clint Le Bruyns is a lecturer and researcher in theology, ethics, and leadership. He is based at the University of Stellenbosch as coordinator of research development in his faculty and as research fellow of the Beyers Naudé Centre for Public Theology. His primary focus area at present concerns 'globalization and economic justice' and is being funded for a postdoctoral research project by the Mellon Foundation in New York. He teaches regularly at various institutions in South Africa and abroad, one of these being the School of Leadership & Development at Eastern University where he also serves as regional

director (Africa) for their international M.A. and M.B.A. programmes.

While a member of various boards and councils, he is particularly passionate about his association with the Ethical Leadership Project. A founding member of the ELP, he continues as an executive board member, research committee chairperson, and workshop facilitator.

Dr Le Bruyns fully supports the commitment to build leadership capacity in South Africa that will contribute to a morally transformed society.

For the ELP conference on 'Ethical Leadership in and through Business', he will introduce the theme and issues pertaining to the world of work and economic life that call for reflection, assessment, and action in the quest for moral renewal in South Africa today.

Contribution/s:

[Moral Transformation And Public Life - Pg 215](#)

[Poverty, Unemployment And Wage Inequality And Its Impact On Crime - Pg 242](#)

[Theoretical Orientation - Ethical Leadership In And Through Business - Pg 291](#)



📍 Natalie Leibrandt

Natalie Leibrandt is a member of the Young Independent Democrats (Y-iD) National Executive Committee. She is 23 years old and currently lives in Stellenbosch. In her professional capacity, she is the party researcher for the Independent Democrats at its National Office in Parliament. Her duties include speechwriting for Members of

Parliament, government budget analysis and policy evaluation. Her academic qualifications include a BA PPE degree, where she majored in Political Science, Political Philosophy and Economics. She also has a HonsBA where she specialized in Political Science (International Relations) that she obtained from the University of Stellenbosch. She currently is busy with an MA in Political Studies at the University of the Western Cape where her study will focus on local government service delivery and solid waste management in the city of Cape Town. Natalie has been involved with the Y-iD since its inception last year and is actively involved in the building of its structures across the country. She also acts as spokesperson for this youth organization and is very involved with the development of youth policy for the party.

Contribution/s:

[Nurturing Civil Society To Promote Ethical Leadership - Pg 145](#)



📍 Dr Desiree Lewis

Desiree Lewis is a senior lecturer in the Women's and Gender Studies Programme at UWC. She has worked as a lecturer on gender studies, cultural studies and literature at Wits, UWC, the University of Natal and UCT, and as an independent writer, researcher and editor specializing in gender. She has researched and published on South African writing, diasporic black women's writing, postcolonial theory, feminist theory and politics, popular culture and visual art.

Contribution/s:

[Gender Mainstreaming In South Africa - Current Ethical And Political Challenges - Pg 191](#)



🕊️ Rabbi Matthew Liebenberg

Rabbi Matthew Liebenberg matriculated in 1991 from King David High School, Victory Park, Johannesburg with five distinctions and full academic colours. He immediately joined the Yeshiva Gedolah of Johannesburg, an institute for advanced Talmudic and Rabbinic studies, under the leadership of Rabbi A C Goldstein. Rabbi Liebenberg took several correspondence courses with UNISA part-time, dealing with commerce and law. After 7½ years he obtained "Semichah" (Rabbinical Ordination) from Rabbi Goldstein. Apart from his congregational duties, Rabbi Liebenberg also runs a popular series of lectures for business people, dealing with Jewish Law and Ethics in contemporary society. He serves as Chairman of the Rabbinical Association of the Western Cape. This group provides a forum for discussion and a support mechanism for all Orthodox Rabbis in the Peninsular.

Contribution/s:

[Religion Building Ethical Leadership In A Democratic Civil Society - Pg 83](#)



🕊️ Hansie Louw

Hansie Louw is the Leader of the ACDP in the Western Cape. He was born in 1956 in Pretoria. He obtained the degrees BA (Hons) and MTh (Old Testament) at University of Stellenbosch. He was trained as a Pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church (NG Kerk). He is a certified financial planner with a focus on retirement planning. He is the founder of Anam Cara Financial Coaching Pty Ltd (www.anamcara.co.za). He published his first book in 2002: "Values Based Retirement Planning in South Africa". He is married to Anita and they have two sons. Hansie and Anita recently published a book called: "Healthy, Wealthy and Happy" where they indicated that true happiness includes contributing to your community. Hansie was elected leader in the Western Cape ACDP in 2005. He is not a paid politician. His passion is to eradicate poverty in South Africa and Africa.

Contribution/s:

[How To Get Housing Out Of The Political Domain - Pg 331](#)



🕊️ Dr Lionel Louw

Dr Lionel Louw is Chief of Staff in the Office of Premier Ebrahim Rasool. He is a social worker and ordained minister. He comes from an academic background having taught in the Department of Social Development at the University of Cape Town. His community involvement has been consistent during the dark days of apartheid, landing him in detention. In democratic South Africa he has contributed to reconstruction through academic pursuits and ecumenical and interfaith work. He remains committed to improving the quality of life of South Africans. He has been active in both national and international church and welfare/development organisations.

Contribution/s:

[The Family As Foundation - Pg 40](#)

[Corporate Social Investment Of The South Africa's Corporate Citizens - Pg 303](#)



🕊️ Mike Louw

Mike Louw is a well-known Provincial Organizer and Educator of COSATU in the Western Cape.

Contribution/s:

[NEPAD, Unemployment, Gender, In-formalization And Casualization Of Labour - Pg 262](#)



Ms ME (Nana) Magomola

B.Sc. (New York), LL.B. (Wits)

Nana Magomola is Executive Director of Thamaga Investment Holdings and Chairperson of Bathabile Group of Companies, appointed early in 2004. She holds an LLB degree from Witwatersrand University, and a BSc degree from City University of New York, USA where she lived and worked for more than seven years. She has several post graduate executive development diplomas attained internationally and in South Africa. She has over 25 years experience within the legal, human resources development and utility industries including Eskom, where she was a senior manager. She also gained government experience after her secondment to the office of the late Public Enterprise Minister, Stella Sigcau, and helped establish a Skills Audit and Development Department at the Ministry. Ms. Magomola is chairperson of several companies, and is a member of board of governors of distinguished institutions such a Rhodes University and Nelson Mandela Children’s Fund. She is a co-founder and Deputy President of the International Women’s Forum, a member of the Institute of Directors and Black Lawyers Association. Her role as Chairperson at Bathabile Holdings is to strengthen the gains already made at the company and to champion corporate governance and legal compliance, while remaining responsive to business, social and community issues. Ms. Magomola has been a speaker at various National and International Conferences. She has travelled extensively in North America, East Asia and Southern Africa. Her interests include reading, travelling, game watching, meditating, classical music and Jazz.

Contribution/s:

[Ethics Is Good Business - Pg 296](#)



Tahirih Matthee

Ms. Tahirih Matthee has presented documents on peace and moral/spiritual education to various leaders including M. Olckers, H. Kriel and a mayor of Cape Town. She is also an ADC representative on the Senate Academic Development Steering Committee, member of the Information Systems Committee of Senate and Council, chairperson, of CSE Advisory Committee at the University of the Western Cape. Ms Matthee is Vice-chairperson of the provincial Bahai Council of the Western Cape and does voluntary work as a teacher at inter-community Bahai schools. She has also been elected as a member of the Spiritual Assembly of Bahai’s of Oosterberg as well as a member of the inter-religious Commission on Crime and Violence in the Western Cape.

Contribution/s:

[The Family In A World Community. The Teachings Of The Baha’i Faith - Pg 49](#)

[The Bahá’í Faith - Pg 87](#)



Ludwe Mbhele

Ludwe Mbhele is a UCT Alumni, who graduated in Bachelor of Social Science in Labour, Organizational Psychology and Human Resource Management in 2005. Currently, he is completing his postgraduate studies (Honours) in Workplace Change and Labour with the UCT Department of Sociology. Mr. Mbhele’s thesis primarily focuses on Labour Market Skills Mismatch in Cape Town, a project commissioned and funded by the National Research Foundation.

Contribution/s:

[Student Leadership And Governance - Pg 133](#)



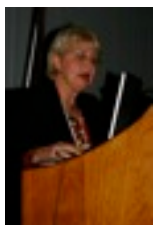
Sifiso Mbuyisa

Sifiso Mbuyisa is the Director: Social Dialogue and Human Rights in the Department of the Premier, Western Cape Province. He holds a Masters and Honors Degree in Political Science from the University of Natal-Durban. He worked for the European Union Delegation and was responsible for strengthening the European Union/Southern

Africa relations in the political field including conflict prevention and resolution and regional integration. He has twice been assigned by the United Nations to serve on missions in East Timor. He has also worked for the Centre for Conflict Resolution as Programme Manager. He has also trained and mediated in both community and political conflicts in KwaZulu Natal, Western Cape, Mpumalanga and other countries in the region.

Contribution/s:

[A Developmental State-Cross Sectoral And Integrated Approach In 15 Priority Areas In The Western Cape - Pg 366](#)



Prof Sheila Meintjes

Professor Sheila Meintjes has lectured in political studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, since 1989. She has a BA Honours degree from Rhodes University, an MA in African studies from the University of Sussex, and a PhD in African history from the School of Oriental and African Studies at London University. She teaches African politics, political theory and feminist theory and politics. She was a full-time commissioner on Gender Equality between May 2001 and 2004, where she led the commission's governance programme and was responsible for the commission in Gauteng. Prof. Meintjes has been involved in feminist and women's politics in South Africa since the early 1970s-as a member of the United Women's Organization in the Western Cape and the natal Organization of Women, and was on the research supervisory group of the Women's national Coalition. She is the chairperson of the boards of Tshwaranang Legal Advocacy Centre to end Violence against Women and of Women's Net.

Contribution/s:

[A War - Gender Based Violence And Child Sexual Abuse - Pg 169](#)



Lungiswa Memela

Lungiswa Memela started working for the Western Cape Network on Violence Against Women in 1999. Working for the Network has given her the opportunity that she's always been dying for-the opportunity to create and be a part of platforms where she could better challenge society's beliefs and norms about the roles of women. She progressed from Rural Coordinator, to the Cape Metro Coordinator and now is the Provincial Coordinator of the organization (Director).

Ms. Memela has done extensive traveling both nationally and internationally, attending training and conferences in India, Bangkok, Washington, etc. In the year 2000 she traveled to India to learn about issues women were dealing with and to see whether there were any similarities and what the differences were where women issues were concerned. She states that this was an amazing experience as I learnt about the culture and the strategies these women were using to survive their experiences of abuse.

In 2001 she attended leadership training in Zimbabwe where she met the most dynamic women from all the SADEC regions. This experience taught her that African women all over the world have more or less the same experiences and cultural restrictions. It also encouraged her and confirmed her belief that African women are women to be reckoned with at all levels.

In 2003 she represented her organization at the 47th session of the Commission on the Status of Women in New York, USA. Together with other activists they lobbied the South African Government and other international policy makers about issues pertaining to women specifically concerning the violence they experience in their lives. She has also presented various presentations to stake-holders and NGOs worldwide on their Network.

In 2004 she visited 5 different States in America as well as Washington DC meeting different organizations that were providing HIV/AIDS related support and observing strategies used in comparison to South Africa. The trip was sponsored by the US Embassy for their HIV/AIDS programme.

She also serves as an active board member of the Sarah Baartman Women Centre as well as the Parent Centre which are NGOs in Cape Town.

Contribution/s:

[The Impact Of Socialization On Adults And Our Children - Pg 172](#)



📍 Gerald Mhelembe

Mr. Wisani Gerald Mhelembe was born in the Limpopo Province in Tzaneen in the family of four being the third in the family. He is currently a student at the University of the Western Cape, enrolled in the B.Admin programme, and has been part of the SRC for three terms serving two terms as the General Transformation Officer and later the 1st Deputy President, Mr. Mhelembe also served the Branch Chairperson of SASCO at UWC.

Contribution/s:

[Good Leadership And Confidence For Society - Pg 132](#)



📍 Dr Vanguard Mbuyiseli Mkosana

Vanguard was born in South Africa in the Eastern Cape Province. He got his high school education at St John's College and proceeded to the University of Fort Hare where got involved in politics. He left the university before graduating and started working as a miner and later joined the African National Congress (ANC) underground and finally left for exile. He spent time in different countries in East, West and Southern Africa, Central Europe and UK.

He is one of the people who worked towards the creation of the National Union of Mine (NUM) workers of SA. He worked as a teacher at Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania. He produced and directed the play "The sun will rise" which was staged in Africa and abroad. As a political commissar in ANC he wrote a number of papers for political education and contributed in the making of some of the political and trade union leaders in SA.

He was elected to the National Executive Committee of South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) the forerunner of COSATU and he headed the Department of Propaganda, Information and Publicity of the SACTU in exile. He served in the tripartite alliance leadership structures led by ANC in exile.

On his return from exile he worked for the South African Railways and Harbour Workers' Union as the head of Education and Publicity Department serving in SARHWU national executive committee. Here he established two publications namely SARHWU Voice and SARHWU Information Sheet and edited both. He worked as General Secretary of the Congress of South African Writers. He joined government as the Permanent Secretary / Head of the provincial Department of Transport in the Eastern Cape and later transferred to the national Department of Labour (DOL) as Deputy Director General responsible for implementation of policy and programmes of the department. On 1 December 2004 he was appointed as the Director-General.

He went through the Senior Executive Programme for Southern Africa offered by Harvard Business School jointly with Wits Business School, He did Creative Writing at Writer's Bureau in Manchester, Public Management Development Course from University of Fort Hare Institute of Government jointly with University of Western Cape School of Government, He got Public Management Executive Course through Canadian Centre for Management Development, He got a Diploma in Human Resources Management through Damelin Management School. He got Doctor of Philosophy qualification in Journalism through Charles University – Prague.

Contribution/s:

[The Challenge Of Moral Renewal In Labour - Pg 224](#)



📍 Dr Nokuzolo Mndende-Icamagu

Mndende is a researcher on African Traditional Religion at the Icamagu Institute. She is in possession of a Doctorate in African Religion and has wide experience and knowledge in African traditional religion, including interfaith dialogue.

Contribution/s:

[An African Religion's Response - Pg 80](#)



📍 Mafole Mokalobe

Currently he is the Chief Director: Policy Development in the Department of the Premier, Western Cape. Prior to this, He was the Director of Provincial Monitoring and Evaluation, and the Director: Provincial Research and Population in the Office of the Premier in the North West Province. He also previously worked as a Project Manager, Researcher, Research Assistant and Freelance Reporter.

He has a Masters degree in Social Science in Comparative and International Politics from the University of Cape Town and he is currently studying for a PhD degree at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. He has published widely in the areas of demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants, demilitarization, human security, peace building, conflict resolution and governance.

Contribution/s:

[Opportunities And Restraints Of ASGISA And JIPSA - The Implications For Skilled And Unskilled Workers - Pg 265](#)



📍 Janine Myburgh

Janine has a B Proc degree and started her own Legal Practice, Myburgh & Associates Attorneys single handedly in 1999. She has a wide client base locally nationally as well as internationally and is recognized as an expert in her field. She is known as a champion for women's rights with special reference to abused women, and has a keen interest in the field of commercial litigation. She is a founder Member of the Cape

Regional Chamber of Commerce and Industries and Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industries. She is also the National President of the Cape Town Regional Chamber of Commerce and Industry. She received an Honorary Membership Award from the United Nations Association of South Africa in recognition of her contribution to South African Society and to the Advancement of the Goals and Principles of the United Nations. She is also a CHAMSA Provincial Executive Committee Member.

Contribution/s:

[Business And Industry As Gatekeeper Of Ethical Norms - Pg 300](#)



📍 Prof Pamela Naidoo

A proud mother of a son and a daughter. Associate Professor in the Department of Psychology at UWC. Special interest in: clinical health psychology; researching issues interfacing Public Health and Psychology; and the role of culture, religion and spirituality in individual development.

Clinical Psychologist by profession since 1987, and running a limited private practice. A long history of service to the community, which began as a teenager during the heydays of apartheid. Served as a voluntary consultant and served as a sub-committee member of Children's Organizations such as Boy's Town and Durban Children's Society. History of involvement in professional organizations, such as heading the Ethics Committee of the Psychological Society of South Africa (PsySSA).

Contribution/s:

[Psychological And Cultural Factors Influencing An Ethical Mindset - Pg 138](#)



📍 Sibongile Ndashe

Sibongile Ndashe has been an attorney at the Women's Legal Centre for four years. Before joining the Women's Legal Centre she worked for the Constitutional Court of South Africa and the Legal Resources Centre. Her practice focuses on women's access to resources including, religious and customary laws and women's property rights, among others. She has also published in these areas. She is also involved in legal literacy and works with community-based organisations and other non-governmental organisations in disseminating information on legal developments relating to women's human rights. She teaches gender law at various universities in South Africa. She also works with a number of lawyers'

organization and women's rights organisations within the continent in developing litigating strategies for domesticating women's human rights human rights. She also provides legal advice on women's human rights in law reform processes and litigation in South Africa and other parts of the African continent.

Contribution/s:

[Gender And Tradition - Are We Willing To Acknowledge The Leadership Vacancy? - Pg 175](#)



📍 Prof Brian O'Connell

Prof O'Connell is the Rector and Vice Chancellor of UWC.

Professor Brian O'Connell's career in education as a teacher, lecturer and administrator has spanned 32 years. He attended Holy Cross Primary School in Nile Street, District Six (where he was born and raised) and St Columba's (Christian Brothers) High School in Athlone.

His first tertiary qualifications – a B.A. degree and a University Education Diploma from UNISA and UWC – were geared towards teaching, and in 1970 O'Connell started his

teaching career at Florida High School in Ravensmead, just a few Kilometers from UWC.

In 1977 he left Florida High School to take up the post of vice-principal at Belhar Senior Secondary School.

Three years later he was appointed principal of Kleinvlei Senior Secondary.

He then obtained a B.A. Honours Degree in History from UNISA (with distinction), and M.A. and M.Ed Degrees from Columbia University in New York.

In 1985, he was appointed to the position of senior lecturer at UWC. He held that position until 1988 when he was appointed Rector of the Athlone College of Education, in Paarl.

In 1991, he was appointed Director of the School of Education at Peninsula Technikon and also became Director of the Institutions' Academic Development Programme. In 1994, he became acting Vice-Rector, with responsibility for Student Affairs.

Before being appointed Rector of UWC, Brian O'Connell was Head of the Western Cape Education Department, from 1995 to October 2001.

O'Connell's contribution to education has been acknowledged and rewarded with a Fullbright Scholarship to the United States, two British Council grants and an Anglo-American Chairman's Fund grant. In March 2002 he was appointed Professor of Leadership and Management in the Faculty of Education at UWC.

He has published essays and articles on a wide range of educational matters. Examples of these include his inaugural address at Peninsula Technikon – entitled "Education and the Legacy of Apartheid". Another paper, " Education Transformation: a View from the Ground", was published in Apartheid Education and Popular Struggles.

He has chaired many community organizations, and served on many boards, committees and task teams like NEPI, SAQA and NBFET. For years served as Chairperson of the National Access Consortium Western Cape (NACWC). He has also served on a number of community organisations and played a number of sports at provincial level. Brian is married to Judith, and has two children, Amanda-Leigh and Bryan.

Contribution/s:

[Ethical Leadership Within An African Context - Pg 118](#)



📍 Max Ozinsky

Max Ozinsky was born and grew up in Cape Town. He was a student activist and leader at UCT from 1981-1985. He joined the ANC underground in 1983 at the age of 20. He later

joined uMkhonto weSizwe and was active in underground political and military work until

1991. He has been the provincial organising secretary of the ANC in the Western Cape from

1994 till 1999. He was also the regional secretary of the ANC in the City of Cape Town. He

was elected to the Provincial Legislature in 1999. He is currently the deputy provincial

secretary of the ANC and Chief Whip of the Provincial Legislature. Besides politics and

community organisation his other interests are sailing and photography.

Contribution/s:

[Views And Perceptions Of The ANC In The Ethical Leadership Domain - Pg 328](#)



Archie Palane

Archie Palane worked for Young Christian Workers movement as an organizer for the East Rand from 1982 to 1985. The organizing role involved recruiting and mobilizing young workers into labour movement, student's organization and civic movement and coordination campaigns both at work and in the communities. After 1985 he then joined NUM as an organizer in 1986 till 2006.

During the period he was deployed to different NUM regions across the country. The task given was to establish and build the organization and consolidate structures in Rustenburg, Lydenburg, Nelspruit, Barberton, Phalaborwa, Witbank, Carletonville and PWV respectively.

He got actively involved in the COSATU structures and represented the federation at IMSSA and National Manpower Commission and was part of the team that established NEDLAC. He was also part of negotiating teams on Public Holidays Act and the 1995 Labour Relations Act. In 1995, he was elected General Secretary for Southern African Miners Federation to coordinate mining unions across SADC. He was actively involved in the SADC Labour Forum looking at labour standards, safety and labour protocols. It was during this period that he got involved with ILO, Gold Crisis. He was instrumental in forging unity amongst affiliates that broke away from their national centres in Zambia and Zimbabwe. He also coordinated a cross border campaign on collective bargaining that established labour networks and exchange programs per commodities within the region.

In 1998 he was recalled to the NUM and got elected as Deputy General Secretary till 2006. He was responsible for Platinum, Diamonds and Chrome both in terms of rebuilding and consolidating the NUM with particular focus on wage negotiations. He was also tasked to engage the mining industry towards the establishment of a bargaining council.

He is currently an Executive Chairman and director of both Siyakhula Sonke Corporation and Sekgwa Mining Services. He is also a director of DHSA a shaft sinking company of which SSC owns 26% as a BEE partner. He also serves on Council for Medical Aids board and since 1995 till recently he served as a chairperson of the WBS CPIR program. He holds an MBA in International Negotiations with the International Negotiations Academy of SA

Contribution/s:

[Strategic And Visionary Leadership: Integrating Regional And Global Coordination - Pg 254](#)



Patrick Parring

Patrick Parring, entrepreneur extraordinary, is one. Today he is an icon of black empowerment; a symbol of ability, courage and determination and an example to all young aspiring businessmen – black and white!

Parring's story is not one of BEE transformation in the politically-correct sense. It is a story of a young man emerging to becoming one of South Africa's first black

entrepreneurs.

Parring started work in the Cape Town City Council. In the late Sixties, Patrick Parring joined Cape Gate Fence & Wire Works. In 1975 Patrick joined Nedsteel (Pty) Ltd, a Dutch-owned manufacturer.

Patrick had obtained a business diploma from the Pensinsula Technikon. He then become a director of Nedsteel.

In 1989 he founded his own company, Cape Gate and Fence Wire Works. Within five years, he bought out Nedsteel, and established one of the largest gate and fence manufacturers in the Western Cape, Nedsteel/ Cape Gate and Fence Wire Works.

Patrick served as chairman of WECBOF (1995-) for the first six years. He is the founder and managing director of Marib Holdings (Pty) Ltd, a black-owned investment company with interests in maritime engineering and toll roads (i.e.. Chapman's Peak and Tsitsikamma). He also founded, and is managing director of, Exel Projects and Events (Pty) Ltd. Other business interests include Nti and RCS.

His current directorships include Granbuild Construction (Chairman) and Cape Lime. He is a member of the Pensinsula Technikon council.

Contribution/s:

[No Real Social And Economic Changes For Ordinary South Africans - Pg 304](#)



Fr Rev Peter-John Pearson

The Reverend Peter-John Pearson was born on 1st June 1955 in Cape Town, South Africa, where he still lives.

He serves at present as the director of the Parliamentary Liaison Office of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference. This office deals with issues of public policy and relations with parliament and the government. He holds a law degree from the University of Cape Town and a theology degree from the Urbanianum University in Rome. He taught in the law faculty of UCT before commencing his studies in theology. He has a special interest in aspects of public policy and religion and has published several articles in this field. He also has structured involvement in peacekeeping issues on Burundi and Zimbabwe.

He has served the church in various leadership roles and serves on the boards of several church organisations, as well as ecumenical and interfaith initiatives. He also serves on various Boards and Management Committees.

Contribution/s:

[A Religious Perspective - Pg 63](#)



Virginia Petersen

Ms VL Petersen studied Social Work at the University of the Western Cape and completed a Masters Degree in Social Science (clinical) at the University of Cape Town. She is currently pursuing a PhD at the University of Cape Town on Social Capital. She also holds various diplomas in Human Resource Management, Public Sector Management, and

Public Policy and Social Safety Nets. Her experience spans 27 years in social development (both private and public sector) and trade unionism at the following organisations: Child and Family Welfare Society; Nicro; Association for the Physically Disabled; South African Clothing and Textile Workers Union; Shawco; Department of Social Services and Poverty Alleviation (now called the Department of Social Development); Department of the Premier; National Social Cluster; Specialist Committee (Head of Government Team); Chair of the Provincial Social Cluster; Chair of the Provincial Medium Term Expenditure Committee Meetings

Contribution/s:

[Family Perspectives From The Dept. Of Social Services And Poverty Alleviation - Pg 53](#)

[Challenges Of Diversity And Building Social Capital - Pg 111](#)



Nosey Pieterse

Nosey has a MBA degree and is currently doing his PhD at Stellenbosch University and has numerous extra-curricular diplomas. He joined the liberation movement because of religious convictions. He served on FAWU (Food and Allied Workers Union) structures as an executive member up till the National Executive Committee level. He also served

on all COSATU national structures and was the Regional Treasurer for the Western Cape. He joined the UDF at the time of its formation and became the Area Committee Chairperson as well as an Executive Member for the Western Cape. He also joined the underground struggle during the early eighties as a member of the SACP and went to the Czech Republic. Later he became one of the interim leaders of the SACP at the time of its unbanning. In the corporate world he went through the ranks from Driver to Storeman to Sales Representative to Training Officer to Human Resources Officer to Human Resources Manager to Group Industrial Relations Specialist. He also lectured part-time at Damelin.

Presently he is heading a Black Empowerment company called ReInvest Limited as Executive Chairman on the board. He is the President of the Black Association of the Wine and Spirits Industry (BAWSI), Director of the South African Wine Industry Council (SAWIC), director of Wines of South Africa, Chairperson of the Wine Industry Development Association and director of Phetogo Investments. He is also a pastor of three congregations in Delft; Eerste River; Bellville South and work as Youth Pastor for the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Western Cape.

Contribution/s:

[Situation Ethics - Pg 293](#)



📍 Dumisani Rebombo

Dumisani Rebombo is a gender activist living in Soweto. He joined EngenderHealth in September of 2004 and coordinates the multi sectoral implementation of the Men as Partners (MAP) programme at three provinces of South Africa, Gauteng, the Eastern Cape, and Limpopo. The MAP programme works to reduce the spread and impact of HIV and AIDS by improving the quality of HIV related services available to men and by mobilizing men from all sectors to take a stand against domestic and sexual violence and to become more actively involved in HIV/AIDS related prevention, care and support activities.

Dumisani has delivered presentations and conducted skills-building workshops at various international conferences including the Barcelona World AIDS Conference in 2002; the ICASA conference in Nairobi, Kenya in 2003; the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women in 2004. In addition, Dumisani has also facilitated a number of international meetings on male involvement including for UNICEF's Schools gender mainstreaming workshop for nine Southern African developing countries (SADC) and for the Commonwealth Secretariat's Men Can Make A Difference gender mainstreaming workshop for ten Southern African Development Community countries, both in late 2004. Prior to joining EngenderHealth in September 2004, Dumisani worked as a consultant to EngenderHealth and assisted in the design of the Kenya National Youth Service (NYS) MAP project in March 2004.

This year, Dumisani has chaired male involvement sessions in different conferences including the Culture, Rights and Sexuality conference in Benoni, and the Gender Based Violence Conference at the Spier-- Cape Town. Dumisani has appeared in several TV and radio programs about HIV and gender based violence. Just a few weeks ago, Dumisani spoke on behalf of all the Red ribbon awardees during the HIV conference in Toronto.

Contribution/s:

[Moral Transformation In And Through Health And Sexuality - Pg 196](#)



📍 Roger Ronnie

Roger is a Labour activist for more than 20 years. The last 18 years he worked as a full time staff member of the South African Municipal Workers' Union. He served as General Secretary of SAMWU for the period 1994 - 2006. During this period, Roger has also been a member of the COSATU Central Executive Committee. In 1994 Roger received the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowship which allowed him to focus on labour market policies at federal, state and municipal level in the USA.

Contribution/s:

[A Working Class Perspective - Pg 306](#)



📍 Rev Courtney Sampson

He was born in Paarl 20 February 1956 and matriculated from Noorder Paarl High School. Ordained an Anglican priest in 1980 and served in parishes in Bonteheuwel, Elsie's River and Hanover Park. Became Anglican Chaplain to the University of the Western Cape in 1987 and lectured in the Department of Religion and Theology. He served as the acting Provincial Executive Officer of the Anglican Church in Southern

Africa and was a visiting chaplain and lecturer at Brevard College in Brevard, North Carolina. He has two master's degrees, MA (UCT) and ThM (magna cum laude) (Emory). Some of his other involvements include, that he was the Chairperson of the Western Province Council of Churches, served on the council of the Peninsula Technikon, the Boards of the Alpha Community Projects, the Golden Arrow Foundation and the Desmond Tutu Peace Center. He is a board member of the Ethical Leadership Project (a programme of the Moral Regeneration Movement). He is currently the Provincial Electoral Officer of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) in the Western Cape.

Contribution/s:

[Hope - In The Midst Of Strife, In Spite And Despite It, We Have Survived - Pg 41](#)

[The Ethical Challenge Of A Morally Renewed Society - Pg 321](#)



📌 Fatima Shabodien

Fatima Shabodien is the executive director of the Women on Farms Project (WFP) since 2004. Her professional experience includes work in the NGO, government and donor sectors, both in South Africa and abroad. She gained experience in the fields of rural development, women’s rights and conflict resolution. She has a BA degree from UWC (Anthropology); a Masters degree in International Peace Studies from the

University of Notre Dame in the USA. She received a Nelson Mandela Scholarship to complete an MPhil degree in Development Studies at Sussex University in 2001. Fatima is a trustee for the South African Wine Industry Trust and Women in Leadership. Her work and academic endeavours include South Africa, United Kingdom, Indonesia, Ethiopia and the USA.

Contribution/s:

[Transformation Through Land Redistribution In The Western Cape - Pg 351](#)



📌 Prof Tammy Shefer

Tammy Shefer is professor and director of Women’s and Gender Studies at the University of the Western Cape. She is a registered research psychologist who has been primarily engaged in feminist research in the areas of gender and psychology, sexualities, HIV/AIDS, gender-based violence, subjectivity (women, ‘race’, sexuality, masculinities), women and authorship, amongst others. She has published widely in

journals and books and is co-editor on three local texts, *Contemporary Issues in Human Development* (1997), *Discourses on difference, discourses on oppression* (2002) and *The Gender of Psychology* (2006).

Contribution/s:

[Gender And Power In \(Hetero\) Sexual Relationships In Contemporary South African Contexts - Pg 199](#)



📌 Prof Augustine Shutte

He has taught in the Dept. of Philosophy at UCT since 1972. His academic training is in Moral Philosophy (in the classical and continental tradition); Philosophy of Religion (Roman Catholic); African Philosophy; Applied Ethics. He has studied and taught in several universities and countries (including Cape Town, Oxford, Boston and Toronto) and also in church and other adult education settings. He is the author of several books and booklets of a philosophical and theological nature. Over the last ten years his philosophical work has

focused both on ethics and on philosophy in an African context. His books include *Philosophy for Africa* and a book of applied ethics, *UBUNTU: An Ethic for a New South Africa*. He is an academic philosopher who is deeply concerned to engage professionally with the problems of society, especially those we are facing in post-apartheid South Africa. He is also a regular guest presenter invited by *The Goedgeacht Forum for Social Reflection*. As director of the Kolbe School of Theology, Dr. Shutte continues to stay involved with his wider ecumenical community.

Contribution/s:

[Philosophy On Religion And Ethical Leadership - Pg 106](#)



📌 Ferdinand Smith

Ferdinand Smith is a member of the ANC Youth League in the Western Cape. He was a speaker at the ELP’s Youth Conference.

Contribution/s:

[Perspectives From Youth Leaders In Political Organizations- Pg 142](#)



Swami Vidyananda

Swami Vidyananda is a registered yoga teacher with Yoga Alliance Africa and has been trained by international minimum standards for yoga teachers. He also actively encourages diversity by respecting all persons regardless of age, physical limitations, race, creed, gender, ethnicity, religion affiliations or sexual orientation.

Contribution/s:

[Morals And Ethical Leadership In And Through A Hindu Perspective - Pg 47](#)

[Ethical Formation Through Religion - Pg 90](#)



Susan Van Der Merwe

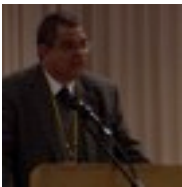
Minister Susan van der Merwe is currently the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of South Africa and Member of Parliament for the African National Congress (ANC) since 1996 to date. The Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs holds a Bachelor of Arts degree which she obtained from the University of Cape Town in 1976.

Minister van der Merwe's involvement in terms of her career, positions, memberships other activities include the following:

Coordinator for the Black Sash Advice Office in Cape Town (1988 - 1991); Participant in Mont Fleur Scenario Planning Exercise (1991 - 1993); Executive Assistant for the Open Society Foundation for South Africa (1993 - 1995); Member of the Board of Directors of UMAC (Non-Governmental Organization working in Western and Eastern Cape) (1992 - 2002); Trustee, South African Wine Industries Trust (1999 - 2001); Parliamentary Counsellor to the President (2001 - 2004); The ANC Whip (1999 - 2000). Served as member of the following committees, Portfolio Committee on Finance, Communication and Environment and Tourism; and Joint Standing Committee on Intelligence. On a more personal note Minister van der Merwe enjoys cooking, aerobics and running.

Contribution/s:

[Women And Men - Pg 162](#)



Rev Keith Vermeulen

Rev. Keith Vermeulen is the current director of the South African Council of Churches' parliamentary office. In this capacity Rev. Vermeulen facilitates and directs along with South African Churches programmes which promote and enhance effective, prophetic witness for socioeconomic justice in and through the ecumenical community in the public life of the nation. Furthermore his vocation also entails the co-ordination of SACC advocacy on national policy and enables Council members to participate in public policy debates and processes. Under his leadership and guidance five main themes have been identified namely, building democratic institutions, securing justice for the poor, protecting children and nurturing families, strengthening peace and security, and creating an enabling environment for faith based organizations.

Contribution/s:

[Christianity's Role In Morality, Ethics, And Diversity - Pg 91](#)



Celia Walter

Ms. Celia Walter is a lay person. She has been a member of the Hout Bay Buddhist Group for many years. She holds an Honours degree in Religious Studies from the University of Cape Town. By profession Ms. Walter a librarian at the University of Cape Town.

Contribution/s:

[Ethical Leadership In And Through Buddhism - Pg 96](#)



Engela S Volmink

Engela was born in Stanford in the Cape and trained as a teacher at Hewat Training College, Athlone as well as at Unisa and the Cape College of Education in Mowbray. She is in possession of many additional qualifications as she has sought to refine her skills towards effective teaching. She has vast experience as a Senior Primary Teacher which has been built up over 30 years of working in the field both in South Africa and the USA. Engela is well-known for her community work. She has worked as a Field worker and Researcher for USAID funded projects (Zikhulise and Phase) in all regions in KZN, involving Learner

Support Material, OBE and Health and Sanitation in schools. She was also involved in voluntary remedial teaching for Junior and Senior Primary Maths and Language Skills for learners in the Sydenham and Cato Manor areas in Durban and Saturday classes held at Durban West Baptist Church, Spearman Rd, Sydenham. This programme now continues at the Gleemoor Baptist Church in Cape Town where she is the Coordinator for the Senior Phase Programme. Engela is joined and encouraged in this endeavour by her husband Professor John Volmink who heads up this programme. The HIV/AIDS cause is also close to Engela's heart and she is deeply involved with many projects in that area. Currently a Senior Phase Teacher at Sunnyside Primary School in Cape Town Engela also serves on EST Educator Support Team for LSEN, advising teachers on individual language and mathematics programmes for Special Educational Needs Programmes.

Contribution/s:

[A Family Outside The Box - Pg 45](#)



Leanie Williams

Leanie Williams is Deputy President of the CPUT Central Student Representative Council. In 2004/5 she was the Deputy Secretary of CPUT SRC in Bellville. It is an honour for her to be referred by the student development officer to be one of the panelist to do a presentation at the ELP conference. Presently, Ms. Williams is completing her diploma in Public Management and would like to do her B-Tech in

Project Management next year.

Apart from her studies, Ms Williams is also involved with community outreach projects – a collaboration of Student Development with the students of CPUT. Last year she initiated a programme on campus that focused on Substance Abuse and making Responsible Choices through the concept “Buddy”. Currently Ms. Williams and other members of CPUT SRC are using this platform to do workshops at schools, focusing on Social Development, Leadership and Academic Development.

Contribution/s:

[Ethics And Morality For Leadership In Tertiary Institutions - Pg 128](#)



Prof Oliver Williams

Oliver Williams, Director of the Center for Ethics and Religious Values in Business at the University of Notre Dame, specializes in understanding how the ethics of virtue might inform the ethical conduct of managers. The author of *The Apartheid Crisis*, Father Williams is an expert on economic and political issues in South Africa. He served as a member of the U.N. Observations Mission in South Africa for the historic

1994 elections that brought an end to the country's 46-year policy of apartheid.

A winner of Notre Dame's Reinhold Niebuhr Award, Williams was listed in a Business Week ratings of MBA programs as one of the "Outstanding Faculty." Editor or author of fifteen books, Williams has published numerous articles in business ethics journals, including the Harvard Business Review, Business Ethics Quarterly, The Journal of Business Ethics, The California Management Review, and The Journal of the College of Theology Society. He is a past chair of the Social Issues Division of the Academy of Management. He currently serves as one of the three-person Board of Directors of the United Nations Global Compact Foundation. His most recent book is PEACE THROUGH COMMERCE: RESPONSIBLE CORPORATE CITIZENSHIP AND THE IDEALS OF THE U.N. GLOBAL COMPACT.

For the 2007-2008 Academic Year, Williams is a visiting professor in a joint appointment with the Graduate Schools of Business of Stellenbosch University and the University of Cape Town. He is also the Donald Gordon Fellow at the University of Cape Town

Contribution/s:

[Responsible Corporate Citizenship And The Ideals Of The U.N. Global Impact - Pg 315](#)



Myrtle Witbooi

Domestic worker from 1966-1975; Factory Cook/ Receptionist from 1975-1981; Organizer for the Domestic Workers Association (DWA) from 1981-1986; Served as National Treasurer for the South African Domestic Workers Union (SADWU) from 1986-1997

Since 1998 to date serving as General Secretary for the South African Domestic Service and Allied Workers Union (SADSAWU)

While a domestic worker she started an Awareness Program for domestic workers in 1967 as discovered that most of the workers could not read and write. She asked her employer to use her garage on Sunday afternoons to meet with the other domestic workers. They had regular meetings for several years. She left domestic work and became a shop steward in the factory for 4 years. In 1982 she began to work as an organizer for SADWU. During this period Myrtle raised 3 children as a single parent. She was determined to succeed.

Now all she wants to be is a good granny for her small children, as an add-on to her list of achievements. This year will be 40 years of being in the struggle for domestic workers.

Contribution/s:

[The Isolation Of Domestic Workers - Pg 268](#)

 [To Contents Page](#)

Section 1:



Ethical Leadership In & Through The Family

 [To Contents Page](#)

Introduction

This section focuses on the theme: Ethical Leadership in and through the Family. The outline of this section consists of the various contributions made by academic and reflective practitioners on said topic.

 [To Contents Page](#)

Background

The Ethical Leadership in and through the Family Conference officially launched the work of ELP on 17 August 2005 and 18 August 2005 at Hotel Le Vendome, Sea Point. Approximately 200 (rural and urban family) representatives from various NGO's, faith communities, educational institutions, state departments, businesses and advocacy groups dealing with issues relating to ethical leadership in families, attended the conference.

 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter Outlines

Chapter 1

Focuses on the opening address of **Dr Lionel Louw**, Chief of Staff in the Premier's Office and ELP board member, on behalf of the Premier of the Western Cape, Mr. Ebrahim Rasool and Rev. Courtney Sampson (the interim chairperson of the ELP). Dr Louw highlights the significance of "family" as the base of society where value systems are nurtured. He argues that it was inevitably the aim of the family conference to actively ponder on the way in which the family lays the foundation for ethical leadership and sound morality. **Rev. Courtney Sampson** focuses on "Hope - In the midst of strife, in spite and despite them, we have survived." He argues that hope is in essence active engagement, it is a belief that something positive is attainable out of any state of suffering, despair, disillusion and pain. Hope is also community-orientated, as each person realizes that they need another to lean on, even if it is just for a short while to gain new strength and hope.

Chapter 2

Describes **Prof. Nico Koopman's** views on the ethical challenges faced by the "family" in the contemporary 21st century. He explains that the moral principles underlying the Bill of Rights of the South African Constitution of 1996 constitutes the moral consensus of South Africans of all religious and secular traditions. Koopman focuses on the following aspects with regard to the formation of ethical leadership in and through families: formation as transformation and conformation; leadership as inclusive, adherent and influential; and families as spaces of moral formation where moral formation processes enhance the building of ethical leadership.

Chapter 3

Describes **Engela Volmink's** personal family experiences and challenges as opportunities for ethical leadership. She deliberates on how ethical leadership impacts on the wider community and society at large.

Chapter 4

Focuses on the perspectives of interfaith leaders which represents two different religious groups, that is, Bahá'í (Ms. **Tahirih Matthee**) and Hinduism (**Swami Vidyandanda**). They highlight the values and morals from their various faith traditions. They highlight moral values, and the importance of family life and the faith community to encourage and cultivate values in order to realise and build social capital.

Chapter 5

Describes **Virginia Petersen's** presentation on Social Services and Poverty Alleviation in the Western Cape with reference to moral formation and ethical leadership in families. She argues that the Department of Social Services had identified Ethical Leadership as one of their programs within the Social Capital Formation Strategy. Petersen identifies the prevailing socioeconomic conditions impacting negatively on family norms and values. The core values that constitute family life need to be fostered and strengthened.

 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 1: The Family Foundation As A Source Of Hope

Introduction

This chapter will firstly address the views of **Dr Louw** (Chief of Staff, Premier's Office; ELP board member) on family as a foundation and secondly, the views of **Rev. Sampson** (Provincial Electoral Officer of the Electoral Commission: Western Cape) on the family as a source of hope.

The Ethical Leadership Project (ELP) focuses on ethical leadership which forms the particular focus area of its work. ELP selected the most noble of our struggle aspirations by drawing attention to the positive statement made by so many of our seasoned leaders: sound character and progressive leadership. Nobody exemplifies this more than our international icon, Nelson Mandela.

 [To Contents Page](#)

Dr Lionel Louw:

The Family As Foundation

The family is the foundation upon which society is built, the crucible that contributes so much in shaping us into the people we are.

The family takes many different forms in the 21st century. There are extended families, nuclear families, but so many single-parent families, child-headed families, same sex families and other forms of family. It does not matter, however, what the form it takes, it is the foundation upon which we build our society and the institution that nurtures us.



We learn patterns of behaviour and emulate the role models we are exposed to in the context of the family. Our value systems are nurtured and our most basic needs are met in the context of the family. The family is an institution that is formative to us and whose influence is all pervasive in our lives. We want to re-affirm the centrality of the family in establishing and maintaining our inner moral compass in life.

There are many factors in our history and environment that militate against healthy family living. The most significant of it is poverty. And yet, in spite of these circumstances, there are thousands of families that nurture well-adjusted, morally sound, progressive human beings that excel in making our world a better place. While pathologies may capture media headlines we want to celebrate our families as we listen to mutual stories, engage with one another and learn new things that will strengthen us in the work of building our families and re-building the moral fibre of our communities.

A Family Story

On a Christmas day some years ago a family singing Christmas carols was observed. One of the sons could read music and sang the carol as penned by the composer. His father stopped him and sang it the way he had learned it. And then, a wonderful scene unfolded before my eyes: the father started telling his son why he sang it in that particular way – it's steeped in a history of struggle for liberation and human dignity. We have to re-cultivate the art of story-telling that facilitates the inter-generational transmission of our culture, customs, values and human treasures. Not everything new is necessarily good, and not everything old is necessarily bad! Form may change, but there is much of the substance that endures from generation to generation. We were poor, but we cared for one another. We did not have much, but we always had much to share with others. We could not afford much, but we were clean. Respect for people was always more important than material possessions. Our common humanness was more important than religious, racial and other differentiations.

Conclusion

The way in which the family lays the foundation for ethical leadership and sound morality should enrich our experience and inspire us to continue our respective initiatives to strengthen our own families and build our nation.

The Premier's vision of a Home for All seeks to recapture those values and lifestyles that build unity without relinquishing our own sense of being and self identity.

 [To Contents Page](#)

Rev Courtney Sampson:

Hope - In The Midst Of Strife, In Spite And Despite It, We Have Survived

Morgan Freeman in the movie *The Shawshank Redemption* makes the remark that "Hope is a dangerous thing". In the movie, he is responding to the fact that he, as a prisoner was waiting for a response from the parole board on his request for parole. His parole had been turned down a few times before. His friend encourages him to have hope. His remark expresses his fear of disappointment, as a prisoner, he is powerless (especially as a black man, while the parole board members are white).



Hope As Inspiration

Powerless wishful thinking is far removed from vibrant life changing hope. Morgan Freeman's remark refers more to wishful thinking than to the hope that carries people through dark despair and serious oppression. Hope inspires people to activity. It motivates them to reach higher goals and it drives them to look forward to a brighter tomorrow, because hope inspires action and active participation in changing the living conditions of those who believe that there is a better tomorrow.

Hope does not fear disappointment, because it is convinced that victory is certain, those who live in hope, know that they shall overcome. People of faith are people of hope. Hope inspires action. We know that we are faced with many challenges in the communities many of us form part of. Our children are under siege by drugs, children and women live under constant threat of abuse, the family often does not provide the source of comfort and security that we require to grow and develop in.

For these reasons we need people with a living hope that inspires them to become active participants in the war against these detractors of our common good and our drive towards lives of contentment. If this conference encourages us to leave here with renewed hope, it would have achieved a major feat. People with hope are people who are ready, willing and able to stand upright and change the world. Their hope tells them that they shall overcome, because they will roll up their sleeves and face the challenges and so create a better tomorrow.

So, let us join hands and stride into a new dawn.

 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 2: Contemporary Ethical Challenges Of Families

The content of this chapter was delivered at the ELP Family Conference and redrafted as a chapter for an ELP Book Publication

⑥ Prof Nico Koopman

The aim of the conference and of this chapter is to discuss and re-value the indispensable role of families in the building of ethical leadership. This leadership is practiced within families and in broader societies. To achieve this aim notions like ethical, leadership, moral formation, family life and the role of families in building ethical leadership are consecutively discussed.

Ethical?

- ◆ a) The word “ethical” has a threefold meaning. It firstly refers to the vision that people have for their own life, and the life of others. It refers to the ideals that we have for life and for broader society. It reflects our understanding of a life that is worth living, a life that is good, that is right, that is beautiful, that is joyous, that is happy. The Greek word “ethos” literally refers to the habitat of animals. The habitat is that space of safety and security where life flourishes and blossoms. To talk about ethical is to talk about the creation of habitats in which the good life blossoms.

The South African Bill of Rights, chapter 2 of the 1996 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, describes the good life as one where there is dignity, justice, equality, equity (bringing what is unequal into equilibrium) and freedom. South Africans from a variety of religious and secular traditions agree about this vision for the South African society.



- ◆ b) The second meaning of ethics is derived from the Latin word habitus. It refers to the habits with which we live. It refers to our virtues and character. It tells what type of people we are. Virtues refer to the tendency, inclination, predisposition, and intuition to be and to act in accordance with what is good, right and beautiful. Character literally refers to the mark of an engraving tool. To have character, or to be a person of character, means that specific values and ideals are engraved into me. These incarnated values and ideals can be called virtues. The person of character embodies virtues.

The Greek philosopher, Aristotle, formulated four cardinal virtues. Cardinal means that these are the core virtues on which all other virtues hinge. The four cardinal virtues are justice, wisdom, courage or fortitude, and self-control or moderation. These virtues have a personal and public dimension.

This second use of the concept ethics, has also significance for our Bill of Rights. Where the first use of ethics refers to the vision of a good society articulated in the Bill of Rights, i.e. the vision of the common good, the second use of ethics focuses upon the humans for whom these rights exist, and for the humans who strive to embody these ideals. Human rights is not enough, we need right humans as well.

- ◆ c) The third meaning of ethics is derived from the Latin word for ethics, namely mos. Mos is the root of our word morality. It literally means to measure. Ethics therefore has to do with measuring, judging, evaluating, deciding, choosing between good and bad, beautiful and ugly, right and wrong, wise and unwise.

The Bill of Rights provides a vision of the good society. This vision is adhered to by people of public virtue and character who strive to embody these ideals. And the vision that we adhere to, and the ideals and values

that we embody, determine the decisions that we make. Personal decisions in the most private spheres and broad public decisions like policies, acts and procedures in all spheres of public life, the political, economic, ecological, social and cultural.

When we talk about ethical we refer to the vision and ideals of a good society, the people of public virtue and character who strive to embody these ideals and values, and the decisions and policies that are based in this vision and virtue.

This analysis makes it clear that ethics and morality are not only for the private spheres of life, but it is a crucial ingredient of all walks of life. Neither do ethics and morality only have to do with sexual matters, as is portrayed by some, but it deals with all facets of human and non-human life. Ethics and morality should also not be made synonymous with forms of absolutism, fundamentalism, intolerance, judgementalism, moralism, as well as the stigmatization, demonization and destruction of the other. These are caricatures and distortions of the type of healthy ethics and morality that the ELP is committed to.

The ELP focus upon those values that South Africans agree upon in general, i.e. the values of our Bill of Rights. The ELP acknowledges that people might differ on how they implement these values in the case of concrete decision-making and policy making, but they do agree on the basic values. And even if they differ on the specification and concretization and application of these values they will respect and celebrate the dignity of the other. And the celebration of dignity means that even amidst different opinions we do tolerate and even embrace each other.

Leadership?

The ELP adheres to an inclusive understanding of leadership. Every citizen, young and old, in all walks of life, is viewed as a leader. That means every South African is challenged:

- ◆ to adhere to the vision of a society of dignity for all;
- ◆ to join the quest to personally embody that vision, ideals and values, and therefore to be people of public virtue and character;
- ◆ to participate in the decision-making processes in all walks of life, as well as policy making and policy implementation processes in all public spheres, that are in line with the vision, values and virtues of dignified living.

The conference on ethical leadership in and through families views every family member as a leader with regard to this threefold challenge. Members of other social institutions are in the same sense viewed as leaders, amongst others in politics, business, trade unions, the media, education, youth, women, sport, art and culture.

The Process Of The Formation Of Leadership

To fulfill ethical leadership, the process of moral formation and moral education is of big importance. All of us need to be transformed continually into people:

- ◆ who adhere to the vision, ideals and values of the good life of dignity for all;
- ◆ who live with and embody this vision and ideals of dignity and therefore become people of public virtue and character; and
- ◆ who participate in decision-making and policy-making processes that advance this vision, values and virtues.

The ELP Conference discussed the famous seven models of moral formation that was formulated by the Dutch scholar, Johannes van der Ven (Van der Ven, JA. 1998. Formation of the moral self. Grand Rapids/ Cambridge:Eerdmans).

These models are discipline, socialization, value transmission, moral development, value clarification, emotional formation and education for character.

Families And Ethical Leadership

The ELP Conference agreed that various types of families can be agents that participate in the formation of ethical leadership for life in our families, and for life in broader society. This can happen despite so many threats that families face. This can happen because there are so many strengths and resources that families can draw upon.

Various types of families were identified: so-called nuclear and extended families; single parent families; second marriage families, where children from previous marriages are coming together into one new family (also called blended families); child-headed families, especially in the context of the HIV/aids pandemic; same-sex union or marriage families.

The broader challenges of contemporary societies impact strongly on all these types of families. In South Africa these challenges include poverty, the big gap between rich and poor, unemployment, crime and violence, gangsterism and drug lords, alcohol and substance abuse, diseases like HIV/aids, teen pregnancies, the breakdown of discipline and respect for authority in various walks of life, and other social pathologies like racism, class-ism, misogyny, and homophobia.

Families also have various strengths and resources to draw upon. These include the religious and spiritual wells that families drink from. Various religions cherish family life and give priority to supporting and strengthening families. They agree that families are crucial in the creation of forms of social solidarity and social cohesion that societies hunger for so very much. Families are crucial facilitators of processes of moral formation and moral education. At the conference the important role of religion in sustaining families were re-emphasized.

Another important resource for families is the cherished African notion of Ubuntu. The Ubuntu ethic emphasizes values like social solidarity and social cohesion, participation in the life of others, concern for the other, hospitality to the other, and the fostering of respect and dignity for all. Where this ethic is used in an inclusive and all-embracing way, it is a crucial resource for healthy family life.

Conclusion

The ELP Conference on Ethical leadership in and through Families concluded on a note of hope. Families can be crucial agents for the formation of ethical leadership in families and broader society. Families can contribute to the dawning of the day when South African society looks on the playing field as we look on paper. The paper of the Bill of Rights says we are a society of dignity, equality, justice, equity, and freedom. Is it dream language to wish that South African families may reflect these values and thereby help the broader human family in South Africa, the rest of Africa and the rest of the world to do likewise?

 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 3: A Family Outside The Box

Engela S. Volmink

My family is a unique and an unusual family.

Our concept of a family has changed from a one-child family for eight years to five children for fourteen years, and now to ten children for the last few years. Let me tell you that the one child had to learn to open his heart to four more siblings. Therefore the five of them had to learn to open their hearts to another five children who became part of the family through adoption.

The composition of my family have changed over the last two decades, which has rightly redefined their own conception of what a family should look like.

The moral decay in this world is directly linked to the collapse of family life. The immense challenge families have to face today is the question of how to develop values and a family culture. My husband and I, as parents of ten children, are faced with the same challenge and dilemma of how to install values and to develop a family culture for our children.

Values and culture should not be seen as a list of things to do and things not to do. It is rather those things which should be learned in the moment when problems are solved together as families reflect on these experiences.

I have done home-based research on the opinions of my family with reference to family culture and values. I asked all ten of my children what they think their family stood for and what they appreciated about the family. I have recorded the following results:

“The unconditional acceptance I experience. A place where I feel safe no matter what happens. The sense of a family tradition and community involvement where we work together as a team.”

Heinrich (our son who is 29 years old and a medical doctor in Scotland)

“A place where the mothers can remember children’s names [but quickly added]; The special occasions we celebrate the laughter and just to be yourself.”

Samantha (24 years old adopted daughter who works as a P.R.O.)

“I treasure the honesty with each other, caring for each other and the heart we have to care for other people in the community. I love the chaos, the craziness and the excitement of the household.”

J.J (Honours student in Economics, currently studying at U.K.Z.N.)

“I love it when people listen to me, show me respect and take seriously what I say. I love the Saturday mornings when we as a family work in the community with the education Project”.

Lydia (19 year old student at U.C.T., studies Anthropological Sciences)

“I really appreciate the structure in our family. The way I can openly express my feelings, the pen channels we have to approach parents”.

Thandi (16 years old and in Grade 11 at a community high school in Athlone)

“It is the nicest feeling when I see my parents love each other. The games we play and the way we can talk and talk and talk”.

Zama (14 years old in Grade 9)

“When my sisters give me things and let me play with my friends”.

“The letters and cards I give to Mom and Dad”.

Melissa (Adopted, 6 years old in Grade 1)

Last but not least, Nkosinathi our 15-month-old adopted son ... he loves keys so of course his answer was
“Keys”

In the process of being a family, my husband and I had to deconstruct community assumptions on what constitutes a family. Firstly, the general opinion is that “a family means smaller is better”. My family’s experience clearly proved that the size of a family has very little to do with the happiness of a family.

Secondly, society assumed for many years that family is a biological or physiological concept and that you could only love your own flesh and blood. The modern day society proved this assumption as fundamentally flawed. The consequence of this new family concept is that race has no meaning in our family. Race within the family becomes just a social construct.

My family would have been classified as three different racial groups under the old apartheid racial classification system. My family consists today of three groups, namely Coloured, Black and children from an Afrikaner father. My family “are all drawn together in a bond that defies all loosely held assumptions” of what a family should be.

The challenge of leadership within the family today is the challenge of credibility. Credibility asks, “Why should I believe you?” and as parents we should face up to this challenge. That question should not be answered by the words that we speak but rather by our actions. It is not sufficient to say to our children “I love you” unconditionally. Parents should teach their children to respect others by word of mouth and actions. Parental teaching and actions can have an role model effect on parents, children or members in our community and country.

It is not good enough to teach children the values of integrity and honesty, if parents are inconsistent in their ethical decisions and actions on a daily basis.

The ideal of parents for their children to grow into happy, responsible and caring adults should be accompanied by the ethos that life is more than the pursuit of wealth, prestige and comfort and the quest for material things. Parents should ultimately teach their children that they should find ways to celebrate interior qualities such as love, acceptance, wholeness and respect. Your children are not your children.

“They are the sons and daughters of Life’s longing for itself. They came through you but not from you and though they are with you yet they belong not to you”

Kahlil Gibran

The different expressions of family life in South Africa are an enriching example of positive social capital transformation.

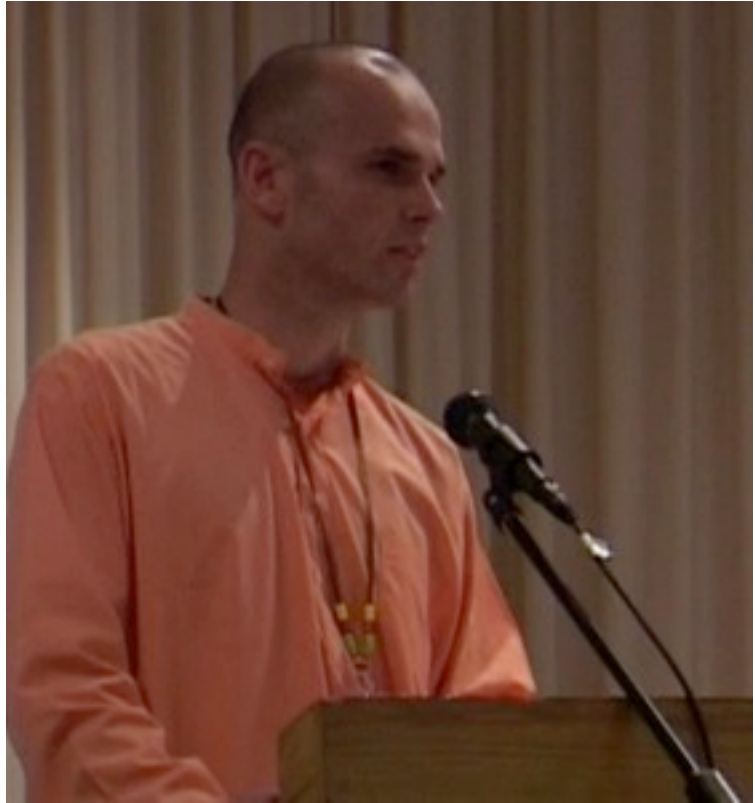
 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 4: Families And Inter-Faith Dialogue

🕉 Swami Vidyananda:

Morals And Ethical Leadership In And Through A Hindu Perspective

*Om
Guru Brahma Guru Vishnu Guru
Vishnu Guru Devo Maheshvarah
Guru Sakshat ParaBrahma Tasmai
Shri Gurave Namah
Om saha naavavatu
Saha nau bhunaktu
Saha veeryam karavaavahai
Tejasvinaavadheetam astu maa
vidishaavahai
Om shanti shanti shantihi
(Prayer by Vidyananda, 2005).*



Introduction

Vidyananda (2005) calls for Divine Intelligence that removes ignorance and bestows knowledge and formation in Spiritual knowledge, strength and harmony amongst people. Vidyananda's (2005) refers to the greeting, "Namaste. I greet the Divine within you" and states that it embodies the underlying principle of Hindu morality.

The Hindu Tradition

An ancient Hindu scripture called the Srimad Bhagavatam (which was written approximately 5000 years ago) predicts the mentality and consciousness of human kind in today's age. The consequence is the degeneration of morality due to the movement of the human mind away from God and towards materialism and egocentric desire-based activity. 'As long as my desires are satisfied, I am happy and I will do what is needed to satisfy them'.

Without claiming to know the solution, it seems obvious that the answer lies in reversing the movement and to focus the mind on God. We have to face God. Immorality is not only an external element but it is also an internal personal aspect. Immoral thinking and action can consists of aspects such as anger, lust, greed, hatred, envy and jealousy.

The Hindu tradition is based on Dharma – Sanatana Dharma. Sanatana means eternal because it refers to the Divine, which is eternal and infinite. Dharma has various levels of meaning. In its simplest form, it means duty. As a father, mother, husband, wife, child, businessman, worker etc you have certain duties and responsibilities. The ideal is that people should fulfill these duties and responsibilities.

Dharma also means righteousness, to do right action. This can be very difficult because we often do not know what the right action is. When your children has committed the same wrong action for the hundredth time, should you hit them or not? Physical punishment is not necessarily the expounding of abuse but it might be the right action to set that person on the right path. There is a beautiful scripture called the Bhagavad Gita, which deals with the problem of moral dilemmas. The underlying theory of Bhagavad Gita is that people should Face God.

Dharma also means movement towards God, that action that leads you to God or God-consciousness. God is omnipresent and all-pervasive which means that he is in all created beings, human and animal. He is in me and in you. Therefore what I do to you, I actually do to myself. Dharma means that as we grow spiritually and attain a higher state of consciousness we naturally become moral beings. But as long as we are not, we need then to abide by the teachings of our traditions in order to reach these higher states of consciousness.

Family In The Hindu Tradition

In the Hindu tradition, family is regarded as one of the ways to practice Dharma, to move towards God-consciousness. Therefore there are certain teachings that the family is asked to observe:

- ◆ There should be daily worship. Most Hindu homes have a shrine in the home, often a designated room, otherwise in a corner of a room. Daily worship, prayer and meditation and observed in this designated space.
- ◆ There should be daily study of scripture. There are a huge variety of scriptures: There are scriptures dealing with the Highest Philosophy of what is God, who am I and what is the relationship of the two. These have their source in the Vedas and Upanishads. There are scriptures such as the Yoga Sutras of Patanjali that give teachings of how to train the mind, starting with the ethical principles called Yamas and Niyamas. There is a wonderful scripture called the Ramayana in which the main character Lord Rama is considered to be a perfect example of righteousness.
- ◆ There is remembrance of family ancestry, particularly the poor and animals. There is a Vedic injunction that says vasudev kutumbam, which means the whole world is your family because God pervades all. Service is therefore not really of another person but service of God through the other.
- ◆ A very important aspect of family life is also the association with holy men and women, with religious and spiritual leaders for guidance and inspiration.

Conclusion

Families are not isolated units. The influence of religious and spiritual leaders is highly essential in the moral and ethical development of the family. Therefore it is imperative that we as spiritual and religious leaders lead a moral and ethical life within our own families. Spiritual leaders should set the ethical example for the broader community.

The principles of family life explained above are universal and can be applied by anyone regardless religious persuasion. The following prayer ask God to lead us from the unreal to the real, from darkness to light and from morality to immorality.

*Om asato maa sat gamaya
Tamaso maa jyotirgamaya
Mrityor maa amritam gamaya
Om shanty shanty shanthy*

 [To Contents Page](#)

📖 Tahirih Matthee:

The Family In A World Community. The Teachings Of The Baha'I Faith

(Based on a paper by the Bahá'í International Community, originally presented at the World NGO Forum launching the United Nations International Year of the Family, Malta, November 1993)

Introduction

Like the world as a whole, the family is in transition. In every culture, families are disintegrating, fragmenting under the pressure of economic and political upheavals and weakening in the face of moral and spiritual confusion. The Bahá'í writings say:

The conditions surrounding the family surround the nation. The happenings in the family are the happenings in the life of the nation.

Bahá'ís perceive these disturbances as signs of humanity's struggle toward a new age in its collective development, an age of maturity. The family, as the most basic unit of society, must be remolded and revitalized in this process according to the same principles that are reshaping civilization as a whole.



The central principle for this new day is the oneness of humanity. "The well-being of mankind, its peace and security," Bahá'u'lláh, the Founder of the Bahá'í Faith, asserted over a century ago, "are unattainable unless and until its unity is firmly established."

Acceptance of the interrelatedness and interdependence of all people implies the renewal of every social institution on the planet, including the family.

The well-being of society depends to a large degree upon the capacity of the family, the most basic social unit, to provide a loving, nurturing, educative environment for all its members. However, if families today are buffeted by destructive external forces, or by ineffective ways of functioning, they consequently are weakened and unable to provide a stronghold to its members. Renewal therefore is of paramount importance not only for the development of all individuals, but to the community and nation and ultimately the world. The Bahá'í writings say:

Compare the nations of the world to the members of a family. A family is a nation in miniature. Simply enlarge the circle of the household and you have the nation. Enlarge the circle of nations and you have all humanity ... Would it add to the progress and advancement of a family if dissensions should arise among its members, fighting, pillaging each other, jealous and revengeful of injury, seeking selfish advantage? Nay, this would be the cause of the effacement of progress and advancement.

This paper presents four key components to the revitalization of the family, as discussed below. It emphasizes the vital teaching of equality of the sexes within the family unit and how this influences the relationships of husband and wife, parents and children, and the manner in which children are educated.

Unity In The Family

If love and agreement are manifest in a single family, that family will advance, become illumined and spiritual.

The Bahá'í approach to the family unit combines elements of traditional wisdom with progressive principles and practical tools. Adherence to these teachings offers a bulwark against the forces of disintegration and a framework for the creation of strong, healthy, unified families.

The foundation and precondition for a Bahá'í family is the loving relationship of husband and wife. Marriage, a divine creation, is intended to unite a couple “both physically and spiritually, that they may ever improve the spiritual life of each other.” A man and a woman, having freely chosen one another and having obtained the consent of their parents, marry, according to Bahá'í law, in the presence of witnesses designated by the elected governing council of the community. With the words “We will all, verily, abide by the will of God,” recited by both bride and groom, the two commit themselves to God and, thereby, to one another.

One purpose of marriage is the creation of a new generation who will love God and serve humanity. The task of the family is, therefore, to establish a loving, respectful and harmonious relationship among parents and children.

Harmony and cooperation in the family, as in the world, are maintained in the balance of rights and responsibilities. All family members “have duties and responsibilities towards one another and to the family as a whole,” which “vary from member to member because of their natural relationships.”

Children, for instance, have the duty to obey their parents. They also have the corresponding right to be cared for, educated and protected. Mothers, as bearers and first educators of children, are primarily, but not exclusively, responsible for their spiritual education and the creation of a loving nurturing home. Fathers bear primary, but again not exclusive, responsibility for the financial well-being of the family and for the formal education of the children.

The personal moral standards promoted by the Bahá'í teachings condemn many of the agents that contribute to the break-up of family. Alcohol is forbidden to Bahá'ís, as are mind-altering drugs. No form of violence or abuse within the family is ever to be tolerated. According to the Bahá'í sacred writings:

The integrity of the family bond must be constantly considered and the rights of the individual members must not be transgressed.

Although strongly discouraged by Bahá'u'lláh, divorce is permitted on the grounds of antipathy between husband and wife. It may be granted after a year of waiting during which a couple lives separately and makes every attempt to reconcile their differences. Protected against hasty decisions and rash emotions, many couples are able to rebuild their marriages during this year of reflection. If, however, reconciliation proves impossible, the couple may divorce.

Equality Of The Sexes

Unity, as presented in the previous section, stresses the vital importance of unity for the well-being of a family, and how the balance of rights between the members helps to facilitate harmony, order and unity. The principle of the equality of the sexes has a particularly strong influence within a family. The Bahá'í teachings say:

And among the teachings of Bahá'u'lláh is the equality of women and men. The world of humanity has two wings – one is woman and the other man. Not until both wings are equally developed can the bird fly. Should one wing remain weak, flight is impossible.

And,

Until the reality of equality between man and woman is fully established and attained, the highest social development of mankind is not possible.

This principle is transforming relationships within Bahá'í marriages. Because they are equal partners, a status embodied in the identical wedding vows as stated above, “We will all, verily, abide by the Will of God,” neither husband nor wife may dominate. Decision-making is to be shared.

Always, the atmosphere within a family the community as a whole should express ... not arbitrary power, but the spirit of frank and loving consultation.

The Bahá'í principles of consultation are tools for discussing openly, honestly and tactfully any problem which arises within the family. The goal is to allow "the truth to be revealed" in a way which will solve the problem to the benefit of all. When used by a couple or a family, consultation is a powerful means for maintaining unity. Bahá'ís are taught to strive for truth, listen to others, and to avoid stubbornly insisting on their own view. Whichever person's opinion prevails in the end is of no importance.

Recognition of equality and the use of consultation allows a husband and wife flexibility to meet the demands of a rapidly changing world. Although men and women have complementary capacities and functions in certain areas, roles are not rigidly defined and may be adjusted. When necessary the needs of each family member and the family as a whole should be met first and foremost. Women are encouraged to pursue their careers, in a manner that does not conflict with their role as mothers. Fathers are not exempt from household duties and child-rearing.

When relations within the family are conducted with due regard for justice, it will be an important factor in bringing about peace in the world. When women are denied equality and respect in the family, it:

perpetrates an injustice against one half of the world's population and promotes in men [and boys] harmful attitudes and habits that are carried from the family to the workplace, to political life, and ultimately to international practices. There are no grounds, moral, practical or biological, upon which such denial can be justified.

As more and more children grow up in families where the rights of all members are respected and problems are solved with the benefit of consultation, prospects for peace in the world improve.

Education And The Family

Although the child receives formal education at school, it is at home that character is developed and moral and spiritual attitudes are formed. Therefore, "all the virtues must be taught the family." Virtues such as patience, loyalty, trustworthiness, justice constitute the building blocks of character formation. The virtues named by all sacred traditions as the common elements of spirituality are the reflection of the Divinity in each person. While nurturing the highest qualities and values in each member of the family, parents must also provide for the integrated development of all their children's capacities – spiritual, moral, intellectual, emotional, and physical. Therefore, girls and boys are to be formally educated according to the same basic curriculum. Should limited resources force a choice, daughters, as the potential trainers of the next generation, are to be granted "a prior right education over sons."

The purpose of spiritual and intellectual education is to advance societies and communities, and to train children to be adults of sound character and achievement. Children gradually adopt the attitudes and behaviours associated with unity, which in turn positively influences the society in which they live. Harmful practices such as prejudice, conflict, backbiting, gossip, gradually disappear from sight. In this regard, the family unit offers the strongest learning environment for children, as they observe closely their parents' behaviours and listen carefully to all that is said.

The Family And The Community

The Bahá'í Faith has over 17,000 organized local communities in more than 200 independent countries and territories. These communities act in some ways like extended families.

Bahá'ís come from all nations, ethnic groups, cultures, professions and classes. Wherever Bahá'ís reside in any part of the world, they are exhorted to be involved in the life of the greater community, to be of service to it, to positively contribute to the well-being of the whole. Families can be involved in building a healthy society, for example, "Courtesy, reverence, dignity, respect for the rank and achievements of others are virtues which contribute to the harmony and well-being of every community, but pride and self-aggrandisement are among the most deadly of sins." The stronger the family, the less it is distracted or influenced by frivolous or destructive pursuits or practices.

When families are in harmony, they give strength to each other and the following support occurs: “the injury of one shall be considered the injury of all; the comfort of each, the comfort of all; the honour of one, the honour of all.” A major teaching of the Bahá’í Faith, as noted above, is in the belief that peace is inevitable and efforts to bring about harmony and peace are worthy. Further, given the belief in God, the Divinity whose Guidance is ever-present, they turn to Him daily, in humility, asking for His guidance in becoming a better person.

Conclusion

As the foregoing principles are gradually put into practice around the world, families are being created which are able to play a part in building a unified world society. For the link between the family, the nation, and a world civilization destined to come in time is inescapable:

Compare the nations of the world to the members of a family. A family is a nation in miniature. Simply enlarge the circle of the household and you have the nation. Enlarge the circle of nations and you have all humanity.

In South Africa, the principles stated above offer positive guidelines with the intention of re-establishing the family as strong, healthy social units that nourish and shelter the members in a strong fortress. Justice and equity, high moral standards, education of all, respect and caring, abstinence from destructive behaviours, acceptance of humanity as one, characterize the Bahá’í perspective of family life.

 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 5: Family Perspectives From The Dept. Of Social Services And Poverty Alleviation

The format of this chapter is the original form of the above-mentioned presentation. This chapter aims to provide the reader with a broad outline on the situation of family from the Department of Social Services and Poverty Alleviation.

Virginia Petersen

Introduction

In a series of discussions, academics proposed a number of creative processes to help integrate and drive the national Moral Regeneration Movement (MRM).

The following programs are replications of the Fatherhood Project run by the Department Social Development and HSRC at provincial and local levels.

Leadership And Youth & Schools

- ◆ The South African Police Services (SAPS) has introduced a series of innovative programs that provide life skills and educational programs for young people. The South African Police Service has introduced a number of youth crime prevention programs including, “Captain Crime Stop” and “Adopt-a-Cop” programs.
- ◆ The prevention of substance abuse in schools, both rural and urban is a significant focus area, for the Departments of Education and Social Development.
- ◆ The Department of Arts and Culture plans has introduced a number programs to support youth, as part of the Moral regeneration Program.



Crime & Violence

- ◆ The Department of Correctional services and the Department of Social Services, has introduced a number of innovative rehabilitation programs for offenders and their children.
- ◆ The Department of Social Services continues to maintain key services for Member offenders.
- ◆ Through partnerships with civil society, the Department of Correctional Services will continue to develop rehabilitation programs.

Healing And Cleansing

The national Government has planned a series of healing and cleansing process, in order to address the issue of Cleansing, Healing and Symbolic Reparations. This will include cleansing ceremonies, the design of Freedom Park and finalization of TRC reparations.

- ◆ Partnership with Freedom Park Trust
- ◆ Provincial roll-outs
- ◆ Finalization of TRC Reparations

Women And Gender

The South African Police Services (SAPS) plays a key role in helping women to empower themselves.

LEADERSHIP

In a series of discussions, academics proposed a number of creative processes to help integrate and drive the national Moral Regeneration Movement (MRM).

- ◆ Encourage the practice of farming in rural and urban areas to increase food security.
- ◆ Instill civic consciousness in youth, by encouraging them to engage in community service.
- ◆ A partnership between the University of Venda for Science and Technology and the Department of Correctional Services, in the provision of education and life skills to prison inmates.
- ◆ Youth development programs (by tertiary institutions e.g. ethics and training in social services).
- ◆ Encourage income generating and livelihood activities in the formal and informal economy for the youth.
- ◆ Involve youth in social, cultural activities.
- ◆ An integrated approach to address the economic, social and participation needs of the youth.
- ◆ Peer-driven education to promote youth employment and capacity to engage in livelihood activities.
- ◆ Develop programs to support families (to increase economic and material resources).

The next program is replications of the Fatherhood Project run by the Department Social Development and HSRC at provincial and local levels.

YOUTH AND SCHOOLS

The South African Police Services (SAPS) has introduced a series of innovative programs that provide life skills and educational programs for young people.

Youth Crime Prevention Program

The South African Police Service has introduced a number of youth crime prevention programs including, “Captain Crime Stop” and “Adopt-a-Cop” programs.

These focus on awareness building amongst children to prevent them developing anti-social behaviour and to ensure they refuse to be victimized or commit crimes. These programs inform the public on issues of safety, provides services to victims of violence and abuse, and offers ongoing training to SAPS members on issues of victimization and ways of creating victim-friendly facilities.

In collaboration with the Department of Education, the program promotes gun-free zones in schools and provides materials for learners to promote safer schools. SAPS also supports the Department of Sport & Recreations “Young Champion’s Project” which identifies positive role models for children and provides life skills coaching to avoid the development of anti-social behaviour.

Awareness Campaigns Against Substance Abuse & Developing A Drug Master Plan

The prevention of substance abuse in schools, both rural and urban is a significant focus area, for the Departments of Education and Social Development.

The Department of Social Development plans to invest in Rehabilitation and treatment Centres that can offer professional support to individuals and families affected by substance abuse.

There are also a number of prevention programs in schools and community programs aimed at reducing drug abuse. In addition, residential care programs for youth addicts were successfully piloted in 2002 and the program is ready for national roll-out.

The Department of Education will implement ‘Ke Moja’, Drug Abuse Programs of the United National Development Program (UNDP) and it will be introduced in Western Cape as a complementary initiative to the Drug Policy Framework.

As part of the National Drug Master Plan, the Department of Correctional Services is currently researching

departmental policy on drug abuse and rehabilitation.

Department Of Arts And Culture Programs

The Department of Arts and Culture plans has introduced a number programs to support youth, as part of the Moral Regeneration Program:

- ◆ The charter for Moral Communities: A campaign to consult communities on the drafting of a Charter.
- ◆ Creating a database of regeneration programs
- ◆ Supporting popular and academic research on moral regeneration issues

Young Champions Program

A joint initiative between the Department of Sport and Recreation and SAPS, which targets 12-19 year-olds in high crime areas, and includes them in sports programs.

Each month there is a focus on different issues. For example:

- ◆ Young Champions don't do crime
- ◆ Young Champions don't do Drugs
- ◆ Young Champions don't Abuse Women and Children

CRIME AND VIOLENCE

The Department of Correctional Services and the Department of Social Services, has introduced a number of innovative rehabilitation programs for offenders and their children.

Consolidation Of Prisoners Rehabilitation Programs

In 2003, a pilot program will be implemented by the Department of Arts and Culture, in partnership with the Department of Correctional Services and the New Zealand High Commission, to introduce art and artistic expression into the lives of children in correctional facilities.

A second pilot project will target offenders through a Life Centre established by the Department of Social development which aims to use indigenous art as a form of rehabilitation.

Services For Offenders

The Department of Social Services continues to maintain key services for offenders, including:

- ◆ Probation Services
- ◆ Development Assessment of children in conflict with the law.
- ◆ Supervision services to children and adults
- ◆ Crime prevention program (Life Skills, school based)
- ◆ Home-based Supervision of children in conflict with the law
- ◆ Diversion program (the diversion of children from the justice system)
- ◆ Provision and management of Secure care and other Centres to accommodate children awaiting trial
- ◆ Youth programs

Partnering Rehabilitation Programs

Through partnerships with civil society, the Department of correctional services will continue to develop rehabilitation programs.

These include:

- ◆ SANCA Ahanang Project: Rehabilitation of substance-addicted offenders;

- ◆ Khulisa In-Prison Peer Drug Counseling program: the programs, awareness interventions, are offered at the Johannesburg Youth Prison, Leeuwkop Youth Prison, Krugersdorp Youth Section, and Boksburg Youth Section & Ekuseni Youth Centre.

Rehabilitation Programs

Additional prisoner rehabilitation programs managed by the Department of Correctional Service include

- ◆ UNISA/SANLI bursaries: A joint DFID and UNISA project to provide Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET) to offenders.
- ◆ National Skills Fund: A project to develop basic occupational skills amongst offenders in partnership with the Department of labour
- ◆ President's Award: a self development program for young offenders to equip them with life skills. This will include an Aids Challenge project to develop offender led HIV/AIDS prevention programs in prisons.
- ◆ Choir competition: The support of an offender choir program and choir competition to support offender morale development and rehabilitation.
- ◆ Restorative Justice: This program comprises victim empowerment and victim offender mediation programs in partnership with the Department of Social Development, Justice and SAPS. This program has been introduced under the auspices of the Social Cluster's Social Crime prevention program.
- ◆ Child justice
- ◆ National program of Action Steering Committee
- ◆ Interdepartmental Committee on Youth Affairs
- ◆ Babies behind bars
- ◆ Campaign of Activism on non-violence against women and children. In the program social workers motivate, in certain cases, for correctional supervision as an alternative to imprisonment. They also offer various initiatives within the Community Correctional system, such as life skills and prevention of drug and alcohol abuse.

Under the auspices of the Justice, Crime Prevention and Security Cluster (JCPS) the Department of Justice is establishing Integrated Justice Court Centres (IJS) to address bottlenecks in the administration of justice and reduce the cycle times of courts, by aligning services and reducing case backlogs.

HEALING AND CLEANSING

The national Government has planned a series of healing and cleansing process, in order to address the issue of Cleansing, Healing and Symbolic Reparations. This will include cleansing ceremonies, the design of Freedom Park and finalization of TRC reparations.

The Freedom Park Trust has been in discussion with the Moral Regeneration Movement (MRM) on the issue of Cleansing, Healing and Symbolic Reparation Ceremonies. These sacred ceremonies are a way for South Africans to take a step towards closure of the past effects of colonialism and apartheid.

The government is leading this process through a three-pronged policy in partnership with private and civic bodies. It plans to implement the RDP; build a national consciousness on liberation issues, and move forward with TRC recommendations. This is in partnership with both the private sector and civil society. All provinces, through the Provincial Governments, are preparing to unroll the processes of these ceremonies. To date three provinces, Free State, Mpumalanga and the Northern Cape have held these ceremonies.

The Way Forward

- ◆ Run an awareness and education which stresses the need and importance of the cleansing, healing and symbolic reparations ceremonies.
- ◆ Consult major sectors and organizations within South African and invite them to be part of the process

Implementation Strategies

⑥ Partnership with Freedom Park Trust

A meeting should be convened between the MRM and Freedom Park to develop a joint strategy on the process, based on these observations. Ideally the meeting should involve the communications teams of both agencies.

⑥ Provincial roll-outs

Once an agreed upon strategy has been developed, the MRM in consultation with the provincial Arts & Culture departments, plans to convene other provincial workshops to consolidate these ideas and build momentum leading up to the national ceremony.

⑥ Finalization of TRC Reparations

The national Government is in the process of creating an archive and extensive database on records from the TRC hearings.

- ◆ Almost all TRC records have been transferred to the National Archive. Currently, correspondence has been sent to former members of the TRC to ascertain whether they have any official documentation of the commission in their possession and to request them to transfer them to the National archives.
- ◆ There is still media controversy around 34 boxes of sensitive records in the custody of the Minister of Intelligence Services. This matter is being investigated by the Classification and Declaration Review Committee appointed by the Minister of Intelligence Services.

The National Archives secured funding from the Mellon Foundation to audit and archive electronic information from the TRC and to prepare a proposal for the long-term archiving and publication of TRC records.

Women And Gender

The South African Police Services (SAPS) plays a key role in helping women to empower themselves.

The South African Police Service (SAPS) organizes a number of victim empowerment and support groups, as well as crime prevention programs for young people

Domestic Violence

The strategy is an inter-departmental initiative to prevent domestic violence and to provide support to victims of domestic violence.

Victim Empowerment And Support

The strategy is an inter-department initiative to integrate services to rape victims

Implementing A National Language

Policy in our fast-changing society, it is important to prevent languages, especially the African languages, from becoming redundant and losing their functionality. It is for this reason that the project on Human Language Technologies is seen as imperative.

- ◆ DAC has been promoting indigenous languages of our country.
- ◆ One of the projects DAC sees as critical, is the Telephone Interpreting Service for South Africa (TISSA). The aim of this project is to provide easy access to vital government services in the eleven official languages, including Sign Language.
- ◆ The vision is to see people with access to an interpreter anywhere in the country, by means of a telephone which will let them choose their preferred language.

- ◆ NLS has also produced a multilingual AIDS manual with substantial terminology. This document can help bridge the gap that exists between different language communities, particularly amongst health care workers.
- ◆ There are a number of terminology projects, such as a dictionary of mathematical terms, which are being translated into the 10 indigenous languages.
- ◆ Because of this project, it is envisaged that on-line dictionaries, terminology and other products could be provided in the official languages of SA.
- ◆ Maintenance of the Telephone Interpreting Service of South Africa (TISSA), a focus on Education Terminology Projects will focus on the natural sciences, technology, economic and management science as well as human and social sciences.
- ◆ It plans to develop Human Language Technologies (such as on-line dictionaries to ensure the preservation and continuation of indigenous languages.

 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 6: Ethical Leadership In And Through The Family Workshops

Elim Family Workshop

This workshop focused on families in the rural community of Elim and the neighbouring areas of Bredasdorp and Napier and was held in the Elim Moravian Church Hall on the 4th November 2005. BUDS Consortium (Building Ubuntu through Development Skills) facilitated the workshop. The workshop addressed four topics, namely Relationships; Conflict Management; Communication; and Substance Abuse.

The workshop was attended by 100 participants. The applied methodology resulted in an interactive learning experience by the participants. The following focus areas surfaced as key informative aspects of the workshop: the importance of recognizing and affirming the human dignity of others; the creative tension between rights and responsibility; respect for difference and diversity; the value of support structures in families and communities; the concept and value of ubuntu; the value of active listening for effective communication; and the importance of “leading by example”.

Participants did not only gain better insight into the nature and complexity of problems within family life; the workshop also created a new awareness of available resources in and around the family and community.

Gugulethu Family Workshop

This workshop was held at the JZ Zwane Centre on 22 November 2005 and was attended by 106 participants from different communities, namely Gugulethu, Langa, Nyanga, Phillipi and Madalay. They represented various NGOs, FBOs, and CBOs who work in fields related to family life, including representatives from MRM from the City of Cape Town.

The Community Ploughback Movement was consulted with the development of the program and community members served as facilitators for the elective sessions. The workshop focused on Effective Parenting: parents as leaders; their importance as role-models; parenting skills; the importance of affirmation, unconditional acceptance, appreciation, availability, affection and accountability.

The session on HIV and AIDS focused on the family as a resource for “stopping the spread” of the HIV-virus. The importance of mutual respect, faithfulness, fidelity, responsibility, confidentiality, commitment, caring and love were highlighted. Participants in the session on Domestic Violence identified physical abuse, verbal abuse, sexual abuse, emotional abuse and psychological abuse as indicators of domestic violence.

The participants undertook a pledge to be agents of change in their families and communities. The session on Alcohol and Drug abuse revealed that participants were familiar with the types of drugs available in their community. Drug abuse impacted negatively on the lives of individuals and families. Participants proposed preventative measures such as support groups, counseling centers, and partnerships with government departments that should help in addressing the problem.

Participants showed an overwhelming appreciation for the “safe space” in which to articulate their problems and air their frustration, but also for the opportunity to explore possible ways of addressing problems.

The workshop also made them aware that they have to take the initiative to find solutions within themselves, their families and their communities – through networking and collaborating with various stakeholders.

 [To Contents Page](#)

Section 2:



Ethical Leadership In & Through Religion & Secular Traditions

Introduction

The Ethical leadership in and through Religion Conference was held in Cape Town on 03 and 04 May 2006. The conference was attended by 180 representatives from various NGOs, faith communities, educational institutions, state departments, businesses and advocacy groups.

The objective of the conference was to investigate and (re)discover ways, in which both religious and secular faith traditions would revive, energise and embody a vision of moral formation as well as moral transformation.



Chapter Outlines

Chapter 1

Deals with Father (Rev.) **Peter-John Pearson** (Director SACBC Parliamentary Liaison Office: Cape Town)'s views which challenge (religious) leaders in South Africa to lift, with healing hands, the bruised and beaten to a higher and nobler life, to be custodians of those critical beacons of hope and to live prophetically the spirit of courage rather than succumb to the demon of caution, so that together we can indeed create a better life for all.

Chapter 2

Focuses on **Prof. Sandy Lazarus** who situates Community Psychology within the context of building community and within social and transformational process. Prof. Lazarus concentrates on the social agent and social arrangement with the key of understanding and responding to the person-in-context. Prof. Lazarus identifies key areas which form the central premise for both personal development and social change within leaders who inevitably lead others by being role models in various capacities.

Chapter 3

Focuses on inter-faith perspectives of seven different religious communities (i.e. African Traditional Religion, Judaism, Bahá'í, Hindu, Christianity, Traditional Cultures and Buddhism) that present faith-based perspectives with the emphasis on embracing diversity. **Dr. Nokuzolo Mndende** highlights how the shift from a communal way of life to individualism has contributed to the moral decay in our country. She essentially cautions that individual rights, if not carefully examined could endanger the rights of other people. **Rabbi Matthew Liebenberg** focuses on several principles which relates to how leaders should conduct themselves as part of a universal vision. **Tahirih Mathee** from a Bahá'í perspective notes that true leadership will demonstrate service to the human family in contributing towards the betterment of the world, our common planetary home. Ethical leadership becomes manifest when the enactment or the implementation of the solution is appropriate to the context, and the appropriate. **Swami Vidyananda** argues that the role of religion in ethical formation depends on the relationship of the individual person with his/her environment and God. He emphasizes the notion that the very foundation of ethics is to understand the complete interconnectedness of all beings. **Rev. Keith Vermeulen** focuses on the task of ethical leadership to realise a nation living and working toward the Constitutional values of respect, dignity, peace, equality and freedom. He asserts that moral transformation for South Africa will come from a combination of appropriate memory and acknowledgement of past domination and subjugation narratives. **Dr. Willa Boezak** argues that all the different religions have rich values and norms, which can play a vital role in terms of issues such as poverty. **Celia Walter** reflects on the basic principles of Buddhist' traditions based on her own experience of Zen and Theravadin Buddhism. She holds that being a Buddhist does not mean that one is passive or indifferent to the welfare of others, human and non-human.

Chapter 4

Focuses on the issue of religious youth networks as integrated youth development. **Rudi Buys** shares some of the most critical oversights that may exist within faith-based youth development and proposes possible avenues to begin to address these. Celebration and reflection on the contribution by young people in building South Africa, should be guided by the following slogan: Deepening youth participation to fight poverty and create work.

Chapter 5

Describes **Prof. Augustine Shutte's** philosophical perspectives on the role of religion in ethical leadership in society (This presentation also creatively complimented and comfortably expanded on the presentation delivered by Prof. Lazarus). He focuses on religion itself which has to do with the earnest needs of human beings and its influence in and towards people's existence. He proposes that religious people, especially religious leaders, reflect critically and must judge its religious norms, values and standards against the standard of the humanity which all beings share. An enriched

way of dialogue with those of other faith traditions and communities can be discovered and enhanced as all persons share a common humanity.

Chapter 6

Deals with the perspectives of Ms **Virginia Petersen**, Head of Department: Social services and Poverty Alleviation (Provincial Government: Western Cape) on the Department of Social Services' position. Ms. Petersen calls on religious leaders to reflect on how, why and what they are doing in order to cultivate and inculcate 'adequate' morals, values and standards within society which will enhance moral formation, transformation and building sound social capital within South Africa.

 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 1: A Religious Perspective

Fr Rev Peter-John Pearson

I saw a picture of the magnificent icon or painting of St Giles that is venerated in the church of San Egidio in the Trastevere district of Rome. I was fascinated by the group of symbols that orbited the central character and provided a wellspring of hope and spiritual energy, not least for those who gazed on it.

Giles, the monk and the Abbot, the monk of the undivided church, born in Thessalonika and dying in France: crossing the great divide of his era, the cultural boundary, the political antagonisms of East and West; navigating, making the journey, rising above the tensions and divisions that beset him. But, a monk, first and last; almost by definition a man therefore who studied the Word, a man with a deep sensitivity to the spiritual, a man who studied the Word attentively and discerningly, till it spoke to the heart and the circumstances around him.



The picture shows him with his hand stretched out, pierced by an arrow, the hand protecting a vulnerable doe. In the distance we see the king or a prince clutching the bow from which the arrow had been shot.

St. Giles is a privileged man. A man rooted in the Word, in spiritual sensibilities, an ecumenical man in the broadest sense, the protector of the weak and the vulnerable against the arrows and violence of the powerful.

As we searched for some sense of the lodestar to follow as we look for ways to live out our high calling to leadership, in this place and at this time, that icon spoke some deep truths to our spirit.

Like Giles, the hour calls for leaders steeped in the Word, who in the light of the Word, of spiritual sensitivities can make sense of the world. Men and women like Giles who are ecumenical, who are open to the 'other' in the deepest sense. The hour calls for men and women who are prepared to be vulnerable, to be wounded, to stand in the path of the forces of destruction, as they do their damning work. Men and women who are prepared to protect the weak and the vulnerable; and stand on the side of the poor, the oppressed and the marginalized.

We would want to suggest, that even as we say those things about Giles that speak so eloquently of positive energies, there is an echo of some of those very same values in the unfolding story of the past decade in this land. This is true notwithstanding all the terrible crime and the horrific violence and the poverty and the unemployment and the squandered opportunities. We certainly do not want to minimize it or trivialize it. To only speak of that, to only give voice to the negatives of our situation is also to skew the equation and not be open to the positives that must be built upon, if we are going to build a new city on a hill.

We want to suggest further, that we can talk proudly, hesitantly but proudly, of important words and values such as inclusiveness, reconciliation, healing, participation, solidarity, hope; and know that they have content

for us. Just as we must own up to words such as poverty, we should also acknowledge that the disrespect for life in all its ugly guises, HIV/AIDS, unemployment and exploitation are a blight on the moral landscape and a mighty set of challenges to overcome.

The word “overcome” is a key word that must form our leadership. We have overcome in the space of just a few years, the formidable monstrosity of apartheid [at least in law] and replaced it with something much nobler. Flawed, yes, but nobler.

Sixteen, seventeen years ago, we lived in a very different South Africa and those dangerous fissures of the apartheid years could so easily have endured. We could so easily have been, and with a measure of justification, another Bosnia, or the satellite ‘Stans’ of the former USSR or Rwanda. So easily, and yet we are not. And it must be said, we are not torn asunder, essentially because blacks have shown a magnanimity of spirit that can really only be understood as something profoundly spiritual. That is the locus of the much spoken of miracle. This is the root of a real and abiding hope.

And if this hope, indeed, exists in the midst of a culture of cynicism, despair and discouragement, then we are called, in honesty, to be ‘ministers of hope’ in this season of hope, as the President reminded us in his state of the nation address earlier this year (2006). Anything less would be deeply dishonest.

There are physical tokens of hope all around us, and we cannot be indifferent or dismissive of them. The following are some of the signs of hope as we see them.

In the new dispensation, the government has systematically sought to reverse the legacy of severe racial discrimination, of human rights abuses, of gender inequality. Social spending in the apartheid era was particularly skewed. In per capita terms social spending on whites was in 1990 almost four times larger than on Africans. In response to this travesty of justice, one million houses were built in seven years. This year (2006) the president updated that figure to nearly 2 million. Mbeki said:

Furthermore the government is making marked progress towards its various targets. Ninety percent of those deemed eligible are now receiving social grants, over ten million people have now gained access to potable water, and over two million housing subsidies have been allocated to the poor since 1994. Likewise, whereas 4.1 million out of 11.2 million households lived on an income of R9, 600 or less per year on 2001, by 2004 this figure had decreased to 3.6 million households.

South African’s can rightly be proud of the fact that it have recommendable human rights Constitution, a very well functioning Constitutional Court and an independent media sector. South Africa has also played a leading role on the African continent in the quest for peace and sustainable democracy. It has made major contribution to the birth of the African organizations, the African Union (AU), the PAP, NEPAD and the various structures that serve these institutions.

Today 7 million more people have access to fresh running water. Two million telephones were installed especially in rural areas. Large scale electrification (1.4 million homes were connected to the national grid in the three years between 1994 and 1997) of households was undertaken. Today the figure of new electrified homes is 3.4 million Mbeki 2006). Eskom is now the largest producer of coal fired electricity in the world and South Africans pay the least for electricity in the world. There is free medical care for all children under six years old and for all pregnant women. The impact of the primary health care is signalled by the dropping infant mortality rate, from 51 per thousand in 1994 to 40.2 per thousand in 1996. Over the last two years or so, social grants have gone up from 3.3 million to 3.8 million. In all of this the quality of life of significant numbers of the population has been improved.

The minister of social development confirmed in parliament recently (2006) that 2.6 million children under the age of seven were now registered for the child support grant. In 1999 only 60,000 were registered. He also reminded the house that two inflation increases were effected during 2002 and that from 1 April, 2003 the amount increased to R160. The government has set aside R11 billion for this purpose and thus an additional 3.2 million children will receive the grant over the next three years.

(It is also worth noting that all these changes have come more from reallocation of expenditure rather than from increased taxation, indeed all the recent budgets have provided for tax cuts rather than increases.)

For most of us it is there, at the very 'hands on' level of helping others, in the quest for empowerment and bettering the lives of others, that we ourselves make our contribution. We are left with very little option. The holy writings of every religion should celebrate these developments. The holy books of the religions teach the fundamental duty of society to care for its citizens. The virtue of righteousness and hope giving is a primary characteristic of religions, especially to feed, clothe, and to show hospitality to those in need.

It is the social obligation and not the orthodoxy of belief or ritual practice (important as these are) in virtually every religion, that is posited as the necessary obligation for fulfilling the Law.

This work is as honourable as it is necessary and it certainly realizes a measure of hope for those who seek for the primary necessities of life. However in the broader scheme of things it is not the ultimate objective of the leadership that our context calls for.

The prophetic tradition in all our faith communities are emphasizing that leadership must have a prophetic dimension, must point to the 'better'/ the 'more' that lies beyond. The key issue here is a prophetic engagement, calling for a better life and world for all. Religious leaders should be instrumental in the realization of this ideal. Prophetic leadership's involvement should not only be a hands on, but a more systematic and structural engagement to secure constructive outcomes.

This is the heart of prophetic leadership!

The great Jewish scholar, Yeshayahu Leibowitz said in this regard:

A prophet foretells but what ought to take place. The prophet presents a future which must be striven for, and which must attempt to bring to fruition, without any guarantee that this will actually be realized.... every prophecy deserves to happen...and it depends on (humankind)whether those things which deserve to happen will or will not happen.

Thus we need to look at some of the more destructive, crippling tendencies that call for a response and we should ask what the appropriate, hope filled responses are that should flow from our leadership.

Two areas where hope needs to be established, of course there are others, can be distinguished. One of the most debilitating, destructive tendencies is the spirit of despair, of negativity that seems to cripple so many people in our country, a spirit that frustrates any meaningful measure of hope for the future. One has only to listen to talk shows, read the letters to the editors columns in newspapers and follow the drift of dinner conversations, to acknowledge how abidingly this trend persists.

If we might be allowed to be parochial and use an image from my own faith tradition; but one which is none the less widely known because it appears in one form or another on millions of Christmas cards. It is helped to make the practical nexus between hope and leadership in South Africa. We can make a contribution to this national process. The reflections of Timothy Radcliffe, who writes on the responsibility of being bearers of hope, can be both informative and inspirational in this regard. Radcliffe applies one of the great paintings of the Annunciation as a reference. The painting illustrates the Virgin Mary's image sitting with a book on her lap, while reading it. The Angel Gabriel is hovering behind her, and then begins the conversation that initiates a new moment of hope for the world. The palace or the portals of power does not bring hope for the world. However, the Virgin Mary's positive response introduces The Hope for the world - the 'yes' response, spoken deep within the life of a woman, a virgin who is ranked amongst the Anawim, the poor. This moment witnessed a new epoch in our history.

Radcliffe's observation helped him to link hope to (i) attentiveness/study; (ii) creativity / conversation and dialogue; and (iii) a transformed perspective of history. His critique facilitates our understanding of the hope that history holds, from the perspective of the 'bottom' and not from the 'top'.

Leadership are at the cutting edge of the world's deepest pain and suffering. Leaders today are challenged to transform the world by renewing their vocation. Religious leaders should become students again on many different levels and in many different ways. They should never cease being students, and be receptive to the unfolding of mystery.

We cannot find appropriate answers if we have not asked the correct questions and both demand study. Radcliffe, however, makes an even sharper point. He posits that history is scarred because study is left out of the equation. He writes:

We live in a culture that has lost its confidence that study is a worthwhile activity and which honestly doubts that debates can bring us to the truth for which we long. If our century has been marked by violence, it is surely because it has lost confidence in our ability to attain the truth together.

Violence is the only resort to a culture which has no trust in a shared search for truth. Dachau, Hiroshima, Rwanda, Bosnia, these are all symbols of the collapse of a belief in the possibility of building a common human home through dialogue.

And so an intellectual understanding and a deep dialogue with others, with other insights, other ideologies, are critical gifts that we are compelled to foster and then to bring to the deeper life of the nation. Many of the problems and the continuance of the fissures and distrust in our country is rooted in the fact that opinions are stated as truths and worse still are opinions that are born of ignorance, fundamentalism, fear and prejudice.

Now more than ever we need to capture the tradition of study and dialogue as part of our daily discipline. We need to capture again the spirit of Albert the Great's invitation to the 'pleasure of seeking truth together' 'in dulcedine societatis quaerere veritatem.'

Part of our response to the negativity, the pervasive sense of disempowerment and the waves of prejudice and fundamentalism that seems to grip our communities, should lie in the application of Timothy Radcliffe's insight.

It is also very instructive to note that outside of the legislative response, it has been heartening to note the results of a recent survey conducted by the Institute of Justice and Reconciliation, which shows that to day 36% of blacks believe that whites are not racists, and another 22% is uncertain. Only 19% of whites find it hard to imagine being friends with a black fellow citizen. 75% of coloured and Asian South Africans do not think that South Africa would be better off without blacks.

These figures would have been very different a decade ago. Given the debates about race that are so prominent in South Africa at the moment, this data suggests that there is possibly more racial reconciliation happening, or at least that the potential for racial reconciliation is greater than one might have suspected. The summary of the survey asserts that far from being a contented 'rainbow nation', South Africans are in increasing numbers rejecting the racial animosity of the past. The editors say that their data does not support the idea that South Africa is on the precipice of despair and racial irreconciliation. To the contrary they find that many, indeed a majority, seem committed to a multi racial South Africa and many hold attitudes compatible with a harmonious future for the country. This obviously does not suggest that important issues do not continue to face the country and that South Africans are divided on these issues according to race. There may even be an implied common progressive ideological position amongst those who feel some measure of goodwill towards the future. The scenario described above might suggest that there is enough of a foundation, a meaningful common denominator, which would cautiously allow one to be hopeful about the future of the country. This certainly provides reasons for hope at a deeper level than the merely physical.

But the blight of this country and the lingering unease deep in the psyche that still determines behavioural patterns is still largely linked to the reality of racism. It also remains one of the single most sinister spiritual afflictions. It is the one area which needs the most healing.

Despite the very positive findings around reconciliation, the lingering afflictions around some of the subtle cancers of racism still remain and need to be rooted out if we are to witness a country with spiritual health.

Interestingly, Alistair Sparks the veteran newspaper editor and political commentator points to this and sees some of the lingering racism posited/symbolized in the two concerns that one hears most often, namely, that of crime and affirmative action. He then states:

But deeper beneath these real concerns about role and identity lies the subliminal unease among many whites, rooted in generations of assumed cultural superiority, that black people can't really run things efficiently, that over time the new SA for all its promises, is bound to go the way of the rest of Africa. So they sit on the sidelines watching for every sign of mismanagement and corruption that will reinforce these dark forebodings. And expecting the worse, they see it. The result is persistent negativism that rankles with the new government and raises its heckles, which in turn prompts accusations of hypersensitivity, so setting up a polarizing vicious cycle.

Turning to the remnants of racism in the black community, he sees the signs of it in the xenophobia and in the scramble for advancement. He says:

Nor is black racism confined to attitudes towards these black immigrants. While it is not the same order as white racism, in that it stems more from a sense of grievance and outrage and not from an ingrained sense of inherent superiority, racist attitudes towards whites is nonetheless a factor that is revealing itself as the inhibitions of oppression fade. It reveals itself in power plays in the scramble for advancement. Black South Africans have a lien on the collective guilt of their white countrymen, which equips them with a devastating weapon with which to demolish any white competitor for a job, or white critic of the government. All they have to do is label it racist. It is a charge that cannot be credibly denied, for no racist in history has ever admitted the fact. There is no defence.

Whether one agrees with the entire analysis or not, it must be admitted that an area of unease, of potential stress exists in this domain. This situation could in a worst case scenario, prejudice the rainbow nation dream. Religious leaders are ideally positioned to offer a way forward.

Professor Sampie Terreblanche in his recently published book on The history of inequality in South Africa, has identified, the absence of a proper social structure as a very serious problem. He maintains that the South African population does not constitute a coherent society. 'We do not have the shared values, the common ideological connections, the cross cutting cleavages and the common history necessary to cement the population into some kind of community.' He holds that a lack of the necessary socioeconomic stability and a unifying ideology is indeed manifested in the high levels of violence, crime and lawlessness.

In this regard the late Pope John Paul II gave an insightful lecture to the priests accompanying the members of the San Egidio community. San Egidio consists of a community of lay people dedicated to find ways of making the world a safer and more peaceful place. He called them to the ministry of what he termed 'filoxenia', the love of the other who is different, and for the stranger. It is the opposite of xenophobia. To love the one who is different, to love the stranger is part of the challenge for contemporary leaders. It means to be open to the universal, not to be a prisoner of one's own situation. It is also a way to seek to live without enemies, without having to raise walls at a time when this is a temptation for everyone, especially in the western and advanced societies. The temptation to name enemies is also a reality within religious communities. The Old Testament serves as example in this regard. The prophets of the Old Testament perceived 'the falling of walls' as the sign of the reign of God. Isaiah speaks of the restoration of Jerusalem as the city of open gates. Zechariah speaks of the city without walls as the fruit of Pentecost.

The challenge today, against the above-mentioned background, is to live without enemies and without scapegoats while the temptation of the 'fortress nation' and the 'church refuge' tendencies is growing stronger. This tendency is evident at all ends of the political spectrum of South Africa. The South African situation and history has demonstrated that the enemy can even be an invented one. The presence of the enemy may fill the vacuum of one's own identity and it seems to free individuals from the burden of taking responsibility for their lives and situations.

Over and against this, filoxenia, the love of the stranger, the other, the one who is far away, by contrast represents something that is profoundly intimate, deep within the life and definition of this nation. It refers to the values of bonds, to belonging, to engaging the other, to solidarity.

The Pope emphasised that filoxenia, which refers to welcoming the stranger, is a primary demand for our times. Living together with other people becomes a normal condition of social life; filoxenia can give all of us the taste for living together with the one who is close and the one who is far away.

Filoxenia is something that we as people of goodwill are especially equipped to contribute to the evolving national discourse. Ideology and purely humanist goodwill alone cannot bring it about; it is the work of the Spirit. In a society that is deeply scarred and fragmented and where many are burdened under the yoke of fragmented identities and profound senses of inferiority; it must be true that hope can only properly be restored through reclaiming a sense of our worth and dignity.

The following comment about Nelson Mandela serves as an example of filoxenia:

Our deepest fear is not that we are inadequate. Our deepest fear is that we are powerful beyond measure. It is our light, not our darkness, that most frightens us. We ask ourselves: "Who am I to be brilliant, gorgeous, talented, fabulous?" Actually, who are we not to be? You are a child of God. Your playing small does not serve the world. There's nothing enlightened about shrinking so that other people won't feel insecure around you. We're all meant to shine as children do. We were born to make manifest the glory of God that is within us. It's not just in some of us; it's in everyone. And as we let our own light shine we unconsciously give other people permission to do the same. As we are liberated from our own fear, our presence automatically liberates others.

Nelson Mandela exemplifies filoxenia which is helpful for the healing process in South Africa. The South African society requires a ministry of hope and the gift of deep healing. The diverse South African racial groups need to learn to live with each other and should build 'little communities of the beloved', as Martin Luther King once called it. This is surely the priority which leadership should be focussing on. It is likewise a great challenge to be courageous and to move beyond mere caution.

Cardinal Suenens apparently loved to tell the story which Pope John XXIII had told him of his own secretary, Msgr. Capovilla's less than enthusiastic reaction to the proposal of the calling of the Second Vatican Council. The Pope said to him, "You are saying to yourself, the Pope is too old for this sort of adventure. But Don Loris, you are too cautious! When we believe that an inspiration comes to us from the Holy Spirit, we must follow it. What happens after that is not our responsibility."

The Pope's comment must have reminded Suenens of a favourite memory of his own bishop when he was a seminarian. Cardinal Mercier had told the young Suenens one of his favourite quotes from Bishop Pie of Poitiers: "When caution is everywhere, courage is nowhere to be found. Our ancestors were not so quiescent, we shall die of prudence yet, you'll see."

To be a leader in South Africa today demands no less than to lift, with healing hands, the bruised and beaten to a higher and nobler life, to be custodians of those critical beacons of hope and to live prophetically the spirit of courage rather than succumb to the demon of caution, so that together we can indeed create a better life for all.

 [To Contents Page](#)

📍 Prof Sandy Lazarus:

A Community Psychology Perspective

A Personal Location And Lens

This exploration is coloured by a number of 'lenses' which frame Lazarus' (2006) world-view and therefore views on the challenges concerned, the primary one being her professional approach as a community psychologist. A community psychologist is a person who partners with communities to enhance their development or quality of life through the application of psychological theories, principles and research. More specifically, such a psychologist could be involved in:

- ◆ Extending mental health services to all, particularly previously and currently disadvantaged and oppressed groups;
- ◆ Transforming the way psychosocial problems and solutions are conceptualized, providing a contextual analysis that takes cognizance of local knowledges and social issues;
- ◆ Transforming psychological service delivery to include systemic interventions;
- ◆ Redefining the role of psychologists towards a broader public health portfolio with a focus on preventative and health promotive strategies that embrace various functions, including that of advocacy, lobbying, community mobilization, community networking, and policy formulation.

(Seedat, Duncan & Lazarus, 2001)



The central theme running through this, which highlights the key characteristics of a community psychology perspective, is the focus on understanding and responding to the person-in-context. This means that the relationship between intra-psychic, inter-personal, and broader systemic factors need to be understood when attempting to solve problems and foster positive development. This also means that these same factors need to be 'targeted' in any process of transformation. In summary, this means that we need to facilitate both personal and social transformation simultaneously.

A further central feature of community psychology as a field of activity is its emphasis on building a 'sense of community' (Rappaport & Seidman, 2000). A supportive community environment is a key 'health determinant'. Health determinants include a "range of personal, social, economic and environmental factors which determine the health status of individuals or populations" (WHO, in Department of Health, 2006). This relates to conditions that need to be in place to promote the well-being of all people (Department of Health, 2006).

Most of my own personal work as a community psychologist has been pursued within the health and education contexts in South Africa. More specifically, she have been centrally involved in the development of policy in the area of inclusive education and education support services in this context (Department of Education, 1998; 2001). More recently, she has been exploring how indigenous knowledges can contribute to the development of more effective support services in education. This exploration has included engagement with indigenous knowledges from various communities, including an exploratory study within Native American contexts (Lazarus, 2004). More recently, this exploration of indigenous knowledges has focused on the African and South African context, with a particular focus on different views of and approaches to well-being and healing in this context (Lazarus et al., 2005).

Conducting research in the area of indigenous knowledge, within Native American contexts and here in South Africa, has once again highlighted the deep pain and damage that has occurred in South Africa, Africa and elsewhere through colonialism. It has also highlighted the massive challenge we face as a human race to learn and to listen to and respect each other's views and worldviews. This challenge, she argues, is central to the task of developing ethical leadership to promote moral transformation of society.

In addition to the community psychology lens described briefly above, her exploration of the challenges of developing ethical leadership is influenced by her exposure to various forms of leadership training in South Africa.

At an early age she was exposed to youth leadership training, primarily through her work in the Christian Institute of South Africa, and her training and work within the National Youth Leadership Program (NYLTP) in South Africa. These experiences exposed her to the challenges of developing leadership, in herself and others, that was specifically geared towards social transformation within the anti-apartheid struggle. These experiences also exposed her to diverse worldviews, including different religious traditions and racial and cultural realities in South Africa. Over the last 20 years, her community-based leadership training experience has expanded to focus more specifically on the development of leaders within the education setting.

Moral Formation And Transformation

As mentioned above, the ELP's vision of a "morally transformed society through ethical leadership" forms the framework for this discussion. We will first define key concepts, before looking at the challenges of developing ethical leadership to promote the development of a morally transformed society.

Ethics And Morality

It seems that the terms 'ethics' and 'morality' are directly linked and often used interchangeably. Pence (2000:19) refers to ethics as "the branch of philosophy that investigates and creates theories about the nature of right and wrong, duty, obligation, freedom, virtue, and other issues where sentient beings can be harmed or helped". According to Pence (2000:35), morality is what "people believe to be right or wrong, or how they in fact act" while ethics is "the study of how they should act". Rachels (2003:14) states that "morality is, at the very least, the effort to guide one's conduct by reason – that is, to do what there are the best reasons for doing – while giving equal weight to the interests of each individual who will be affected by what one does".

Different Perspectives And Theories

"Moral philosophy is the attempt to achieve a systematic understanding of the nature of morality and what it requires of us – in Socrates's words, of 'how we ought to live', and why"

(Rachels, 2003:1).

Over the centuries, philosophers have taken different positions when trying to answer these questions.

Some have adopted an approach referred to as 'moral pluralism' which holds that there are a number of views about morality. This approach encourages tolerance when discussing ethical issues. This is directly linked to the concept of ethical or moral relativism which, according to Pence (2000:19), refers to "the ethical theory that denies the existence of universal moral truths and proposes that right and wrong must be defined variously, based on differences in cultural norms and mores. What is morally right is 'relative to' one's society and time in history, not absolute across time and cultures". Different cultures have different moral codes and therefore views of what is right action. This view challenges the belief in the objectivity and universality of moral truth (simplistic absolutism), and promotes an "attitude of tolerance toward the practices of other cultures" (Rachels, 2003:19). However, despite these arguments, many argue that it does appear that all cultures have some values in common (Rachels, 2003).

Another key theme in moral philosophy that relates to the focus for this chapter is the distinction often made between 'virtues' and 'doing one's duties or obligation'. Pence (2000:54) talks about virtues as referring to "excellences of character that include (as the cardinal virtues) courage, wisdom, self-control, and justice, as well as other admirable traits such as loyalty and compassion". The central questions of the ethics of virtue are therefore about character, focusing on what traits of character make one a good person.

"Theories of obligation, on the other hand, emphasize impartial duty: They typically picture the moral agent as one who listens to reason, figures out the right thing to do, and does it"

(Rachels, 2003:172).

Rachels (2003) refers also to an alternative 'ethics of care' approach emerging from feminist theorists. "The ethics of care ... begins with a conception of moral life as a network of relationships with specific other people, and it sees 'living well' as caring for those people, attending to their needs, and keeping faith with them" (Rachels, 2003:168). This is an important development within the context of South Africa where the notion of 'care' is centrally located in all key policies.

The Challenge Of Embracing Diversity

The above distinctions and debates are relevant for Lazarus's focus – particularly within the context of an overt commitment to 'embracing diversity', within the ELP, and in South Africa as a whole. This locates the project within a relativist paradigm and brings with it the need for (at the very least) tolerance of other perspectives, and (ideally) a real openness to engaging with other views and allowing oneself to be transformed. This is not an easy challenge.

This challenge includes being conscious of how Anglo-Euro-American approaches have and still do dominate the moral philosophical debates! The current, and growing, literature and discussions around indigenous knowledge highlight these issues very well.

The concept of indigenous knowledges (Lazarus has added the 's' to emphasize that we have more than one in South Africa!), refers to:

"that knowledge that is held and used by a people who identify themselves as indigenous of a place based on a combination of cultural distinctiveness and prior territorial occupancy relative to a more recently arrived population with its own distinct and subsequently dominant culture"

(Hoppers, 2003:7)

Mbigi (2005), in his book on African leadership, highlights the importance of African indigenous knowledge and expertise which are still predominant in the organic, holistic African worldview, despite South Africa's colonialist history. He talks about this worldview being characterized by the inter-dependent values of ubuntu. Mbigi refers to Archbishop Tutu's (1995) definition of ubuntu:

"Africans have a thing called UBUNTU; it is about the essence of being human; it is part of the gift that Africa is going to give to the world. It embraces hospitality, caring about others, being willing to go that extra mile for the sake of another. We believe that a person is a person through other persons; that my humanity is caught up and bound up in yours. When I dehumanize you, I inexorably dehumanize myself. The solitary human being is a contradiction in terms, and therefore you seek to work for the common good because your humanity comes into its own in community, in belonging"

(in Mbigi, 2005:67).

The importance of indigenous knowledges in South Africa, and, in particular, the African concept of 'ubuntu', have been highlighted, as many approaches to leadership in Africa are currently being developed within this framework. The link between this view of the world and value framework and leadership skills and development are elaborated on below. It should be noted, however, that although this is probably the dominant value worldview and framework in South Africa, it does not represent a universal 'South African' perspective. The challenge of really listening to and engaging with one another around these issues remains!

Moral Formation And Transformation

There is a distinction between moral formation and transformation.

The concept and process of moral formation is dealt with in some detail in psychological development theories, with Kohlberg's six stages of moral development perhaps being the most well known. These stages include: (a) the stage of punishment and obedience, (b) the stage of individual instrumental purpose and exchange, (c) the stage of mutual interpersonal expectations, relationships, and conformity, (d) the stage of social system and conscience maintenance, (e) the stage of prior rights and social contract or utility, and (f) the stage of universal ethical principles.

Kohlberg's stage theory, and other related theories on moral development, is often used as a basis for the development of children and students in schools. It should be noted, however, that many have highlighted the limitations of this perspective which is primarily a humanistic and cognitively orientated project influenced by behaviourism (Rachels, 2003). There are currently developments in psychology where attempts are being made to look at moral development from other perspectives, drawing on theorists such as Vygotsky to explore how moral development can be mediated (Green, 2006). This latter approach focuses on the mediation of moral development rather than on 'moral teaching'.

When it comes to the concept of moral transformation, we are touching on deep personal and social processes of change. From a psychological point of view, psychodynamic theories (e.g. Freud, Jung) focus on deep inner transformation, relating particularly to making the unconscious (invisible) conscious (visible). This is an important approach when considering the challenges of facilitating personal transformation. From a sociological point of view, transformation is a concept usually linked to critical social theories (e.g. Habermas) where the focus is on uncovering (making visible) oppressive interpersonal and social dynamics and thereby liberating people to become active democratic agents in society.

The challenge of facilitating personal and social change will be dealt with in some detail in the section below.

Facilitating Moral Transformation

This section of the chapter draws specifically from the community psychology perspective highlighted above. In particular, the 'starting point' when considering the challenges of facilitating moral formation and transformation, is the assumption that change needs to occur at both individual and societal levels.

Furthermore, my own perspective on the person-society relationships is that it comprises a dynamic, cyclic, mutually transformative relationship. This fits with a critical social theoretical framework. This means that strategies for change or transformation need to include both person-centred and environment/social-centred strategies. It also means that a major challenge facing South Africa as it strives to develop into a 'morally transformed society' is to address the breakdown in 'community', and, more positively speaking, the challenge of developing a strong 'sense of community' where people feel they belong and have control over their lives.

Inside-out: Facilitating Personal Development

The first set of challenges relates to the need to facilitate personal development. This could be pursued in a number of ways, and could focus on various aspects. We suggest the following areas of focus, within the context of the challenge of promoting moral formation and transformation in South Africa.

Before identifying what she believes are some important aspects of facilitating personal development, we stress that this challenge relates to deep processes of change that cannot happen overnight. It also demands of all of us the courage to face ourselves and to grow. I personally believe that, deep down, this is what we want for ourselves, but, I also believe that the traumas and hurts of the past have made it very difficult for most of South Africans to open themselves to this exciting journey. It is important, therefore, that when 'facing ourselves', South Africans try to acknowledge and heal the rage and hurt. Unless they do this, they will project these damaged aspects of themselves onto others and our society as a whole (this reflects some aspects of psychodynamic approaches in psychology).

The following are what we consider to be key aspects of the process of personal development and transformation:

- ◆ Self-reflection
- ◆ Self-knowledge (facing the shadow and light)
- ◆ Self-acceptance
- ◆ Lifelong learning
- ◆ Compassion

In the end, we believe that what we are trying to achieve is the development of caring persons who respect themselves and all sentient beings. (This is a value judgement, but we do believe that it could well be one of the universal truths that bring us all together!)

Outside-in: Facilitating Social Change

At the same time that we are busy trying to develop ourselves and each other, it is important that we become involved in activities that are aimed at transforming the social structures that impact on and 'make us' who we are. In my opinion, this includes:

- Building structures (e.g. laws) to protect and enable;
- Developing conditions to support and foster moral development;
- Social activism, fighting for and against a cause or issue); and
- Identifying and building 'moral determinants' (conditions that need to be in place to foster the development of 'moral people and society')

These aspects of both personal and social transformation will be discussed in a more focused and detailed way when we look at the challenge of developing ethical leadership.

The Role Of Religious And Secular Traditions

What is the role of religious and secular traditions in this process of facilitating personal and social transformation for the purposes of developing a moral society?

From a sociological point of view, social institutions such as the family, education, religion, economy, mass media, and the political system are part of the mixture of spheres of life that frame our living, and 'make us who we are'. Gelderblom (2003:3) defines an institution as "a set of regular behaviour patterns associated with a particular sphere of our lives that is structured by a set of rules". People try to follow certain rules of behaviour which are "beliefs about the appropriate way to behave in each of the various activity clusters".

Gelderblom (2003:7) clearly views the relationship between 'persons' and 'institutions' in the way highlighted above. He argues that:

Institutions form our behaviour, but our behaviour also influences our institutions ... institutions change us because they are backed up by social values, by positive and negative sanctions, by powerful people, and by force of habit. On the other hand, we change institutions because without people there would be no institutions, because many rules allow for some leeway of interpretation, and because we can understand (sociologically) how institutions work in society.

Clearly, formal religions, other philosophical and spiritual frameworks, and cultural and community traditions are important social institutions to consider when looking at the challenge of facilitating personal and social transformation. Religious and other traditions help to clarify and develop the ethical principles and guidelines for daily living. These traditions provide value frameworks, and they also provide a 'community-base' to support development and maintenance of these values, particularly within the context of 'culture'. This latter aspect is extremely important in the context of facilitating a 'sense of community' amongst people.

However, equally important in South Africa, is the political system, and the South African Constitution (1996) in particular. The constitution is, in fact, an example of a national social contract that provides a negotiated value base that informs our behaviour and therefore the moral transformation of our communities. Rachels (2003:144) talks about a social contract as an agreement where "people must agree to the establishment of rules that govern their relations with one another, and they must agree to the establishment of an agency – the state – with the power necessary to enforce those rules". This agreement is called the social contract. Within this contract, "morality consists in the set of rules, governing how people are to treat one another, that rational people will agree to accept, for their mutual benefit, on the condition that others follow those rules as well" (:145).

In addition to the political sphere, the economic conditions within which people are located constitute a powerful institution that needs to be considered when dealing with moral formation and transformation. All efforts at moral transformation will be undermined if we do not consider whether people's economic status and realities are supporting or hindering the development of ethical behaviour. For example, we need to examine the potential contradiction between a strong individualistic message to 'be a success and get ahead', usually interpreted in material terms, and an ethic of community care. A question that relates to this is: "Does our current economic framework and work ethic support community care?"

As with all ethical and moral matters, these matters face us with dilemmas! We have to engage with the contradictions that emerge when we bring 'religious' and other traditions together with the value framework enshrined in the country's Constitution and economic framework. This is a major aspect of the challenge we face as we try to develop a moral society.

Developing Ethical Leadership

Embracing Diverse Approaches To Leadership

In most if not all spheres of life, leadership development is considered to be a key lever for change. This relates to the recognition of the power dynamics in any context, and the central role played by leaders in either supporting or hindering change processes.

It is relevant, therefore, that the Moral Regeneration Movement has identified this area in its overall approach to building a moral society.

Without going into detail, it is important to be aware that there are different approaches to leadership, reflecting different scientific paradigms as well as different world-views. The latter includes Euro-American, Eastern and African perspectives (Mbigi, 2005).

Within that there are also approaches that reflect a specifically indigenous worldview (Lazarus, 2004; Mbigi, 2005). In South Africa, all of these perspectives are relevant and therefore need to engage with one another.

In the South African context, an approach to leadership informed by the African philosophy of ubuntu is important to highlight. This relates to leadership grounded in African values and philosophy, including silence and humility; putting oneself in another's place; being caring; being sincere; getting along with people; understanding what other people want and being willing to give it to them; valuing others and helping them to increase their self-esteem; helping others; and helping one's community (Mbigi, 2005).

Mbigi has identified numerous principles of leadership emerging from this perspective, focusing specifically on the African view on status and importance of the family, a community orientation, a hospitality orientation and mawuya principles, a culture of democracy, and the importance of music and dancing relating to African Nature Spirit Religions.

In his conclusion, Mbigi (2005:218-9) highlights the following key values of African leadership: respect for the dignity of others, group solidarity, teamwork, service to others in the spirit of harmony, and interdependence.

He also emphasizes the following practices emerging from the African leadership paradigm: listening, empathy, persuasion, healing, self-discipline, and consciousness.

Key Aspects Of Leadership

In most books on leadership, one usually encounters lists of personal qualities of good leaders as well as functions they need to form (e.g. Mbigi, 2005; Sterling & Davidoff, 2000). It is interesting to note that this reflects the two major ways of approaching ethics or morality!

One of the challenges of developing an approach to developing ethical leadership that embraces diversity is to examine and develop a common understanding of the qualities and functions of leaders in the South African context.

We will first highlight some key aspects of leadership drawn from literature and my own experience, commencing with the two aspects specifically highlighted by ELP (2006):

“Leaders at all levels and in all sectors of society are perceived as role models and should therefore be persons of integrity, and good examples, who themselves inspire to set the standard for ‘morality’ ”

- ⑥ Being a role model
- ⑥ Bringing core values to life
- ⑥ Inspiring others... drawing people together around a vision
- ⑥ Building a positive culture around common values
- ⑥ Reflecting and facilitating positive interpersonal relations and teamwork
- ⑥ Respecting and valuing oneself and others
- ⑥ Listening ...
- ⑥ Being sensitive to needs ... of self, others and society
- ⑥ Being responsive to needs ... of self, others and society
- ⑥ Deciding and taking action
- ⑥ Being flexible
- ⑥ Working with tensions
- ⑥ Facilitating personal and social change

Each of the above constitutes a paper in itself! However, given the purpose of this particular chapter, we briefly focus on one key aspect: facilitating personal and social transformation. Many of the other aspects of leadership link directly with this challenge.

Facilitating Personal And Social Transformation

“The role of leadership throughout the ages has been to enable development or progress in society, communities and organizations, and therefore the ultimate task of leadership in any given society is that of transformation. Effective leadership must have the capacity to transform individuals, societies, communities and institutions by providing role models”

(Mbigi, 2005:1)

Mbigi (2005) emphasizes the role of leadership in promoting personal and social change. The importance of focusing on both personal and social aspects, constituting the core of a community psychology approach, is also emphasized by Rachels (2003:190) who says that we need to “consider both the question of what sorts of actions and social policies would contribute to this goal and the question of what qualities of character are needed to create and sustain individual lives”.

One of the most challenging aspects of facilitating transformation relates to changing mindsets – or facilitating paradigm shifting! As Mbigi (2005:19) says: “It involves total transformation through the creation of cutting-edge ideas and new worldviews, resulting in a major shift of mindsets and the generation of new solutions and perceptions. ... It involves embarking on a path of self-discovery from known shores, moving through the dark mists of the unknown future and beyond the horizon”. The challenge of developing new ‘lenses’ through which one can see the world anew is a very scary prospect for most people. And the ‘how’ of this is even more baffling for those involved in the development business. Yet, this is fundamentally what transformation is all about.

A key challenge for those involved in facilitating moral transformation is therefore to become aware of how to pursue one’s own inner transformation and how to make this possible for others. This, we assume, is a major aspect of the ELP’s work, requiring many spirals of conversation, debate, development and learning. Different approaches and strategies can be pursued to achieve this. One useful approach to consider is the

'mediation of moral development' referred to earlier in this paper (Green, 2006). Another useful perspective from Mbigi (2005) is his argument that African indigenous educational methods can play an important role in creating new consciousness and paradigms, particularly through rituals and ceremonies and storytelling.

What is interesting to me about the above approach is that it focuses less on the 'mind' and more on the 'heart'! Mbigi (2005) in fact refers to Mark Twain who said that: "One learns peoples through the heart, not the eyes or the intellect". My own opinion is that this is at the heart of the challenge of transformation! However, we need to avoid any division between mind and heart in this matter, and rather draw on all our faculties in our attempts to listen and act with wisdom.

We are rightly aware that the above discussion has focused primarily on the personal aspect of change. Although we do believe that this is probably the most important aspect to consider, we would like to remind ourselves and others of the central role of social structures in the process of making us 'who we are' and therefore directly informing moral transformation processes. We conclude this discussion by looking at both of these aspects of development within the context of leadership development.

Developing Ethical Leaders

The Ethical Leadership Project's mission is to "empower a critical number of leaders at all levels of society with knowledge, skills and values to foster moral transformation" (2006).

We briefly highlight what we believe are some key aspects of leadership development, with a particular focus on the challenge of developing 'ethical leaders'. We assume, within the context of this whole discussion, that the concept of 'ethical leaders' refers to people in influential positions who are or could be playing a key role in developing a moral society – reflecting the values considered to be central through a negotiated social contract. Given the importance of both personal and social change in the moral regeneration project, we will focus next on each of these aspects.

Areas Of Focus For Personal Development:

The following aspects are, in own opinion, crucial aspects of a leader's own development. This brief 'list' includes the development of both qualities and abilities relating to pursuing key leadership functions.

◆ **Ongoing self-reflection:**

Developing the ability and habit of reflecting on oneself is a crucial aspect for a person in a leadership position as it provides the 'space' for ongoing learning and growth, and, more importantly, it provides a way of becoming aware of one's own 'shadow' parts so that these are not unconsciously projected onto others. It is also crucially linked to the process of values clarification that is directly linked to the next aspect of leadership development discussed in some detail below.

◆ **Being human ... a 'real' role model**

Probably the most common aspect of leadership and leadership development highlighted in literature (and in the ELP) is the importance of leaders being role models. A common phrase linked to this (which, as an educator and parent, I think is very true) is the belief that children (and bigger people) 'do what we do, not what we say'! It is important, therefore, that, through self-reflection, we become aware of our values so that we can consciously try to be an example to others, and can thereby facilitate the development of a 'moral' culture. However, central to this challenge, in our opinion, is the need for us to be 'human', not 'perfect'. This means that we can make 'mistakes' – and should only be judged on how we respond to our humanness rather than on our ability to act a perfect part!

◆ **Listening, and hearing**

A further crucial aspect of leadership development relates to the ability to listen properly ... to ourselves, and to others. This relates, once again, to being able to be self-reflective (listening to oneself), and to the development of basic counselling skills (listening to and empathizing with others). This includes the challenge of really 'hearing' what others are saying. We refer here to the very difficult challenge of opening oneself up to hearing how other people see the world, from their own particular sociocultural backgrounds and perspectives. This is, we believe, the most fundamental challenge we face as we try to embrace diversity.

◆ **Sensitivity to needs: self and others**

Relating to the above is the need to develop an intuitive 'sense-itivity' to what we need, and what others need. This is about holistic listening – using all our senses to 'hear' what people need. This is an important aspect of leadership as it enables one to engage directly with personal interests and it enables one to make wise judgments about what is needed in response.

◆ **Responding with wisdom: Listening to the head and heart**

Most of the above aspects reflect a more 'receptive' mode of leadership, emphasized particularly by Taoist approaches from the 'East'. The emphasis on the 'receptive' aspects is important as it is from these depths that one can more ably make wise decisions for one's people. This decision making should, we believe, draw on both the 'head and heart'.

◆ **Developing the Courage ... to be and to do ...**

One needs courage to make decisions, particularly those that are not popular with everyone, and to act on those decisions. Thus, leaders need to develop the inner strength to trust their judgments and to risk taking a stand. This is often one of the most difficult aspects of ethical leadership as the 'answers' are seldom 'black or white' and, in the end, require some form of judgment.

◆ **Bubble ... inspire ...**

Finally, and to draw on one of the the ELP's own emphases, leaders need to be able to inspire others. How does this relate to one's own development as a leader? We argue that it links to our ability to uncover our own passions and compassions so that we can spontaneously share our 'light' with others. No amount of instructions and guidelines can compare with the effect of an inspiring leader whose 'vibe' draws us into a way of being in the world.

Areas Of Focus For Social Change:

We hold that the following aspects of leadership development focus on some crucial aspects of leadership qualities, abilities and functions that are required to enable a leader to facilitate change within a system(s).

⑥ **Listening ... sensing the needs of the system**

'Holistic listening' referred to above also refers to an ability to understand the dynamics of the systems of which we are part. This includes the need to become knowledgeable of relevant psycho-sociological theories that can help us to make sense of the dynamics around us. This includes an understanding of broader social theories that help us to understand what can promote and hinder the development of a 'morally transformed' community and society.

⑥ **Identifying the 'moral determinants'**

Directly linked to the above is a need to know 'what needs to be in place' to promote a morally acceptable community. The concept of 'health determinants' is relevant on this point, in light of my own experience in the health sector. If one wishes to promote health, then one needs to know what the determinants of health are, and then, on the basis of that, one needs to develop the people and structures to support that vision. In the context of this chapter's focus, this means that ethical leaders need to be able to identify the 'moral determinants' in relation to the set of values agreed upon.

⑥ **Developing the structures needed to support moral formation and transformation**

On the basis of having identified the 'moral determinants', an important part of leadership development should focus on understanding and developing strategies to set up supportive structures that will both protect and enable people to move in the desired direction. This includes political and economic structures that support the development of certain values and norms.

⑥ **Building a 'moral' culture**

One major 'structure' that needs to be developed to support and enable people to move in the desired direction is 'culture'. We are referring to a broader 'South African culture' as well as more specific cultures relating to various population group distinctions, as well as local community, family and organizational cultures. Building ethical leadership requires a particular focus on the development of values and norms (the bedrock of culture) that support moral formation and transformation. Leadership development programs therefore need to equip leaders to be able to analyse existing values and norms (using various values clarification exercises) and to assist people and groups to engage in a process of identifying where they want to go, within the context of developing a common vision and mission. This relates directly to the idea of developing social contracts that, within organizational terms, are often pursued through the development of Codes of Conduct.

Building community

We need 'community' to hold us as we confront ourselves and the challenges of working and living with others. Leaders therefore need to identify the factors that break down communities, and, conversely, the conditions that need to be in place to build a sense of community – within local as well as broader societal contexts. This includes deep analyses of and comprehensive responses to the factors that place people at risk, and so-called 'risk behaviours' such as alcoholism and violence, so endemic in our society.

Conclusion

The community psychology 'thread' that we have tried to hold throughout this chapter has fundamentally been about the need to consider both 'personal and social' aspects of development, and therefore the need to look at how to promote inner and outer transformation. This is clearly no easy task! If we are to seriously address the challenge of facilitating the deep inner transformation required to develop the values and norms to support a 'moral society', as well as the massive challenge of confronting social factors that act against moral behaviour, we will need to be courageous and committed to a common vision, hopefully based on the idea of building a respecting and caring society.

Religious leaders, and leaders of other secular traditions, do and can play a central part in this endeavour. Whether we like it or not, those of us in leadership positions in our community and society are viewed as 'role models' and therefore have to accept the social responsibility of reflecting the values and practices we are trying to promote as we try to grow from the ashes of apartheid into a genuinely caring society. This 'model' needs to be warm-blooded – reflecting the real struggles related to being human – as much as it needs to show ways forward through these struggles.

And, as leaders, we need to mediate growth and transformation of others and our society through creative education strategies that facilitate deep learning and transformation, and through political strategies that engage with all the social institutions that help to 'make us who we are'.

There is evidence (see Mail and Guardian, 13 April, 2006) that more and more people are looking to religions and various other spiritual/philosophical traditions to provide meaning, hope and guidance – in a world that seems to have 'lost the plot' in so many ways. Leaders of these traditions have an enormous responsibility and opportunity to play a role in providing this guidance. We conclude with the hope that such leaders will pursue a liberatory agenda in this process, supporting a 'critical' rather than conservatively conforming approach to moral development, and supporting a dialogue between all the people of South Africa around these central challenges.

 [To Contents Page](#)

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 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 3: Interfaith Reflections

📍 **Dr Nokuzolo Mndende-Icamagu:**

An African Religion's Response

Introduction

The shift from a communal way of life to individualism has resulted in the moral decay in our country. The focus on individual rights more than communal rights has made people to ignore the moral principles and only think about what one would achieve for his or her own interests irrespective of the effects of his actions to other people. Individual rights, though they are fundamental for the social, economic, physical, and spiritual life of each individual, they do not hang in air, they are shaped up, developed and strengthened by various factors around other people, circumstances during growth, and the environment where one grows.

Individual rights, if not monitored could jeopardize the rights of other people.

Individual rights, if not based on the laws and taboos that are prescribed by the spiritual world whose foundation is communal rights, could result the violation of the rights of the whole community.



When a criminal is arrested, the law dictates that the police must make it a point to dramatize this statement 'You have got a right to remain silent, you have a right for a lawyer'. They even advise the criminal that 'anything that s/he says may be used against him/her' - that is another right. This means that during arrest the first thing to consider is not the crime committed and the rights of the community affected, but only the rights of the criminal. If the rights of the criminal are not read before the arrest the lawyers whose job is mainly to defend the lawbreakers could make a winning case and the criminal may go free. This is a good example which illustrates that the shift is for individual rights instead of community rights.

In African Religion individualism is discouraged. It is regarded as inhuman. The communal way of life is central and allows people to share joys, blessings, sorrows, and burdens together. That is why 'umntu ngumntu ngabantu' is generally used to emphasize the value of community. Harmony within oneself, clan, society, nature and the spiritual world forms the basis of a healthy society. To achieve harmony, respect is fundamental - respect of oneself, other people, the elderly and the spiritual world. What is right and wrong is assessed by its impact on other people.

The Elderly

The elderly is expected to lead by example. African Religion is a clan-based religion. In each clan there are special people, male or female, who have special duties to play depending on the birthright. Though the first-born male or woman has special roles in the well being of their clans, there is no way that they could be autocratic as they themselves are under the leadership of the clan. If the first-born male is a drunkard or does not obey the rules of purity before any clan ritual, he is replaced by another person chosen by the clan. This means that though he is in the high ruling class, if he is acting against the clan norms he is replaced.

Today we find elderly people who, because of their rights as elders, would open shops called 'adult shops' and outside it is written 'safe sex'. The questions: What message is being sent to the community? and,

Where does adulthood begin and according to which standards? No one could challenge the existence of such shops. It is the right of those individuals to open them, irrespective of the moral consequences of those who come in and out of such shops. In some communities, one is an adult once they are over eighteen years or twenty one years. To African Religion one becomes an adult once they has grand children. Adults may not make unilateral decisions, they may however suggest anything to the clan members to advise them on.

Before the advent of the Roman-Dutch law any immoral case in African Religion was dealt with by the group of people who were affected so that justice is done to all. A rape case, for instance, was not necessarily dominated by males because no one would have known which male person could have been capable of the rape. Rape cases were mainly dealt with by women who were and still are always victims of such immoral acts. Isihewula minimized rape cases.

In cases of adultery, women were not alone humiliated, but their husbands were humiliated too, so that they could learn the lesson never to repeat the crimes.

In other words, an individual could have a wife and children but does not have absolute authority over his family, he is under the guidance of his clan, and society. Breaking the law was punishable.

The Youth

The youth is expected to be ambassadors of their parents, clans, communities and their religion. A young person when is being introduced is never addressed as an individual; they are a reflection of their parents. That is why they are always referred to in their parent/s name/s, like Nokuzola's son or Sakhivo's daughter.

The young people are in a religious journey; therefore they need guidance from the elderly. They are expected to perform some special duties in the community. Adulthood is a process and it does not come when one reaches the age of twenty one as is the case in other communities. In fact age does not make one an adult, it is responsibilities acted out that make one an adult. A man whose initiation ritual was performed and has a stable family and has his own homestead could be regarded as mature though he is thirty years old. A boy even if he is thirty years old can never be regarded as an adult, is still immature and unreliable until he undergoes initiation and be taught how to become an adult.

Nowadays in the townships uninitiated boys may own homes. The result may be that they could be disrespectful towards their fellow community members. They are immature 'community leaders' and may be refer to their neighbours as 'meli' from the word 'mmelwane' (neighbour) irrespective of the age differences between them, and that is anti-African. The term 'meli' can never be used by people of different age groups, and certainly not a child to a father or vice versa.

Justice System

The current problems of moral degeneration will continue as long as South Africa imposes one justice system. One may argue that the justice system is changing for the better because it is including other so called 'customary' laws. Even that is not enough as these are included as addendums of the Roman-Dutch law or even their inclusion is measured using the same Roman-Dutch law principles.

Government Policies

It is unfortunate that the different Religious societies are not involved during policy formulations, as they would play quite a significant role. The government may think that it is helping people of the country, but its policies are not always being monitored. The issue of abortion for instance was approved by government irrespective of the objections of some religions. Today there are evidence of numerous advertisements on 'Safe abortions'. Some people who have abortion clinics are making money under the false pretence that they are serving the communities.

The next example may be helpful to illustrate the point above. A supermarket owner may have a genuine compliant if the business is not doing well. It means that the supermarket is not attracting people to buy food. However if an abortion clinic complains of not having good business, it would indirectly imply that it does not attract people to 'kill innocent unborn babies'. The second example would illustrate immorality of the worst degree.

Conclusion

To conclude, communal life is therefore very important in African Religion. Disturbing harmony and showing disrespect to living beings are punishable acts. The punishment comes from the Creator and is distributed by the ancestors.

We can all talk about ubuntu, but ubuntu involves many aspects of life, it is very broad. We should all think about re-looking at the way individual rights are being implemented and how it affects communities. A farmer for example, may disallow his workers property rights, because it may be his father's land and he might be the rightful owner. Workers may claim that their ancestor's graves are on the farmer's land, which they would like to be respected. They however would be chased out because the farmer would only consider his individual rights. The rights of the community are consequently being ignored. The farmer however may not demonstrate any sincerity for the children who have to sleep on empty stomachs in the streets. Some children or elderly people may even die of cold and hunger as a direct consequence. There are also certain scenario's where women and children are being abuse because of some newly acquired or selfish interpretation of culture.

The Religious communities in the country should take a more active part in policy formulations and implementation. Immorality in the country could take on exponential proportions if it is not monitored and countered.

 [To Contents Page](#)

🕊️ Rabbi Matthew Liebenberg:

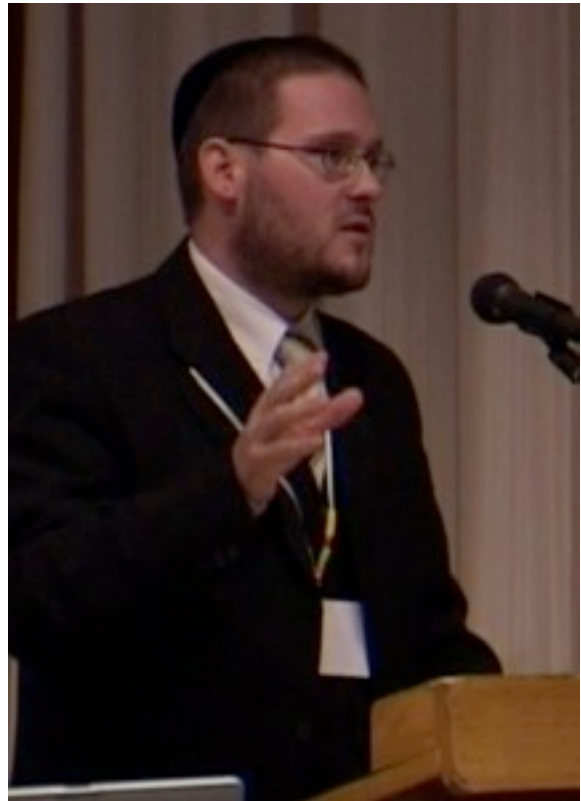
Religion Building Ethical Leadership In A Democratic Civil Society

Spiritual Leader; Claremont Wynberg Hebrew Congregation; Chairman of the Rabbinical Association of the Western Cape

Introduction

Chief Rabbi Dr Warren Goldstein writes in the foreword to his recently published book, "Defending the Human Spirit – Jewish Law's Vision for a Moral Society" that:

Jewish Law, recorded in the Torah and the Talmud, has for more than three thousand, three hundred years been ahead of its time in defending the human spirit from abuse by the powerful. This book examines Jewish Law's proud record on a number of major human rights issues, including political power, oppression of women, criminal justice and poverty, revealing unique Torah insights for Western Law and the modern world. What is particularly remarkable about this amazing phenomenon is that Jewish Law is ancient. The pages of this book are filled with the voices of Jewish legal scholars from the present stretching all the way back to 1313 B.C.E. when G-d revealed the Torah at Mount Sinai. These voices speak with relevance and vitality as if they were spoken today.



In this remarkable doctoral thesis, Rabbi Goldstein, who is also an advocate, proves beyond a shadow of a doubt that not only is Judaism as a religion relevant to modern society, but that it was even ahead of its time on major issues such as human rights, abuse of women and civil matters. For example, he demonstrates that marital rape has always been expressly forbidden in Jewish Law, whereas in most legal systems, this was only declared a crime in the last two decades. Any one who reads this fascinating work will soon be aware that religion, and Judaism in particular, is highly relevant to a democratic, secular society. The Chief Rabbi argues convincingly that religion is highly relevant in our modern society. His book should be consulted by every person who believes in the Moral Regeneration Movement.

LEADERSHIP AS DEFINED BY JEWISH LAW AND PHILOSOPHY

This chapter will describe several principles that Judaism sets down in regards ethical leadership and moral formation. These principles are universal and, as such, are not limited to a particular race, culture or creed, but can be applied across the board especially in a democratic society, such as South Africa.

Leadership Is A Responsibility, Not A Privilege

The Talmud (Tractate Horayot 10a) records that the two most remarkable students of Rabbi Yehoshua, namely Rabbi Elazar Chasma and Rabbi Yochanan ben Gudguda, were utterly destitute. His colleague, Raban Gamliel, the spiritual leader of the Jewish people at the time, offered them positions of leadership to ease their financial difficulties. He sent them an offer, and they refused to come for an interview. He sent them a second offer and this time they came. When they arrived Raban Gamliel said to them: "Did you think that when I offered you the first position I was offering you power and prestige? And that is why you refused to come, because of humility and a desire to shun power? Be aware that it is not power that I am offering you but servitude!"

The story demonstrates the first rule of leadership – when someone accepts a leadership position he or she must be convinced that they are now a servant of the people. Their position offers them responsibility and any privileges are merely side-benefits. The truly ethical leader is one who understands that he has sacrificed an aspect of his own personal freedom to serve the people.

This does not necessarily mean that his decisions must be swayed by public opinion, but it implies that he is committed to the job and not to the benefits and privileges that it carries.

A Leader Must Have The Capacity To Appreciate Different Points Of View

When Moses was informed of his imminent death, he put all of his own interests aside and immediately placed a request before G-d (Numbers 27:15-16): "And Moses spoke to G-d saying: O G-d, the Lord of the souls of all flesh, please appoint a leader over the community." He then goes on to enumerate the qualities of the leader he believes will be the most appropriate to take his place.

In the Midrash (Tanchumah) the Rabbis are bothered by Moses' description of G-d as "the Lord of the spirits of all flesh," a phrase that does not appear often in the Torah. They explain that: "Moses said to G-d: The outlooks and personalities of each person are revealed to You, and You know that none of Your children are identical in thought. When I take my leave of them, please, I beg You, appoint over them a leader who can tolerate the personality of each and every person."

Moses' first quality for a successor was one who could work with any type of person, regardless of their personality, outlook to life or nature. It was a tall order, but his disciple Joshua fitted the bill and is described as a man who possessed such a quality.

Moses realized that a leader could follow one of two possible approaches. Either he could attempt to 'equalize' everyone and create a nation of carbon copies or he would seek to understand the differences that exist between people and harness them for the nation's benefit.

Although the first method might seem the easier, it is ultimately doomed to failure because it denies a basic human truth – that we are all different. A leader who attempts to create a nation of people who think like he does is no leader at all. There have always been, and there continue to be, heads of government, corporate leaders, parents, teachers and spouses who go about their daily tasks with a similar philosophy – "How can I get my constituents/my employees/my children/my students/my spouse to think and act as I do?"

Often this is a sub-conscious process, but it can also be an explicit policy. It is probably reasonable to say that most people have either been subject to such a policy or have been the ones implementing it. Parents of teenagers will sympathize with such an approach, as will husbands and wives who are caught up in constant quarreling!

The Reader's Digest of November 2001 featured a cartoon that parodied this approach.

A managing director is speaking to the head of the firm's human resource department and instructs her: "We need to focus on diversity. Your goal is to hire people who all look different, but think just like me!"

Our Sages tell us just the opposite:

"Just as no two people look the same, so too do no two people think the same!"

This is why, in the presence of a large gathering, we are instructed to recite the blessing praising G-d as "the knower of secrets," because only He knows what is in the heart of each and every member of that seemingly homogenous crowd.

This principle flies in the face of racists, bigots and people who discriminate against others on the grounds of gender, colour or financial standing.

A Leader Must Be Prepared To Admit His Mistakes And Correct Them

When Jews worshipped G-d in the Holy Temple in Jerusalem by means of sacrifices, there was an offering referred to as the chatat, or sin-offering. Individuals or groups who had inadvertently erred in very serious matters of Jewish Law brought this. In other words, after having undergone the necessary process of repentance, the erstwhile sinner would complete his reconciliation by taking this offering to the Temple. In the fourth chapter of Leviticus, the Torah describes the different sin-offerings that were required by communities,

individuals, the High Priest and the king, or other temporal leader. In every case the Torah introduces the subject with the word: "If the High Priest/ congregation/an individual commits a sin," they shall bring the relevant sin offering. However, in reference to the sin-offering of the leader/king, the Torah uses the word 'asher' which most commentators translate as meaning "when the leader sins" he shall bring the following sin-offering, etc. Some extrapolate from here that unlike the other groups and individuals described, it is not a question if a leader will sin, but when he will sin, because the power that comes with the position inevitably leads to sin, if only inadvertent.

However, the famous French biblical commentator, Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac (Rashi) notes that the word 'asher' can also mean 'praiseworthy.' Hence, the phrase would read: "Praiseworthy is the leader who sins and brings a sin-offering." Judaism does not expect leaders to be perfect, but it does expect them to realize their errors and correct them.

Too many modern leaders project an arrogant air of infallibility that only serves to alienate them from their constituents. The ethical leader will endeavour not to abuse his power, but if he does, he will rectify the problem swiftly and with a degree of contrition.

A Leader Must Realize That There Is A Greater Authority Than His Own

In the book of Deuteronomy (Chapter 18) the Torah outlines the responsibilities and duties of the monarch. The monarch was required to carry with him at all times a miniature Torah scroll as a reminder that his powers were based on biblical legislation and that he could never override Jewish Law. Furthermore, the monarch was answerable to the Sanhedrin; the highest judicial body in the country and his decisions could not conflict with theirs.

Although the above laws are unique to the Jewish monarch, the true ethical leader will similarly realize that he is not the last word and the highest power in the land. His position is divinely ordained (in fact, the Talmud points out that all positions are divinely ordained, even those of simple blue collar workers) and, as such, he must carry out the dictates of his job with good faith. And just as the ancient monarch was answerable to the Supreme Court, so too is the ethical leader answerable to the High Court of the land and ultimately to the constitution and its bill of rights.

A Leader Must Rule Himself Before He Rules Others

In the same passage in Deuteronomy, the Torah indicates that despite the fact that he was the sovereign leader of Israel, the monarch's powers were extremely curtailed. For example, the number of wives he could marry was limited as was the extent of his personal fortune and the size of his army. We could view these limitations as a means of curtailing the monarch's sexual, financial and military power. In each case the Torah warns against excess for "it will lead his heart astray." A leader must be focused on the job and not on his or her own desires and lusts.

In Ethics of the Fathers (Chapter 4#1), an ancient ethical and moral treatise, Rabbi Shimon ben Zoma defines a "hero" not as one who conquer others but as one who controls his own inclination. A leader who cannot rule over himself becomes absurd when he attempt to rule over others!

It is vital that every organization, governmental or otherwise, appoints leaders who are moral in their personal conduct and behaviour so that they set a positive example for their constituents.

MORAL FORMATION

Moral formation begins in one's formative years and is a product of home, school and environment. Jewish Law insists that a child's moral education begin before he or she is informed of their religious duties. A child must be taught how to function in society as a contributing member and not as an uncouth savage. Consequently, the moral standards required by Jewish Law are rigorously defined so that parents, teachers and peers can easily grasp them and impart them to their charges.

It is worthwhile noting that traditionally when boys begin to study Talmud in religious schools, they precede with the Tractate that discusses the laws of property rights. In other words, a child must soon become aware of the rights of others and their property, which creates a value system whereby young people learn to respect the rights of others.

Morality and ethical living as defined by Jewish Law is a very broad subject, but it covers, inter alia:

- ◆ Personal and environmental hygiene.
- ◆ The sanctity of speech and the written word – refraining from swearing, slandering others and verbal abuse.
- ◆ Etiquette relating to eating and drinking.
- ◆ Respect for oneself through modest clothing, speech and conduct.
- ◆ Respect for leaders and people in positions of authority, such as teachers, policemen, judges and religious officials.
- ◆ Courtesy and manners.
- ◆ Respect for people of the opposite sex, different races, the aged and the infirm.

To create a moral individual, the society in question must also emphasize the importance of charity and volunteer work. Young people should be encouraged to regularly donate a portion of their savings or allowance and their time to needy causes. The more frequently one gives, the more generous he will become because Judaism believes that “thought follows action.”

CONCLUSION

The modern democratic society brings with it many wonderful opportunities, but also many potential problems. Religion can assist by providing an objective framework of ethical rules and conduct that can be applied even within secular systems, to create individuals that function in a moral way and leaders who are ethical and beyond reproach.

 [To Contents Page](#)

🕒 Tahirih Matthee:

The Bahá'í Faith

The Council of the Bahá'ís of the Western Cape is instrumental in the discussions, debates and deliberation on the broad themes of religion and moral transformation. The Bahá'í Writings may help to set the way forward for a constructive discourse on Ethical leadership in and through Religion. Sharing the Bahá'ís views can facilitate the creation of a safe and enabling space to enhance understanding on:

- 🟢 How religion can help to build ethical leadership in a democratic civil society;
- 🟢 A common vision of how embracing diversity allows for ethical leadership to flourish; and
- 🟢 Identifying the liberative and critical elements of religion, so as to:

- 🕒 learn more about the role of religion in the 21st century;
- 🕒 come to an understanding of how we should understand moral transformation in a secularized society;
- 🕒 gain insight into Religion's role in moral formation and transformation against the backdrop of growth and diversity; and
- 🕒 create an enabling space to unpack the ambiguous potential of religion with regard to moral living, particularly within the context of clear manifestations of a mismatch between theory (scripture) and practice (deeds of discrimination, prejudice, and injustice).



Ethical Leadership In Religion (Interfaith Community)

True leadership from a Bahá'í perspective will demonstrate service to the human family. The Bahá'í service to the human family contributes towards the creation of a better world, our common planetary home.

The inestimable value of religion is that when a man is vitally connected with it, through a real and living belief in it and in the Prophet who brought it, he receives a strength greater than his own which helps him to develop his good characteristics and overcome his bad ones. The whole purpose of religion is to change not only our thoughts but our acts; when we believe in God and His Prophet and His teachings, we find we are growing even though we perhaps thought ourselves incapable of growth and change.

(From a letter written on behalf of the Guardian to an individual believer, October 3, 1934) (Compilations, Lights of Guidance, p. 506)

Good leadership improves the ability to solve difficult problems. Ethical leadership manifests itself when the implementation of the solution is appropriate in the context. The victim or the person in need should identify with the action taken. Bahá'ís refer to this as the **golden rule**. Various Holy scriptures as the following underlines a similar value:

- ◆ In Islam: “No one of you is a believer until he desires for his brother that which he desires for himself”.
- ◆ In Christianity: “Do unto others as you would have them do unto you”.
- ◆ In Judaism: “What is hateful to you, do not to your fellow man. That is the entire Law; the rest is commentary”.
- ◆ In Buddhism: “Hurt not others in ways that you yourself would find hurtful”.
- ◆ And in the Bahá’í Faith: “Blessed is he who preferreth his brother before himself”.

The service aspect of ethical leadership within the interfaith framework is based upon the bedrock of fellowship with all religions and people. The ability of South Africans to move beyond their different theological and scriptural perspectives, in the interest of the common good, is vital for diversity, and the country’s constitution. The general public has an expectation and hope of the religious sector (interfaith community) to embody exemplify leadership by addressing societal needs. The more, the interfaith community learns to consult, share views, seek to understand, and show respect as we try to find solutions, without domination, the more we will begin to bear the fruits of ethical leadership.

South Africans no longer practice their beliefs in isolation in “cacooned’ communities but live their faith amongst the other faith communities. The more we learn to live respectfully and peacefully with each other, and show God-given love towards all people, the more we will collectively learn about ethical leadership. This path is not without challenge, especially if we are traditionally accustomed to doing things in certain and particular ways. We should mature in developing spiritual eyes and ears so that we can hear and see one another appropriately. This approach will assist us to discern and perceive the Divine in each other. South Africans will move beyond seeing persons in their “Muslim”, “Christian” and “Hindu” labels, but as fellow brothers and sisters, who share an Earthly space. Baha’u’lláh states:

Know ye not why We created you all from the same dust? That no one should exalt himself over the other. Ponder at all times in your hearts how ye were created. Since we have created all from one same substance, it is incumbent on you to be even as one soul, to walk with the same feet, eat with the same mouth and dwell in the same land, that from your inmost being, by your deeds and actions, the signs of oneness and the essence of detachment may be made manifest.

The process of good leadership develops a preference for others to ourselves, and makes us aware that we are spiritual beings, as a creation of the Eternal Source. The virtues of kindness, love, compassion, trustworthiness, respect, to mention a few, will manifest as some of the spiritual characteristics of ethical leadership. Bahá’u’lláh in this regard states:

*Son of Being!
Ascribe not to any soul that which thou would’st not have ascribed to thee, and say not that which thou doest not. This is My command unto thee, do thou observe it.*

Religious leaders, within an ethical leadership initiative, as a collective interfaith community, should become exemplary in the way they respond to the Divine within themselves. Where religious leaders work in fellowship, they may illustrate their unity in diversity to their followers in their various Faith communities. This unity has the potential to be very effective not only in terms of the credibility that it will give to interfaith work, but it also provides a foundation for peace in the world. This is spiritual leadership and vision, because the focus is on creating lasting peace through the powerful tool of unity and the love of God. The interfaith community’s leadership comes from the heart, and moves beyond words. The world needs good actions from its religious leaders to whom the vast majority of people turn to when they seek spiritual guidance in times of need.

Ethical leadership has a spiritual foundation. The virtue of humility has an inherent spiritual identity, and strength within the framework of ethical leadership. Humility replaces the self centred ego, and develops the ability to focus on the ideal of creating a peaceful world in which we may serve others. Humility refines individual spiritual growth, and enriches the world with spiritual values in the collective experience of achieving common spiritual and material goals.

The following imperatives for creating the moral fabric of society were adopted and may be helpful for the process of moral transformation in South African.

1. The Language Of The Heart And The Voice Of Conscience

Clearly, the set of capacities necessary for building up the social, economic, and moral fabric of society depends upon the resources of both mind and spirit. The civilizing virtues of honesty, duty and loyalty so central to human progress are cultivated by the language of the heart and the voice of conscience. Legal imperatives and penalties, while essential, are limited in their efficacy. To draw upon the spiritual roots of motivation that lie at the heart of human identity and purpose is to tap the one impulse that can ensure genuine social transformation. From the Bahá'í perspective, then, the emergence of public institutions that engender public trust and that are devoid of corruption is intimately bound up with a process of moral and spiritual development. As Bahá'u'lláh confirms: "So long as one's nature yieldeth unto evil passions, crime and transgression will prevail".

2. The Development Of Critical Skills That Draw On Intellectual And Moral Resources

The capacity of any institution to effect and manage change, and to respond creatively to challenges that lie before it, entails the development of a number of critical skills. These include the ability to maintain a clear perception of social reality and of the forces operating in it; to properly assess the resources of the community; to consult freely and harmoniously as a body and with one's constituency; to realize that every decision has both a material and spiritual dimension; to arrive at decisions in a manner that preserves and promotes institutional unity; to win the confidence, respect and genuine support of those affected by these decisions; to effectively use the energies and diverse talents of the members of the community it serves; to integrate the diversity of initiatives of individuals and groups into one forward movement that benefits all; to uphold standards of fairness and equity; and to implement decisions with an openness and flexibility that avoid all traces of dictatorial behaviour. This constellation of skills must obviously draw on both intellectual and moral resources.

The interfaith community as a sector of society will do well to engage in collective consultation on how it will contribute to the cultivation of the language of the heart and the voice of conscience, and the development of critical skills that draw on intellectual and moral resources.

(Prepared by the Bahá'í International Community and presented at the intergovernmental Global Forum on Fighting Corruption II. The Hague, Netherlands, 28-31 May 2001).

Conclusion

Service to humanity and the development of a better world should be the main goals and objectives of ethical leadership. Responsible individuals in the interfaith community and other role players should make appropriate decisions and actions through consultative processes to create a morally transformed society. We need leadership that can take us out of our comfort zones; who can teach us the habit of listening; who can introduce new approaches to the ones we are used to, detachment from preconceived solutions; and who can instil in us, a good dose of humility. Leadership of this nature should empower society to solve difficult problems with intent and decisiveness.

South Africans live in a wonderful time of possibilities in a wonderful country. The values which South Africans embody may serve as an exemplary beacon of ethical leadership and the enrichment of society's moral fibre. The values of a service-oriented society, our aspiration for a peaceful existence, and the unified vision of our colourful diversity can serve as an inspiration for the rest of the world.

 [To Contents Page](#)

Swami Vidyananda:

Ethical Formation Through Religion

Sanatana Dharma - Hinduism

From the standpoint of Hinduism, God is eternal, and everything that comes from God must be eternal too.

Therefore the created universe and the cosmos are in fact eternal; including the laws that govern the cosmos.

Likewise, within nature there are also laws which govern the human body, the mind. There are eternal truths, morals, and behaviours which we call morals and ethics. All these morals and ethics are revealed time and again in the various scriptures of the world. The same truths are always revealed within the different religious sectors. This verifies the thought that there are eternal laws which govern us.



Figures such as Jesus, Buddha, Allah inspire us because they had a greater inner connection to the divine. The divine is within all of us, and when one makes a deep inner connection within oneself, one will be naturally good, because of the divine essence within one's nature.

The more we tune in to our inner most self, the more we are good; when this takes place we inspire others to do the same. The reason for many people's rejection of religion is the lack of the search for and the enquiring of the self and the discovery of inner divinity; this is why morals and ethics are of importance, as they help in realization of this discovery. By living by the natural laws, we will be able to draw closer to God. God is always the most important aspect in life, as He is in life, and omnipresent. God fills every space of the cosmos and the body. In India there is no place that is more holy than another. There is divinity in all actions, once one realizes this there is no way that one can willfully be harmful to another, because this would lead to harming of the self and injustice to God.

Therefore the basic principles of non-violence: the avoidance of committing bodily or psychological or emotional harm and the avoidance of negative thoughts towards another, and the principle of truth, this involves being honest, truthful as truth comes from God and the act of being truthful brings one closer to God. Lastly the third principle is to move in God, continually remembering the presence of God in all our actions.

When one asks what religion's role in society is; and what the role of the religious leader is; one can say that it is to try and live according to the truths that have been revealed in one's traditions; and to continually look into oneself and seek the very essence as to who one is; and to continually be in the company of those who inspire us to a higher form of life. When one does this and applies these principles, the chances of bad leadership are unlikely.

Religion cannot be separated from life, it is life. The word religion means unity, it is that which unites us with God and life and each other. Anything that creates disharmony is not religion. Religion can never be separated from life. The essence of religion and morality is unity.

 [To Contents Page](#)

⑥ Keith Vermeulen:

Christianity's Role In Morality, Ethics, And Diversity

South African Council of Churches

This chapter addresses Christianity's role in morality, ethics, and diversity. This reflection is not only about "what am I, but who am I?" We need to understand something of the legacy of the past, which is still with us, in order to answer the aforementioned questions.

The quest for freedom in the search for moral transformation in our democracy is of paramount importance. The emphasis on moral transformation and ethical leadership is based on our mutual hope of looking towards the dream of the constitution. This 'hope' which we have of living in complete peace and freedom with one another has as yet not been achieved. We shared the assumption that this goal was reached in 1994, and yet we need to remind ourselves of the moral degeneration that has occurred 13 years after democracy. In the liberation of the people of God within the Scriptures, the Hebrews, wandered the desert for a period of 40 years before finding their freedom - freedom is not unlimited freedom. It is a part of the commonality of our religions. The question here is "what drives the vision of our leadership?"



The South African Council of Churches (SACC hereafter) is an ecumenical community, which sees itself as unifying organization. Religion unites us in goodness and in the belief to discern, understand and share life in the world. The SACC comes from the tradition of the ecumenical movement. The SACC since 1938 had discerned a set of principles for how 300 dominations of Christianity should find guiding principles to meet with issues of oppression and liberation.

Morals are the principles which people of society collectively aspire to and agree to. Ethics is the reflective exercise of the principles put in place after an act has taken place. Etiquette and laws are a custom, and not necessarily morals and do not necessarily depict the moralities of society. We need to acknowledge Arch Bishop Desmond Tutu, the chairperson of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's role, in terms of the direction of the church in South Africa since 1938. Secondly, we need to reflect on the principles of discipline and commitment to the visions we should develop.

It is important for us to discern what we read and hear in the media.

"Cape Town manifests the complex nature of white supremacy, it is a city that continues to be divided through its history of colonial oppression, disposition and thereby race, colour and ethnicity".

It is important to note that while the one commission has dealt with

It is important that one does not assign the issues of politics, theology and economics, the politicians to the theologians to the economists, they are far too important. Philosophy is simply the mindset by which we attach things and the way in which we see and move forward. The ecumenical movement has tried and sympathised with both the Roman Catholic moral thinking and the reformed thinking and the Baptist thinking. The ideological danger of attempting to build a Utopia for ourselves is the facing of an extreme. The World Council of Churches, states that there are certain principles to consider, from the context of underdevelopment and poverty, particularly from theologians who lived in Latin America, a call was made for

responsible involvement in social change in 1938. The challenge addressed tensions between European, North American churches and churches under the domination in the Cold War; the result being the attempt to reconcile the religious social responsibility. It is not enough for Christians to declare the need to bring the good news to the poor, but an important truth is our response to particular situations.

An affirmation by the 300 churches supported for criteria, namely; rights for freedom, rights to sovereignty particularly of dominated nations, rights to the alleviation of poverty and the affirmation of universal welfare, social and political needs towards human development, the affirmation of freedom of expression, the promotion of social order and peace, human security, and a sense of justice understood as equality of opportunity

This focus was given to the changing focus of the global challenges of the prevention of the nuclear war,

The council of churches, which is characterised by the phrase: "All God's people together", are this use of these middle in an interrelated way to analyse their circumstances and g

Our colonial past is still with us, while we are not doing to badly in our political freedoms, it is

We hope that the ethical leadership that utilises this freedom for the wide diversity of religion and of culture experiences to produce this South Africa that the constitution envisions, one of dignity and peace. These are the central understandings of Christianity and the law of God. We must always be prepared to see that of God in another and realise that the rule of God is to be part of the aspiration of the Christian religion.

 [To Contents Page](#)

Dr Willa Boezak:

The Council Of Religious Leaders Commission And The Role Of Religious Communities

Introduction

It is important to remind ourselves of the crucial role played throughout the history of colonialism and apartheid by religious leaders from all backgrounds in South Africa.

Ethical leadership during those years can therefore not be limited to liberal missionaries such as Dr. Johannes van der Kemp or Dr. John Philip who fought against the oppressive regulations of the early 1800s.

Leaders from all spheres of life had leaned on their own traditions to strive for a better dispensation. South Africa owe for example the tradition of non-violent resistance to the Mahatma Mohandas K. Gandhi who lived for 21 years in our country (1893-1914), establishing the philosophy of Truth-force or Sayatgraha. A retrospective view of the defiance campaigns during the 1950s and the 1980s revealed that the non violent struggle in South Africa became an integral part of the program of national resistance.

Indigenous religious leaders recognized the intrinsic value of Christian morality, although its ambiguity became clear in light of the actions of some Christians during the 350 years of colonialism and apartheid. One of the first Khoi-San evangelists, Hendrik Boezak, referred to “two hearts in his body: one – my Khoi-heart and the Christian one”. The first African convert to Christianity, Ntsikana, warned his people of the damage it might do to African societies. The first trained Xhosa missionary, Tiyo Soga, had also been torn between his enthusiasm for African tradition and an admiration for Christian morality itself.

The religious convictions of many of our greatest leaders of the 20th century have undoubtedly formed the foundation for their admirable stance to combat repressive political systems. The Reverent Z.R. Mahabane, Imam Haroun, Dr. Beyers Naude and many more, serve as exemplary exponents of moral leadership. The question, “Can religion still play a role today in moral formation and transformation?”, should therefore be answered with resounding confirmation.

The religions sectors in South Africa are rich in values and ethical norms. These religious communities should play a collective and vital role in a country where abject poverty is a constant reality, where unemployment is rife, and where violent crimes are committed on a daily basis. Religion, however, cannot be dealt with as an abstract idea. Religion cannot be divorced from its practitioners, the ethical stance of its leaders or the morality of the members of the community it serves.

The Mandate Of The Council For Religious Leaders (CRL) Commission

The 10th anniversary of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa was celebrated in 2006 (Act 106 Of 1996). The Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities was founded and established in terms of Ch. 9, Sections 185 and 186 of the Constitution as well as CRL Commission Act No 19 Of 2002. As such it is an independent body and subject only to the Constitution and the law.



The primary objectives, among others, of CRL are to:

- (1) promote respect for the rights of cultural, religious and linguistic communities.
- (2) promote and develop peace, friendship, humanity, tolerance and national unity among these communities, on the basis of equality, non-discrimination and free association.

The CRL Commission therefore aims to contribute meaningfully and constructively to social transformation and nation building for the attainment of a truly united South African nation. Our mission focuses on the facilitation of programs that foster sensitivity, respect and understanding of cultural, religious and linguistic diversity. The mandate of CRL can thus be summed up in the word, Nation-building.

Ethical Leadership, Religion And The Constitution

Today South Africans can cherish their country's religious diversity, as they continue to seek constantly to learn from one another. This scenario had not been the case prior to 1994.

The motto: !Ke e /xarra //ke literally means "Different people, coming together". It was coined as the exact opposite of the policy of separateness and to counter the legacy of inequalities. We must seriously take cognizance of the fact that the notion of EQUALITY runs like a golden thread throughout our Constitution. It is because of the long history of inequality and discrimination that the Bill of Rights emphatically states in Sect. 9 (1) and (3):

Everyone is equal before the law and has the right to equal protection and benefit of the law.

The state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth.

During the days of apartheid – a morally bankrupt system – it was generally understandable and even expected that religious leaders would be at the forefront of the masses' struggle. Today, however, with the Bill of Rights in mind, it is questionable whether this responsibility should be left solely in their hands. The dilemma is that religious leaders do not regard the Constitution as their Highest or Supreme Law. Religious leaders tend however to adhere to their own Holy Books and their interpretations thereof.

Based on our understanding of the rights and respect due to religious communities, their stance cannot be faulted, but it does create huge tensions when the equality clauses of the Constitution are taken into account. Since 1994 South Africans, including children, have become increasingly aware of their new-found rights and freedoms. New legislation appears regularly to address and correct the inequalities and injustices of the past.

Communities and whole sections of our society who have been discriminated against, can now stand up for their rights and dignity, on the basis of the Constitution and especially the Bill of Rights. The chairperson of the CRL Commission, Dr. Mongezi Guma, therefore poses pertinent questions in this regard: (1) To what extent are our morals and values influenced by the Bill of Rights? and (2) to what extent should our values be impacted by the values anticipated and announced by the Constitution?

The following two practical examples illustrate the dilemma faced by religious leaders in this regard:

◆ **The position of women**

The Constitution prohibits discrimination against women in any form whatsoever. In many religious communities, however, they are relegated to a subordinate position, making it impossible for them to become the equal partners of men in authoritative structures.

◆ **Sexual Orientation**

Gays fall in this category. Based on the equality clause, homosexual people will soon be able to be joined in matrimony. A few weeks ago the Moral Regeneration Movement's (MRM) Draft Charter of Positive Values was discussed at a public gathering in Kimberley "in pursuit of equality."

However, when one of the religious leaders made derogatory comments about gay people, the majority applauded. This scenario illustrated the general judgmental attitude of religious leaders towards people with a gay orientation.

We maintain that in both instances such attitudes may exacerbate the societal problems of intolerance, violence against women, sexual harassment, homophobia and gay-bashing. He argues that religion can play a crucial role in the democratic and diverse South African society. The transformative role of religion is only possible when religious leaders would be willing to critically re-examine their conservative moral views.

 [To Contents Page](#)

 **Celia Walter:**

Ethical Leadership In And Through Buddhism

Introduction

Can Buddhism, a 2550 year old Asian religion, with a very small following in this country, have anything to contribute to the ethical discourse in 21st century South Africa? Is it worth including this tiny voice in the discussion around moral transformation and ethical leadership?

The author opens with some brief points about Buddhism in South Africa and then devotes considerable attention to Buddhism itself. She follows this with some comments on a few issues which she sees as relevant to the circumstances in present day South Africa. The author presents her own understanding of Buddhism, which is



derived primarily from the Theravadin tradition, and many years of reading. She has also practised Zen Buddhism for a number of years. The author has no official position in the Buddhist community, she is not a teacher, scholar or a meditation master, and she did not grow up a Buddhist.

Buddhism In South Africa

The earliest account of Buddhists in South Africa dates from 1688. Some Thai monks were shipwrecked near Cape Agulhas. They were part of a diplomatic mission en route to Europe. In the 1860s indentured labourers from India came to work the cane fields of the Colony of Natal. Three percent of these were Buddhists. This group appears to have been the first settled Buddhist community in this country.

Currently, one percent (approximately 44 000) of South Africans call themselves Buddhist. Traditions and schools from a number of Asian countries have found a home in South Africa. Korean and Chinese Zen Buddhism, several varieties of Tibetan Buddhism, the Theravadin Buddhism of Thailand and Burma, the Soka Gakkai from Japan. This list is not meant to be exhaustive. There are a few internationally recognized Buddhist teachers living in South Africa. Rob Nairn and Jennifer Woodhall, are Tibetan Buddhists; Kittissaro and Thanissara Weinberg, who teach at the Buddhist Retreat Centre in Ixopo, and who also have their own centre, trained in the Thai Forest tradition of Ajahn Chah; Heila and Rodney Downey are teachers of Korean Zen, as is Anthony Osler. Almost all South African Buddhists are lay people; a few were monks or nuns for a shorter or longer period, but returned to lay life. Buddhist meditation and retreat centres, can be found in various parts of the country. The oldest is the Buddhist Retreat Centre at Ixopo, which was founded in the 1970s. There is huge temple complex at Bronkhorstspuit.

Buddhism - An Insider's View

The author does not attempt to present the teachings of the many traditions and schools within Buddhism. She offers her own understanding of what she sees as the basic principles of the Buddha's teaching; most of these are common to the various traditions and schools, though there are differences of emphasis and detail.

The Beginnings

The following description is an abbreviated account of the Buddha's life. This account is derived from tradition; it is not presented as history:

Siddhartha Gotama was the son of a North Indian ruler. From birth his father had hidden the facts of sickness, old age and death, and the tragedies and frustrations of life from him.

When confronted by sights of sickness, frailty and death outside the palace, the young prince was profoundly shocked. The only person who appeared to know real peace was a wandering renunciant. Siddhartha left his young wife and newborn son, Rahula, and walked away from the power and luxury of his princely position. He became a homeless ascetic, who owned nothing, and was dependent on lay people for food, clothing and shelter. For six years he wandered, always searching for the way to end suffering permanently.

First he sought out meditation masters who could teach him how to achieve refined states of altered consciousness, but this did not satisfy him. It did not provide a permanent end to suffering. He turned to extreme ascetic practices and nearly starved himself to death. Again he did not find an end to suffering. One day he recalled the peace that had come while practicing mindfulness of breathing when he was a child. He sat beneath a bodhi tree and began meditating. He determined to remain in meditation until he achieved final release from suffering. As the night passed his meditation kept deepening, finally his mind awoke to the nature of reality and the path of release from suffering. He was now the Buddha, the truly Awakened One.

For the next forty-five years he wandered North India, taking his discovery to all who would listen, kings and merchants, householders and criminals, prostitutes and priests. All people irrespective of caste were welcomed. He established an order of wandering monks. Many women were drawn to the Buddha's teaching and wanted to join his order, but he said "No", several times. In the end he relented and an order of nuns was established. After his death the monks and nuns continued spreading his teachings. The order of monks is still vibrant and strong, but in the Theravadin countries of Burma and Thailand the order of nuns died out about seven hundred years ago. The order of nuns is still to be found in East Asia, e.g. in China, Korea, Japan, Vietnam, and in Tibet.

The Buddhist Path

The discovery of the Buddha is summarized in the formula known as The Four Noble Truths, which is a diagnosis and treatment of the human condition.

◆ **First Truth**

There is suffering - By suffering the Buddha referred to death, and all kinds of physical pain, injury and sickness, as well as mental suffering, such as dissatisfaction, frustration, stress, fear, anger, boredom, powerlessness, disappointment, grief, addiction, and so on. The Buddha did not say life is only suffering; nor did he say we will be freed from death and escape trouble if we believe in his teaching.

◆ **Second Truth**

There is a cause of suffering - The cause is obsessive attachment, in the form of craving or aversion.

◆ **Third Truth**

There is a way to end suffering - By detaching oneself from obsessive cravings and aversion, one can become awakened

◆ **Fourth Truth**

The way to end suffering is The Noble Eight-fold Path.

The Four Noble Truths derive from the Buddha's insight into the nature of reality: our world, our very selves, are impermanent, insubstantial and subject to suffering. He observed the continual changes within himself and around him, and concluded that impermanence is characteristic of this world. Furthermore, suffering often arises from change. We try to hang on to the pleasant and the desirable, and avoid the unpleasant, the painful and the undesirable, but we do not have that kind of control. We cannot be assured of getting what we want, or avoiding what we don't like. Even if we get what we want, it does not necessarily satisfy us for long, nor does it ensure complete or permanent happiness. The Buddha, therefore, referred to human beings (and the natural world), as non-self, ultimately insubstantial, because he observed that our lives and Nature are subject to what he called the Law of Causal Interdependence.

Buddhist Ethics

Buddhist practice can be summarized as: Avoid doing harm, do good, and purify the mind (by this he meant cultivating wisdom and equanimity). Buddhist practice is inherently an ethical training. It requires action and meditation grounded in compassion and guided by wisdom.

The moral formation of the individual has positive and negative aspects. Restraint and prohibition form the negative dimension, the cultivation of virtue, the positive dimension. The Five Precepts are the most concise statement of Buddhist ethics. This formula emphasizes restraint. Lay Buddhists recite the Five Precepts regularly. The practice is both a reminder and an act of commitment. An individual commits him or herself to refrain from harming him or herself, and from behaving in ways that harm others, that is, to refrain from killing, stealing, lying, and behaving abusively towards a sexual partner, and from clouding the mind with alcohol and drugs. The Five Precepts are not commandments, they can be “opened” or “closed”, depending on a particular situation. “Opening” or “closing” them is informed by wisdom and compassion. The discipline of monastic life is very demanding. Monks observe 227 rules.

The Perfections form the positive dimension of moral training. They focus on the development of compassion, honesty and wisdom. The Perfections are ten virtues, namely generosity, morality, renunciation, discernment, persistence, patience, truthfulness, determination, good will and equanimity.

The Precepts and The Perfections constitute the morality component of the Noble Eightfold Path. Morality is not separate from, or subordinate to the other two components of the Path. The other two components cover the training of the mind by means of meditation. (As their Pali names are difficult to translate into English, I have chosen to describe them, and not give them names.) Some of the meditative techniques train the mind to focus and become concentrated. (The everyday mind is constantly distracted and disturbed). Others develop compassion and kindness. Meditation also nurtures insight into the nature of things. Only a calm, disciplined and alert mind can observe the arising and passing away of phenomena. In meditation one learns to observe the causes, effects and interdependence of mental and physical phenomena. The practice of meditation is intensely active, although it seems passive. Meditation is not aimed at blessing-out, rather, it enables one to cultivate a sharp, resilient mind. With a clear and equanimous mind one is better prepared to deal compassionately and wisely, with the many forms of suffering, one’s own and others’. A meditator also develops a deep appreciation of joyful and happy occasions.

The Law Of Karma And Ethics

Karma is a highly complex teaching, and I don’t wish to go into great detail. The literal meaning of the word “Karma” is action. In common speech Karma is taken to refer to “good” or “bad” actions, and their concomitant “good” or “bad” consequences; in other words, Karma is seen as fate. This is not the Buddhist understanding. The term is applied to the intention or volition which spurs actions of the body, mind and speech. Karma can be good, bad or neutral. The Law of Karma is understood in conjunction with the Buddha’s teaching of Causal-Interdependence or Co-Dependent Origination. Selfishness (greed), the impulse to harm (anger or hatred) and ignorance of how things really are (delusion), lead to choices and acts, which harm us, and are ultimately harmful to others. Choices and acts motivated by kindness and compassion are beneficial. Since our thoughts, feelings and intentions are the driving force behind our actions, we need to know them, and understand how they affect our choices and behaviour, if we are to grow morally and spiritually. Our moral choices and consequent behaviour affect other people, directly or indirectly, and, cumulatively, contribute to the building or weakening of local communities and our nation, and the communities and nations of the world.

Challenges

⑥ What did the Buddha have to say about prejudice, discrimination and inequality?

He challenged the caste system that governed social, economic and political relations in his time. Anyone, man or woman, of whatever caste or occupation, even criminals, were welcomed as followers or supporters. One of his monks, Angulimala, was a mass-murderer before he met the Buddha.

Though women were not the equals of men in the time of the Buddha, women have a place in the early history of Buddhism, e.g. the writings of the early Buddhist nuns were included in the Buddhist Canon. The 21st century illustrates that there are many highly respected women teachers in temples and meditation centres around the world. Heila Downey and Thanissara Weinberg live in South Africa and teach

internationally. In Thailand Sister Dhammada, formerly Dr Chatsumarn Kabil Singh, has received full ordination as a nun. She was the first in something like 700 years.

That the Buddha left behind his wife and child is a tough challenge. The violence and abuse endured by so many women and children in South Africa demand honest and critical reflection on this decision of the Buddha's. The author finds "it hard to accept that such a compassionate man could do this. I am not the only Buddhist to be shocked at this".

Buddhists have not been thought of activists and as involved in social upliftment, however, since the 1950s a new kind of Buddhist, the socially engaged Buddhist, has become an important figure in the Buddhist world. Thich Nhat Hanh, a Zen monk was a prominent peace activist during the Vietnam War and spoke against the war at home and in the United States. He visited South Africa during the Apartheid era. The Nobel Peace Laureate, Aung San Suu Kyi, who has been imprisoned or under house arrest since winning (that's right, winning) the 1990 general election in Burma, is a devout Buddhist.

Here are some examples of how Buddhists are serving the poor, the sick, the homeless and the jobless of South Africa. Heila Downey, a teacher in the Korean Zen tradition, has led a meditation program in the Malmesbury prison since 1998. The program does not receive any government funding. Anthony Osler, a former monk, is the Director of the Karoo Rural Justice Centre, which serves poor communities in and around Colesberg. Rokpa, a world-wide charitable organization founded by Akong Rinpoche, a doctor of traditional Tibetan medicine and a Karma Kagyu meditation master, is active in various parts of South Africa. Rokpa does outreach work amongst the homeless in Johannesburg. It provides Aids sufferers with nutritious meals and counseling. It also has a training and employment centre in the Groot Marico. The Cape Town branch raises funds for these activities. Buddhist Compassion Relief Tzu-Chi Foundation, founded by a Taiwanese nun in 1966, came to South Africa in 1992. It has offices in a number of major cities. The Foundation provides people living in squatter communities with food and clothing; it has raised funds for orphanages, old age homes, and shelters for disabled and abused children. It has established vocational and training centres around the country and built primary schools in Kwa-zulu Natal.

Buddhism has readily accommodated the beliefs and practices of other religions. A few examples deserve attention. In Burma and Thailand the primal religion of Nat "worship" co-exists comfortably within Buddhism. In China many temples have Buddhist, Taoist and/ or Confucian deities under the same roof. Zen is the result of Indian Buddhism encountering Taoism. The twentieth century has seen Zen masters who are also Catholic priests, e.g. Amy Samy Roshi (Arul Maria Arokiasamy, SJ), Hugo Makibi Enomiya-Lassalle, SJ and William Johnson, SJ.

Being a Buddhist does not mean that one is passive or indifferent to the welfare of others, human and non-human. The Buddha was a revolutionary who chose to carry a begging bowl.

Conclusion

This brief chapter does little justice to the power and richness of the Buddha's path. In editing this chapter the author has been reminded how both the positive and negative dimensions of morality support and reinforce each other. Furthermore, the transformation of communities and the nation is dependent on the moral formation of individuals. Without the latter the former will fail.

 [To Contents Page](#)

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 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 4: Religious Youth Networks And Integrated Youth Development

Rudi Buys

Commissioner of the Western Cape Provincial
Youth Commission



This chapter will reflect on issues of leadership and some of the critical methodologies and indicators when reflecting in broad terms on youth development in and with the religious sector.

It aims to introduce, or at least remind and engage on the most critical concepts that lie at the heart of youth development in our country. The concepts of ethical leadership in and through faith-based movements will thus be explored.

Some of the most critical oversights that may exist within faith-based youth development will be explored and possible recommendations to address these problems proposed.

The concepts “ethics’ and ‘leadership” increasingly become the framework to guide reflection and practice for both leaders and practitioners in youth development.

Thus, the Youth Commission view dialogue on ethical leadership not only as critical to set the stage for our collective action for development and growth on all levels of society, but also as a critical indicator of the leading role that the religious sector can play in guiding our nation on issues of identity, sustained meaning and significant change.

The Youth Commission: An Introduction

Government policy has declared since 1994 that young people should stand at the centre of all development efforts from government as well as in all other sectors. The role and responsibility of the youth is not only important, but faces huge challenges. Due to the fact that the majority of people who suffers under the burden of poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, violence, as well as the impact of HIV/AIDS on families are under 35 years of age. These socioeconomic and health challenges impacts negatively on the lives and growth potential of our society’s youth.

In order to realize this commitment the National Youth Commission was established in 1996 that had the task of drafting the national policy framework for youth development in South Africa, and since than has played the role of leading the integration of that policy within all spheres of government as well as in society in general.

The Western Cape Youth Commission was appointed by Premier Rasool in 2005 in line with the Western Cape Youth Commission Act of 2004.

The objectives of the Commission are as follows:

- ◆ to monitor, evaluate, and report on the status of youth and youth development in the Province;
- ◆ to promote uniformity of approach by all organs of the Provincial Government of the Western Cape to matters relating to or involving youth;
- ◆ to develop recommendations and guidelines relating to any matters which may affect youth;
- ◆ to unite youth from diverse cultural backgrounds, religious persuasions or political affiliations and inculcate in them a spirit of patriotism;

- and to form effective linkages between the National Youth Commission and the Province, and between the Province and local municipalities in the Province.

The Youth Commission's main objective is to enter into dialogue with critical role-players in youth development and to secure uniformity in the efforts to expedite growth and reconstruction on all levels of communities in our country.

The Youth Commission's efforts in youth development are guided by the methodology of integrated development, as argued for in the National Youth Development Policy Framework (www.nyc.gov.za).

Critical Indicators In Youth Development

The foremost concept and commitment in youth development is that of integrated development. Very simply put it challenges the notion that youth development should remain a separate avenue of development alongside and parallel to other streams of planning, resources and delivery – a notion that most often receives prominence as it is seen as a reflection of high levels of commitment to youth development in any given institution.

However, integrated development calls for the restructuring of all efforts, initiatives and delivery of an institution in such a manner that it becomes ideally accessible to young people. Thus, instead of drafting a project for youth development alongside other projects in your organization, rather restructure or further develop all projects so that young people can also participate in and benefit from it.

The statistical reality that people under 35 for example make up more than 70% of all unemployed people in South Africa represents by far the biggest target audience for development efforts. Youth development must therefore be integrated in all aspects. The approach of integrated development however also ensures a commitment in practice to holistic development of individuals and communities.

A second critical concept and indicator of good practice is the approach that views young people primarily as a resource in their own development, and not merely as the receivers of aid and development initiatives. The aforementioned is especially true regarding leadership roles within organizations and movements. Often it is apparent that young people make up the "fodder" and are not seen as fit to be generals or captains in the battles. Organizations will for example cite that the youth lacks experience. The result often is improper power relations that may in the long run inhibit integrated and significant youth development. These organizational power relations often remain uncontested.

Young people often provide the counter-balance to older generations with a different viewpoint on challenges. Integrated youth development thus calls for an inclusion of youth in forums for decision-making just as much as it calls for capacity-building for them to participate meaningfully in such forums.

What young people in essence call for is to be equal partners in dialogue on issues that impact on their lives.

A third critical indicator of good practice in youth development is the planning and delivery of development initiatives that present exit opportunities to participants. The question raised here is that of the real and sustained benefit to a young person who participated in any initiative for his or her development. Often young people find that they have skills learned through a project, but following completion still find themselves with no opportunity to practice or make use of the acquired skills.

Due to the immense challenges we face in youth development, it has become imperative that even the seemingly most insignificant effort for skills development or growth in the youth sector, should simultaneously present the participant with a channel that lead them to another opportunity for growth.

We must begin to ensure that in all efforts we create steps that young people can climb as they grow. A lack of exit opportunities represents a break in the staircase and leaves them stranded.

A fourth indicator is found in our commitment to build and extend National Youth Service Programs. All these programs provide young people with the opportunity to work in any recommended community developmental program. Generally these programs are registered and may become part of the National Youth Service Program lead by the National Youth Commission.

The purpose of this program is to inculcate among the youth in all sectors of society a spirit of serving and contribution in their communities. The task of youth development in our country thus is incomplete when it only focuses on developing young people and imbuing them with skills to better their own lives. We need to ensure that all efforts should simultaneously succeed in building young people's commitment to community development work and responsible citizenship.

The opportunity presented to young people to learn about and grow into a commitment to community service through the religious sector is essential. Social care remains at the heart of what believers of all religious traditions are about. However, often we observe a particular oversight in this regard in religious youth networks, as is the case elsewhere.

Critical Oversights In Youth Development

Although a commitment to social action are for the most part argued for and inculcated in religious youth development initiatives, we find that in some instances such efforts do not engage "higher skills" of young people. Young people must not only build houses and plant food gardens, but also assist in project planning and accounting work, for example. This oversight not only promotes an incorrect underlying message of community work, but also communicates an incorrect view of the contribution that young people can and should make in communities.

The aforementioned argument reveals the possible misdirection in social upliftment by young people. The commitment at the heart of faith-messages to serving communities, do not translate into comprehensive participation in building communities and society in general by young people. This becomes apparent when one notices that young people from faith-based organizations may be involved in community upliftment work, but less so in forums for dialogue on societal issues.

Again it remains a challenge of finding the balance between practical work and social dialogue and debate, to ensure an holistic and integrated approach to youth participation and development.

A critical issue that may present a significant challenge also in the religious sector is that of gender-based discrimination, where traditional gender-roles are often defended from a faith perspective. Within the youth sector we find an ultimate space to rear significant leaders from both genders that base their leadership on ethical values rather than predetermined roles. Our main challenge and focus in this regard should be the growth and development of the girl-child.

Another challenge that remains on a national level, and especially so within our province, is that of reconciliation – building bridges between communities that were separated in the past and remain so in the present. The religious sector has a major role to play in this regard, which has not been taken up to the extent that it could be. Not only do believers in all religions find the imperative to do so at the heart of their faith, but it is also true that the religious sector remains the leading voice in the ethical and moral dialogue of the soul of our nation.

The question I would pose to myself as a believer as much as to the religious sector in general, is to what extent have we remained committed to building meaningful community between people of various backgrounds by raising dialogue on issues of identity, history and social action.

This question remains critical when we speak of youth development in and through the religious environment.

Religious societies do not only provide the most strategic starting point for a dialogue on values in the South African society. Religious youth networks are increasingly becoming the biggest remaining vehicle for participation of young people for the benefit of others. This becomes especially critical when we challenge the consumer culture that is built around brands and labels, as well as the growing interest in rediscovering traditional African identities.

These and other challenges provide significant opportunities for the religious sector to further contribute to youth development in general.

Critical Opportunities For Youth Development

The religious sector must of course be commended for the breadth of its contribution to restructuring and guiding processes of reconciliation on many levels of our society. It is by God's grace that in our country we witness a religious sector that has not only protected the soul of our people through many years of struggle, but has also provided the space through which healing can begin. Much of our resiliency as a nation is founded in this fact.

However, with regard to integrated youth development, significant new opportunities for aligning faith-based movements with national indicators exist.

As have been argued above, critical opportunities for integrated youth development in general is to be found in the inclusion of young people in decision-making forums, in linking faith-based development initiatives with skills development opportunities and also in aligning your efforts with the National Youth Service Program.

However, more specifically the commemoration of 16 June 1976, present us with an extraordinary opportunity to raise issues of identity, history, values and social action among youth in all communities in our province, as it does nationally.

The 30-year commemoration of the Soweto-uprisings is seen as the celebration of the start of wide-spread youth participation in the social movement for change in our country. As such, 16 June provides all sectors and organizations with an opportunity to reflect on that history as we move forward in building a shared future for all.

16 June provides the opportunity to reflect amongst others on questions such as:

- ⑥ Who am I as a South African citizen?
- ⑥ What contribution can I make to uplift my community?
- ⑥ How do I relate to others inside and outside of my community?
- ⑥ How do I view my history and that of my country?

On a national level, the celebration and reflection on the contribution by young people in building South Africa, is lead by the slogan: Deepening Youth Participation to Fight Poverty and Create Work. To what extent will the religious sector share in giving effect to this statement. To quote Professor Lovemore Mbigi on the matter:

Our indigenous African culture recognizes the each individual is a tradition bearer of past generations and of those who are yet to come. It is crucial to consider the ways in which we can bring forward the good, true and beautiful that is carried in our African heritage, and to know that the quality of our lives contributes to the possibilities and challenges of future generations.

Conclusion

In reflecting on the question of ethical leadership applied to the youth sector, we have tried to indicate some of the most prominent principles for practice in youth development. We have also tried to give an indication of danger areas that may lead to oversights in our work, and tried to give an indication as to the opportunity that commemoration of Youth Day provides us all in realigning our efforts with these guidelines.

Continued dialogue on these and other matters is crucial. However, at the very basis of all our work we remain committed to that very basic of all vocations in the life of a community, as aptly described by Thomas Merton:

Man's greatest dignity, his most essential and peculiar power, the most intimate secret of his humanity is his capacity to love.

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 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 5: Philosophy On Religion And Ethical Leadership

6 Prof Augustine Shutte

I am a philosophy professor at UCT, where I've been for over thirty years. I also have a religion - that I've practised for even longer. Philosophy and religion are very different. Philosophy is the attempt to become more conscious, consistent and critical about all one's beliefs, especially one's beliefs about what is real and what is good. In the short time I've got I am going to try and do this with our beliefs about religion and ethics, and perhaps a bit about leadership.

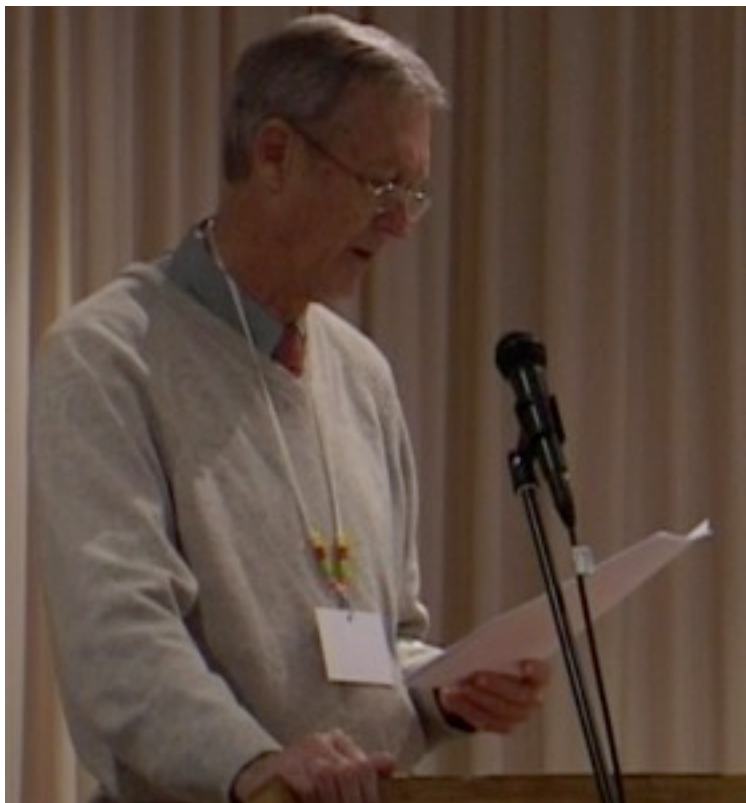
The philosopher Immanuel Kant said that the three most fundamental questions one can ask are:

“What can I know?”

“What ought I to do?”

“What may I hope?”

The first is the question of philosophy. The second is the question of ethics. The third is the question (believe it or not) of religion? He then said that there was an even more fundamental question that was hidden, as it were, within these three. What do you think that is? You can see it if you look carefully at them; they all have something in common.



I. What am I?

And Kant thought that if you can answer that question you will be able to answer the three others. And I think he is right.

So in order to try and help you to become more conscious, consistent and critical about your beliefs about religion and ethics, I am going to tell you how I use philosophy to answer this question, “What am I?” Well the short answer is simple – and one doesn't need philosophy to know it. I am a human being. But there the simplicity ends: there is nothing more complex and mysterious than being human. And mistaken or inadequate or over-simplified beliefs about human nature have been the cause of more trouble and suffering in the world than almost anything else.

One common mistake is that science can tell us all there is to know about human nature. So we who are lucky enough to live in the age of modern science know a great deal more about what it is to be human than our ancestors. There is a great deal of truth in this view. But it is not the whole truth. There is a part of human nature that science cannot study. It is in fact the most important part. It is the part that produces science. The part that judges which scientific methods are valid and decides what things to investigate and what experiments to perform. No science studies that. Every science has to take for granted that we can think and choose; no science can study us precisely as thinkers and choosers – it just has to assume we are.

So there is a part of human nature that transcends the kinds of reality the sciences can know. This is the part that is studied by philosophy. I have said it is the part that produces science. It is also the part that produces ethics. And it is the part that produces religion. This then is why using philosophy to answer the question “What am I?” can help us understand more about ethics and religion and how to relate them to each other.

Let me begin with ethics. As I understand the word, 'ethics' means the ideas or theories we have about morality. Morality is the real thing, a real element in human life involving our character, our attitudes and lifestyle. It is our concern with doing and being good. And what is that, what is good? It can't just be what society wants or living according to the law. We know all too well that often what society wants or the laws demand is bad. It is easy for us in South Africa to think of examples – here and elsewhere. And in any case there is a great deal of disagreement, between governments and between ordinary people about what is good and bad. Is there any solid, permanent standard of morality? I think there is. Let me tell you a story.

I have a five-year old son who is a bully. He beats up the other children at the pre-school, especially those who are small and weak, and steals their sweets. They are terrorized and wet their beds; they don't want to go to school. Parents complain to the teacher. The teacher pays me a visit and tells me what is going on. As a good parent I am horrified by the suffering of the little ones and the harm that is being done to them. But I am also really worried about my son, and the (different kind of) harm he is doing to himself. If I don't do something and he goes on like this he will grow up into a bad person. The harm he has done himself is actually worse than the harm he has done the other children. He has harmed his own humanity, diminished his capacity for being a full human being. This needs explanation. But it is not just my own invention. The Greek philosopher Plato taught that it is better to suffer injustice than to commit it. Whereas suffering injustice only harmed the body, committing injustice harmed the soul. And that was a much more serious matter.

The point of the story is that real morality is not just a convention or a custom or a command of some external authority. It is the unchanging human nature we all share that is the objective standard for what is good or bad. Human beings can be good – or bad - at being human.

I hope I have shown you why I think that understanding what it is to be human is essential to knowing what is moral, what is truly good or bad because it can either develop our human nature to the full, or diminish and destroy it. I must now try and show you why I think that the same holds true for religion.

When philosophy deals with religion it is not directly concerned with a specific religion but with religion as such, the nature or essence of religion. So I must say, briefly, what I think that is. Unlike philosophy or science, religion is not primarily concerned with knowledge. Unlike morality it is not even primarily concerned with how one ought to live. I say 'primarily' in both cases because religion does in fact involve both knowledge and morality. But in its own case religion is primarily concerned with desire, with desire and its fulfillment. Presently I will say something about the nature of this desire. Here I simply want to make the point that we have desires that are natural to us (the desire to understand, the desire to love and be loved, the desire to avoid suffering and death, the desire to be creative, to name a few) but which we find difficult or even apparently impossible to fulfill. In fact, as the history of religions shows, human beings have a desire for a fulfillment that is so complete and enduring that it exceeds anything our own powers could achieve. The gods of the various religions are always seen as having power sufficient to fulfill those desires which we cannot but have, but which our own powers are insufficient to fulfill. Different religions differ as to the nature of these "deep desires" of our human nature, as well as regarding the nature of the power of the gods capable of fulfilling them and how his could be done. But all agree that humanity has by nature desires that only a being with power transcending our own could fulfill. All religions see human existence as a predicament to which they offer a way out or an answer: salvation, satori, enlightenment or even the classless society. It is for this reason that an understanding of human nature is relevant to thinking about, or choosing, religion or a god.

We've reached the point in this discussion where I have to tell you what my answer to Kant's question is. What am I? What is it to be human? If Kant is right, a true answer to this question will be the way to a true view of ethics and religion and how they can be connected. And that is the question that we are interested in. Well let me say that, having thought about this question for many years, I realize I am lucky to be a South African, and proudly one as well, since my experience as a South African has helped me find my answer. I have to tell you another story, a true one this time.

Early in 1999, just before the General Election, a friend of mine who happened to be Deputy-Minister of Education rang me up and told me that the President-Elect Thabo Mbeki wanted to see me. I was astonished but Smangaliso wasn't joking. A few days later I was sitting in the sitting room of Mbeki's house in Pretoria and Mbeki himself was talking to me. I must confess it wasn't only me; there were about a dozen of us. And all of us had some connection with ethics and with religion. The President-Elect was deeply

disturbed, he told us. He was about to be elected President of a country that had become possessed by a strange phenomenon – a moral vacuum. Under apartheid those who fought against apartheid did so for moral reasons. Even those who supported apartheid felt obliged to offer a moral justification for it. Now, after the ending of apartheid, no one cared about morality at all. The powerful used their power to feather their own nests; the poor turned to crime. And he concluded by saying, with the utmost seriousness, that a people without morality is “ungovernable”. Could we do anything to help?

Since the time of Plato, who had the idea that philosophers should be kings, it hasn't been easy for philosophers to talk to kings. But now was my chance. I told Mbeki that I would get a group together, a 'think-tank', to try and come up with a solution. But I wanted him to choose two of his staff to be members of it. They would keep him informed of what we were thinking and us informed of what he was up to. Surprisingly he agreed: Ebrahim Rasool and Melanie Verwoerd were appointed members of my group. I won't tell you who the other members were, but it was a very high-powered little group indeed – the wisest and most responsible people I knew. And that was the problem. The little group had only a little life-span. Wise and responsible people are always over-committed to too many wise and responsible things. Nevertheless our discussions did bear fruit in the form of a book (for which I bear the sole responsibility!) *Ubuntu: An Ethic For a New South Africa*.

Needless to say this book contains all that you need to know for the moral regeneration of South Africa, in particular in the spheres of gender, sex and family, education, health care, work, politics and, even, religion. But it also contains something else directly relevant to our present concerns, something uniquely South African. South Africa is unique. It is a microcosm of the contemporary globalized world: developed and undeveloped, First World and Third World, North and South in one country. And it is unique in Africa: here the colonists stayed! Here the dominant European global culture and the traditional African culture of the majority of South Africans exist side by side. Apartheid did everything it could to keep them apart. A crucial part of nation-building in the new South Africa is to bring them together, if possible in fruitful contact, engagement, even a marriage, a good marriage in which the identity of each partner is enhanced rather than lost. This was the project our little group was focused on: how to do this at the level of ethics, to bring together the best of the ethical traditions of Europe and of Africa to produce something new, a child of this cultural marriage. Then a morality for our new South Africa could be born. My attempt to do this is the other thing the book contains.

The ethical traditions of Europe and Africa are very different. Yet they have one crucial thing in common. They are both built on a conception of what it is to be human, a conception of human nature. The European conception has its roots in both Greek and Biblical thought and culminates in the modern period in the notion of freedom as the most important fact and value in human life. I can do no better than quote the Renaissance poet, philosopher and painter, Pico Mirandola, to illustrate this conception of what a human being is. In his *Oration on the Dignity of Man* he depicts God speaking to Adam in this way:

“Neither a fixed abode nor a form that is yours alone nor any function peculiar to yourself have we given you, Adam, to the end that according to your longing and according to your judgment you may have and possess what abode, what form, what functions you yourself shall desire. The nature of all other beings is limited and constrained within the bounds of laws prescribed by Us. You, constrained by no limits, in accordance with your own free will, in whose hand We have placed you, shall ordain for yourself the limits of your nature. We have set you at the world's centre that you may from there more easily observe whatever is in the world. We have made you neither of heaven nor of earth, neither mortal nor immortal, so that with freedom of choice and with honour, as though the maker and moulder of yourself, you may fashion yourself in whatever shape you shall prefer.”

(Taylor, 1989: 199-200)

It is this idea of freedom as self-determination, the capacity to create a character that is uniquely one's own, that is the essence of the European conception of human nature. It is also the foundation of the central tradition of European ethics, of the idea of human rights, of the ideal of authenticity, of the absolute value of persons above mere things.

The African conception is very different. It is that contained in the familiar saying, “umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu”, a human being is a human being through (other) human beings. This idea, that human beings are

essentially communal, that we realize our humanity only in relationship to other persons, is very different from European collectivist theories such as socialism and communism. The famous African philosopher, poet and statesman, Leopold Senghor, has coined the term “communalism” and speaks of a “community society” to distinguish the African conception from these. A community society, he writes, is “a community-based society, communal not collectivist. We are concerned here not with a mere collection of individuals, but with people conspiring together, con-spiring in the basic Latin sense (literally ‘breathing together’), united among themselves even to the very center of their being”. (1963: 16)

For African thought I become human only through my relationships with other persons. My humanity is, as it were, a gift from others. It is something that, essentially, we share; in the other I find myself. The central ethical notion in African thought, ubuntu, derives from this. Ubuntu actually means ‘humanity’ as a quality of a person’s life and character. It is something I can acquire, or lose, in my relationships with others. It is not an automatic or inherited possession. It finds its most typical expression in an attitude towards other persons that sees them and treats them as ‘another self’. Ideally this attitude extends to everyone one meets; everyone, wherever they come from, is ‘family’.

At first sight the project of bringing these two ethical traditions together might seem doomed to failure. There appears to be a flat contradiction between European self-determination and African dependence on others. In fact there often is. But that is because both ethical ideals are honoured more in the breach than the observance. Self-determination is understood as self-assertion and independence from all responsibility. Communalism degenerates into factions, ‘us’ versus ‘them’. And that is why South Africa is threatened by a moral vacuum.

In reality however, as I try to show in my book, the two ethics are complementary and when brought together immeasurably enrich each other, making something new that South Africa could be proud to offer to a multi-cultural conflict-ridden world. Think for a moment of your own experience. Have you ever been enabled by another person to do something you really wanted to but were afraid to or too shy to? Has the influence of another ever helped you to overcome a self-destructive habit? If so, then you will know what I am talking about. A certain kind of influence (not any kind!) of others over us make us more and not less free, more able to be ourselves. I am sure all of us have had an experience of this kind. And this is because the two insights into our human nature, the European and the African, are both true and complement each other: we are both self-determining and other-dependent. Most importantly, we are self-determining only through a certain kind of dependence on others. This is the truth about our human nature that our South African experience can help us see. And it is this I believe that can bring the genuine ethical traditions of Europe and Africa together in an ethic for a new South Africa.

All that remains now is for me to apply this conception of our humanity to the question that concerns us: the role religion should play in ethical leadership for moral regeneration in our country.

Let us first consider religion. Because religion has to do with the deepest desires of our human nature it generates tremendous power in people’s lives. The quality of this power is all-important. It can be the kind of power that develops and fulfills our human capacities – or the kind that destroys them. If we are interested in moral regeneration then we are bound to subject religion, any religion but especially one’s own, to moral judgment. I don’t simply mean that we must morally judge the actions of religious people. Of course we must, especially those of religious leaders. But we know only too well that it is difficult to practice what one preaches.

I mean that religion itself, what it actually teaches that we ought to think and do, must be subjected to moral judgment. Does it foster the full development of our humanity or not? Well we now have a conception of humanity that can help us. Does this religion foster or prevent the full development of our capacity for self-determination? Does it promote or retard the creation of interpersonal community? I can think of religions, including my own – I am a Roman Catholic Christian – that fail in both respects. Many religions fail to respect our humanity’s capacity for self-determination. They do this when they fail to accord women the same authority as men in determining the fundamentals of their faith and practice. Many religions fail also in the creation of interpersonal community. They do this especially when they see themselves as the sole possessors of religious truth, and either denigrate or refuse to enter into sympathetic relationship with those of other faiths.

Religious people, especially religious leaders, must judge ourselves against the standard of the humanity we share, if our faith is to be authentic and not a sham. To do this properly is also to discover a way to dialogue with those of other faiths, for we all share a common humanity that can be the medium for the different insights of our different traditions. A good rule for inter-faith dialogue of this kind is to develop a self-critical stance towards one's own religion and an openly receptive one towards that of others. If the different religions are to play a significant role in moral regeneration in South Africa dialogue of this kind is a *sine qua non*.

A final word on religion. Because of the nature of the power that alone is capable of developing our capacity for self-determination and creating personal community, any attempt by religion to espouse force of any kind must be rejected. I am not only talking of the force of arms, but any coercive power whatsoever. Any exercise of authority (especially by religious leaders) to enforce obedience by social or even certain kinds of psychological pressure, is destructive of our humanity and the enemy of authentic faith. The force of example alone is permitted.

And this brings us to ethics, and ethical leadership. In spite of my insistence on subjecting religion to the judgment of morality, I also believe that religion has a uniquely important and irreplaceable function in the moral life. South Africa is a secular state. A secular state is not (as a Communist one is) a state that rejects religion. It is a state that does not favour a particular religion. A good government will recognize the ethical role of religion. From my philosophical outline of religion you will see that this does not imply discrimination against atheists of whatever kind. Religion (according to me) you will remember is not a matter primarily of beliefs, or even of values, but of desires and the hope of their fulfillment. Atheists too have the same human nature as religious people, and the same deep desire that only a transcendent power can fulfill. And it is fulfilled by the same means as with religious people, namely by those interpersonal transactions that develop our capacity for self-determination and personal community with others.

Religion like moral virtue cannot be taught; like colds it can only be caught. And like colds we catch it from others. But whereas religion is for adults, morality is for everyone, including the very young. So the place where I think religion can really exercise an influence on the moral regeneration of the nation is in the family in the home. A religion is real in the people who hold it. And every religion worthy of the name has a morality as well. But what it adds to the moral life of the faithful is a power and beauty that can be infectious or, as we religious people would say, inspiring. One can try but in the end it is impossible to fake authentic faith or virtue, and certainly not with one's children. So in the end there is no short cut to moral regeneration. One simply has to be good; then one will be infectious. Religious faith is a great help. If one has it, thank God. If one hasn't, hang around and you may be infected.

 [To Contents Page](#)

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 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 6: Challenges Of Diversity And Building Social Capital

Virginia Petersen

Director General; Department of Social Services

There are many challenges to be confronted within society, and particularly the Western Cape. Our challenges firstly, are social and racial polarization, poverty and unemployment, substance abuse, violence against women and a very vulnerable group, young people. Whether you are a young parent, parenting is an important part of the challenge of drawing society to itself, particularly religious communities drawing young people towards themselves; as part of our challenge.



Young people are faced with many problems. 50% drop out of school in grade ten, so when we look at the passing of grade 12's we celebrate only half the number of young people who have come through that process; and then we still have a failure rate. When we look at crime, 3000 young children are arrested a month in our province alone. These are indicators that we should be conscious of.

When we look at employment, 26% of our population are unemployed. We have to reflect on family and family crime, and ask why this wonderful unit in society and community called the family under siege. What is in that challenge for us in the growing vulnerability result of HIV and Aids in our community? But there are deeper issues that we need to understand.

Our president talks of the age of hope. This is what we should concentrate our delivery and outcomes towards. Where are we? Why are we so fractious? Why aren't we all joined together and embracing our diversity and building on it in making ourselves stronger?

1652 was an interruption in the transmission of values and norms and disordered the indigenous values and norms of our people; by the coming of other people towards us as South Africans. It left us feeling subjected, subservient servants of someone else, leading to a lack of strong identity. One of the critical challenges we confront ourselves with is why can't we unite in our diversity? It is because we are not strong in who we should be, we are not completely comfortable with ourselves. The great divides are even greater today, in so many different ways. One looks at the unequal access of our people, the great gulf between rich and poor in our province, the 120 informal settlements, and putting pressure on ourselves.

Look at mistrust in communities, it is not just about race, it is about language, religion. How do we grapple with those challenges and then we are a government and a lot rests on our shoulders. Is it not our collective shoulders on which these challenges rest? Yes there is a fundamental part within government, taxes are collected, services must be supplied, but who is working with people and communities to give them the strength, the hope to go on?

Government does not have all the answers, where is our innovation? What holds the society? We talk in the Western Cape for a home for all. That is the vision of our premier's office, and it was indeed well thought through out of this deep history of division and one group feeling more superior, and people feeling excluded; the social exclusion of many people in our communities.

You find natural bonding; it is part of social capital thrust. People who think they are the same galvanize towards each other, naturally. Even in that we have further barriers setting us apart. Social exclusion must be dealt with. There are many facets of the social exclusion; economic exclusion, exclusion on many levels.

Does the church exclude? If there are so many barriers within ourselves, but also in our religious communities, how are we going to build the glue to bond us? It is possible for everybody to cooperate in finding a role for ourselves as civil society.

Is participation not part of social inclusion, having participatory governance, including people? For the first ten years in the new democracy government was expected to handle situations independently; yet it took the uniting of marginalized communities, the clergy, to arrive at 1994's glory. Today there are still too many people challenged though, so we are still trying to find that relationship.

When government says that we are looking to be assisted, we are also looking at religious communities to assist. A constitution is an important framework for a country. Religious texts are also frameworks for life, they govern our lives. When we study these texts we gain a comprehension of the challenges of life and what we have to deal with.

Are the religious sectors not part of the glue in society? Social capital is the substance that holds a society together, is that not part of the glue too? Family is the essential cog, but the church environment is that glue, it is a network formed on a partnership based on trust and respect based on a common belief and shared values. Are we not challenged with tolerance and understanding other's differences? To understand their texts, help community deal with their challenges. We have a challenge of substance abuse, teenage pregnancy and abortion, education of condom use and fidelity. These are challenges that government is grappling with, but we have a constitutional framework that guides our activity.

We must strongly believe that the religious sector is a partner, allowed to be governments biggest critics, but community still needs to see partnerships forged to improve the conditions of live of all; they need to see the church following its own dimension of inequality. The church has many resources; it has the human capital of disciplined foot soldiers of the people. Because they have a common identity forged in a particular way.

If we don't make attempts to start building communities in harmony to getting some solidarity and tolerance and trust we will not forge that. Ethical leadership in religion is important. A true understanding that its not just in government, but everywhere in society. We have a critical crisis that takes a smaller group to be able to go back to there respective sectors, and this cannot always happen. Is it not the majority of the community's responsibility to proof through the leaders, but not disrespect minority?

Tolerance to achieve the challenge of building our nation is required for trust between government and the religious sector. The religious sector must not stop criticizing government, but should also celebrate some success with it and work with them to achieve the outcome. That will say that there is divine providence in where we are going and hope for our people in the age of hope. Let our young people find you again. Many young people are turning from the religious sector. There should be an organized network for young people. There should be continuous out reach towards young people.

Having a forum for religious structures is not an answer, but a vehicle. Understanding a purposeful network to make a difference is our answer. Our challenges are great. How do we engage our young people to address these challenges? There is a role of trust in the form of structure of partnership.

Government wants to find a common page to work together as a partnership in this nation. To ensure that we have strong families, good church/ religious communities who are there for each other. There is a great isolation in our communities today. People are not able to turn to each other.

We look forward to starting a religious forum, that a common good will be found so that a greater good of all our communities can realize a better quality of life.



[To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 7: Religion And Diversity Workshops

Franschoek Community Of Faith Workshop

The workshop for the Community of Faith was held on Sunday 29 October 2006 at Franschoek; and was facilitated by Dr Clint Le Bruyns. The workshop addressed the key question: "What is ethical leadership?" The objectives of the workshop were to: define the notion of ethical leadership; outline the basic components of ethical leadership; and to discuss the implications of ethical leadership for transforming society through the church. The outcomes of the workshop was to: achieve clarity and understanding on the meaning and nature of ethical leadership and its implications for transforming society through the church; and commit to contributing in some way to moral renewal in society through one's particular church and other leadership roles.

The workshop focused on 1) the connection between leadership and public life (leadership as a personal response, but not a private matter; it has a public dimension and responsibility); 2) the nature and state of moral life in South Africa; (former president Nelson Mandela initiated during the late 1990s his plea - and the Moral Regeneration Movement - for a "RDP of the soul" of the nation); 3) what ethical leadership means and implies within public life (understanding the motivational factors and dynamics behind both ethical and unethical actions); and 4) the challenge of transforming society

through ethical leadership in concrete ways (the application of ethical leadership to concrete public life challenges in society).

Tödt's framework for ethical decision-making was introduced by ELP's (former) research coordinator, Ms Lutasha Ndesi.

 [To Contents Page](#)



West Bank And Philippi Diversity Workshops

Two community workshops were held over two cold winter weekends in West Bank and Phillippi. A team of psychologists from Creative Potential Consultancy CC facilitated both workshops.

On Saturday the 20th of May 2006, 35 community members from West Bank braved icy weather to attend the workshop hosted at West Bank Primary School. René Daniels of Creative Potential Consultancy started proceedings by giving an introduction and explaining what diversity is and fielding questions from the participants.



The participants were divided into breakaway groups where they were taken on a journey of internal discovery as they were invited to relate their own experiences of religious/cultural intolerance. It was a fascinating, diverse and emotional session.

The workshop focused on religious and cultural intolerance based on statements on various stereotypical assumptions and traditions from different cultural groups. Participants had to listen to the differences and got to know other cultural traditions and religious. It also gave them the opportunity to challenge their own prejudices and stereotypes and to correct misinformation.

The workshop engaged participants in an activity which demonstrated the stereotyping and discriminatory behaviours and actions of participants. Community members then went through a number of exercises where they shared their past experiences of intolerance. Participants generally felt inspired to make a difference in their communities, after the workshop.



The Phillippi workshop was based on the same objectives and outcomes as the West Bank workshop. It was held on the 27th May 2006 at Vukani Primary School, 55 community members attended. Ntombesizwe Dondolo (Creative Potential Consultancy) conducted the workshop in Xhosa. This workshop was characterized by powerful and emotionally laden sessions as participants shared their experiences and stories. In both communities the exercises had participants laughing, and crying as they dealt with labels, stereotyping, and acceptance.

These workshops provide researchers with a bridge into the lives of communities and the hardships people face on a daily basis.

Section 3:



Ethical Leadership In & Through Youth

 [To Contents Page](#)

Introduction

The Ethical Leadership in and the Youth Conference took place at University of the Western Cape (UWC) on the 22nd and 23rd June 2006. Approximately 280 delegates attended the conference, representing the various sectors of society such as Community Based Organizations (CBOs), Non Government Organization (NGOs), Faith Based Organizations (FBOs), Government departments (e.g. Social Services, Education, etc.) SRCs from some of the local tertiary institutions, youth leaders from various political parties within the Western Cape specifically.

The aim of the conference was: to (1) explore and stimulate new and creative ways, of how youth could identify the core content and structure of moral values; (2) discover how to integrate these values into all levels of their lives; and (3) foster a positive peer culture, self expression, reflection, positive thinking and community action.



Background

In these exciting times of our democracy, South African youth are under pressure; societal pressures, spiritual pressures, political pressures, intellectual pressures and the lists go on. This conference hoped to address the question on how our youth can still remain effective, act authentically, remain hopeful and take an ethical and moral stance on all matters, despite these pressures. Thus the focus is on the role of ethics and morality in key decision-making positions among youth structures and the promotion of the philosophy that ethical leadership comes with a special responsibility to use power in a manner consistent with our values and principles. It was hoped that this conference would assist our youth in identifying the core content and structure of moral values and then learn to integrate those values into all levels of their lives, and thereby foster a positive peer culture, self expression, reflection, positive thinking and community action.

Despite the many successes we have achieved in our country post 1994, the structural unemployment and economic underdevelopment of the past means that our youth from disadvantaged backgrounds are still vulnerable to poverty and unemployment and a number of other critical issues, for example, the lack of role models, poor morale, identity issues, unemployment, resolving conflict with violence, the HIV/AIDS crisis, sexual abuse, crime etc, which all threaten social development and social stability. We needed our speakers to deliberate on these challenges, encourage the youth to own these challenges and assist us in becoming a nation that will foster and require ethical leadership in order to address these challenges.

An important aim of this conference was to understand that although leadership is vital to any community, leadership has to come with the responsibility to understand the ethical use of power. We tasked the panelists to reflect on the fact that the South African public are at times suspicious of leaders, as they have seen many leaders self-destruct because of moral and ethical failure. Questions generally asked were:

- ◆ is the perceived moral and ethical failure of some leaders a reflection of an ethical and moral degeneration of our nation as a whole?
- ◆ is it possible for young leaders to win the trust and respect of their constituents in the future and how can this be achieved?
- ◆ how can a prosperous nation be built through ethical leadership around conflict and change?
- ◆ what are the guiding principles for ethical governance?
- ◆ discuss the role, if any, of judgement, self-interest, and power in ethical leadership
- ◆ how can the youth benefit from the provincial agenda of building social capital?

With reference to student leaders in tertiary institutions, the conference hoped to provide the student leadership with an opportunity to connect the values of ethical leadership to the work of educational institutions, in personal responsibilities and fostering ethical leadership in communities. In this regard, we sought our student leaders to:

- ◆ identify the unique ethical demands of student leadership and share their views on how it would be possible to equip students to meet those challenges.
- ◆ describe a student leader's inner life, including character development and values.
- ◆ describe how student leaders form, sustain, and transmit moral commitments.
- ◆ discuss the role, if any, of judgement, self-interest, and power in ethical leadership among students
- ◆ discuss how students could foster ethical leadership in their communities and society in general

In conclusion, Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote that each age must write its own books. We need to ask how others will read and perceive our books. We gave the panelists the opportunity as established or emerging leaders, to educate and inspire the youth at the conference. We long for the day when we no longer would deliberate about ethical leadership, but its wonderfully transpires.

Chapter Outline

Chapter 1

Outlines **Prof. Brian O'Connell's** personalized views on moral formation, transformation and ethical leadership. He contextualized both the aspects of a good leader and a bad leader. Ethical leadership is concerned with the following virtues: truth, respect, responsibility and justice. He challenges the country's leaders as well as the rest of Africa's leaders to develop an ethos of sound ethical leadership.

Chapter 2

Focuses on the different perspectives of student leaders, **Leanie Williams** (CPUT SRC), **Uno De Waal** (University of Stellenbosch SRC), **Gerald Mhelembe** (UWC SRC), **Ludwe Mbhele** (UCT SRC) and **Mastura Jamodien** (Women In Leadership). They (a) identify ethical dilemmas involved in student leadership and possible solutions; and (b) discuss the ethical pitfalls that may pop up in the course of being a leader (e.g. self-interest, abuse of power, etc). These young leaders speak earnestly about the dangers of assuming power and shirking responsibility; the importance of setting an example, making informed, clear decisions and exercising respect; and the necessity of integrity, humanity and self-knowledge.

Chapter 3

Represents **Prof. Pamela Naidoo's** views on Psychological and cultural factors influencing the development of an ethical mind-set. She focuses on the family as the cornerstone for moral formation. Prof. Naidoo stresses the importance of acknowledging the significant figures in a child's life (parents, teachers, etc.) as being role models, and uses models and case studies from both an Eastern and South African cultural perspective.

Chapter 4

Highlights debates and controversies that often is attached to politics and politicians. The authors are representatives from local political youth organizations: **Pooven Chetty** (ACDP), **Ferdinand Smith** (ANC Youth League), **Geordin Hill-Lewis** (DA) and **Natalie Leibrandt** (ID). Chetty asserts that there is an urgent need for a "moral awakening" on the African continent. Hill-Lewis holds that ethical leadership is the mast one ties oneself to when in morally turbulent waters awash with temptation. Or more simply, ethical leadership means remaining on course, never veering from your principles, regardless of temptation and persuasion. Leibrandt asserts that cooperation between government, youth leaders in political parties and civil society is crucial in the promotion of ethical leadership and ultimately, the good of the country. Smith highlights the importance of ethical leadership in good governance. He states that being an ethical political leader means serving the people and ensuring that their welfare is paramount at all times.

Chapter 5

Highlights the ELP Essay Competition prize-winners' essays. Three talented young learners, **Hammaad Gamielidien** (Wynberg Boys High School), **Lunga Adams** (Phakama Secondary School) and **Barbera Burger** (Montagu High School). They represent thought-provoking and insightful essays on ethical leadership in and through the youth.

Chapter 6

Elaborates on **Rudi Buys'** (Western Cape Youth Commission) views of great leaders who feature not only in our history books and newspapers, but who live in our collective memory as embodiments of their principles, and of our journey as a nation. To lead is to hold your principles as paramount, to maintain your integrity, and to be an exemplary role model to others. Buys maintains that continuous mentorship is crucial to uphold and continue ethical methods of leadership.

Chapter 1: Ethical Leadership Within An African Context

📎 Prof Brian O'Connell

Take Ownership Of Building Social Capital In Our Province And Hence Nationally

Leadership does matter. Great leaders come along and they shape the world. Change comes about as a consequence of the individual actions of everybody. This will be a disrespectful country if most South Africans are disrespectful to women. The shaping of a country's identity depends on the applied methodology by its citizens. South Africans for example prefer to base their decisions on forms of power like their political party and their church and are generally not very concerned about the informative and creative potential of knowledge.

This situation defines what our country is, but leadership does matter. The impact of a leader becomes evident at critical times in an organization or a country's life. This is particularly apparent if the leader is a bad leader. Bad leadership can bring about the destruction of an organization or even a country, dramatically and fast. The building of a culture within an organization or a family happens over time.

Cultural development is complex because a change of culture is very difficult. Culture is what you are or what you think you are, but culture is never static and it ought not to be. Culture does not simply belong to the past. Culture is what you experience everyday and how you respond to challenges that face you to make the prerequisite changes.

Some leaders don't like the change, they want to hold you enthralled in the past so that they can control your minds. The result throughout history is evident, at certain points leaders have arrived at actions with *devastating* consequences for their countries.

Adolf Hitler for example became Chancellor of Germany and within 12 years has led Germany from one of the most prosperous, most stable countries in Europe to absolute ruin as a consequence of the Second World War.

President George Bush in the United States is currently another example. His actions is creating fear in America so that the country begins to relate aggressively to what it considers to be it's threats as articulated by the leadership.

In South Africa Verwoerd and others had introduced certain conceptions of superiority of one class of people over another or one race of people over another. The Verwoerd superiority-constructed ideology led to a *devastating* Apartheid dispensation.

Leaders do matter and unfortunately for you, you are going to be the leaders of the future. The future will be *what you are*.

The future will be what you are, and if you are good leaders, South Africa stands a good chance of having a good future. If you are bad leaders South Africa will be bad.



The question is “Can we, in this time of transition, construct in our country a shared sense of understanding of what it takes for a country to be successful; and what kinds of leaders should and must that country have?”

It is not helpful to construct some theoretical account of what good leaders are and how we should all strive to be that. Some notions of what ethical leaders are and a case study might be helpful to stimulate engagement with the author. You are invited to reflect with me as I lead you through this case study about whether or not we were facing good leadership or bad leadership. The consequence of that leadership may be positive or negative.

The map of Africa illuminates our continent and what matters here matters. John Dunn was quite right when he wrote in the 16th century that no man is an island entire unto himself. You cannot live in isolation. What happens in Zimbabwe is important and matter for what happens in South Africa. What happens in Nigeria is important, significant for what happens in South Africa. This is our African continent. You, as young leaders, should not be insular, thinking only of your own backyard. How do you focus on the whole? Let us focus on Africa and some of the challenges that face us there.

The following is a definition on what ethical leadership means.

Ethical leaders are concerned with truth, respect, responsibility and justice. Just those four: truth, respect, responsibility and justice, which means every time the leader makes a decision or influences others to make a decision, the leader asks him- or herself “Is this true? Am I going to lie to these people because I want to manipulate them into thinking in a particular way?”

Is Bush ethical when he told the American people that Saddam Hussein has weapons of mass destruction? Was he being ethical? He was lying and he knew he was lying, but he wanted to achieve something else. What that something else is, history will eventually tell us. Was he an ethical leader at the moment when he decided to fool the American people with an untrue account? Is he concerned with the virtue of respect? Is he respecting people? Are you respecting people, when you tell them lies? When you seek to manipulate people are you respecting them? When you treat people in a particular way are you respecting them? Responsibility has to do with accountability. I must take responsibility for what I do and say. Am I prepared to accept the accountability? A leader should ask “Am I being responsible in making the decision I am now making or influencing the decision that I’m making?”

Justice has to do with morality. Justice has to do with fairness; justice has to do with equity. If we are prepared to accept these definitions, it is not exhaustive, about what ethical leadership are, then we should reflect on the next point.

Students of ethics are unanimous about one point; moral leadership begins with moral leaders. To be authentic, you must be what you say. You could otherwise simply be a film star pretending to be a good father and a loving caring husband while at the same time sleeping with someone else. Moral leadership begins with moral leaders, and that’s the question. Each person should ask themselves “What is my conception or sense of morality? When I proceed do I proceed from a particular understanding of truth or good? Leaders should embody the messages they advocate. They teach not through words but through actions. The following example illustrates this point:

- ◆ In the 1980’s when we were debating the ways we would conduct struggle, I was the vice-principal of a school and one of our teachers was a derelict teacher. The word “derelict” means completely unprofessional in every possible way. This teacher did not mark books, he did not prepare lessons, and came late to school. In every way he was derelict, but this man had a strong political profile. When we have these big meetings talking about the nature, the form and the values of the struggle, he would get up and would speak with great authority as a politico and he would be cheered by everybody. He had learnt to think and act in particular ways in a particular context, but when it came to his responsibility as a teacher, as a teacher he was derelict, and that’s not ethical.

Ethical leaders should not just speak about morality, but their actions be examined. Ethical leaders should not only respond to what is considered to be moral. They must help to *construct* notions of what is moral.

Some countries as a consequence of its culture might embody the idea that it is acceptable for men to dominate women. In these situations women usually do exactly what the men says, no matter what it is. This situation holds the notion of no partnerships and no sense of having any kind of say in relationships. These notions are entrenched in these cultures. How would leaders respond to these notions? Do you just accept them as a cultural fact of the culture or do you test it? Do you say, is this right? Should it be this way? Ethical leaders however are not just people who act in terms of the morality as they find it, the existing notions of morality. Ethical leaders should actually help to construct the notions of what is moral and what is ethical within a culture.

The authors of books on ethics and students of ethics are all in agreement that notions of morality should be developed to develop best practices that relate to ethical leadership. Ethical leadership should be holistic, consistent and congruent with how it impacts to the whole. As leaders think long-term; don't make a decision for tomorrow. There's a great German philosopher who asked "What is success?; What is failure?; and said "Time alone will tell." You can make a decision today that may seem to be the right one, but it could eventually sow the seeds of destruction, 5 or 10 years down the line. The question then should be: What is success? What is failure? "Time alone will tell"!

It is important to think long-term; look at the whole; look at the whole; not just a little piece, look at the whole. Develop a commitment and capacity to learn. If you are operating on the basis of ignorance or you are trying to keep your people ignorant, is that moral? Is that ethical? Is it wise? Should you give them as much knowledge as possible so they can make the best decisions possible on the basis of all of that knowledge or do you *fool* them into thinking this is the truth when it is not.

Should we become a learning nation? Should we as South Africans aspire to and acquire more knowledge to be able to build ships, canals, to purify our water and to find alternative forms of energy? Do South Africans love knowledge? Should our leaders be speaking to us consistently about the importance of knowledge? I have a view that South Africa is not a country that values knowledge; that there are deep strands of anti-intellectualism in this country which eventually will sow the seeds of our destruction.

We must question this culture, you do not just operate within the culture, but should *question* it. That is what leaders are; they are cultural developers. Cultures cannot stagnate. Stagnation refers to a response of that which is already in the past. Cultures bring their own unique challenges about. A typical challenge could be how you respond to your specific culture, even if your culture does not correspond to the new challenge; never experienced before. It is on this point that leaders will contest the morals of the culture.

Leaders would usually call on people to make the necessary changes in order to respond to the new challenge: "Hey, you can't stay there. You've got to make a move now to be able to respond to that." Ethical leaders must be power sharing agents. Power sharing facilitates a diversity of voices that can be an informative tool in complex matters.

Leaders should have the capacity to build relationships, foster community, accept ownership and accountability. It is a big question whether South Africans as individuals are capable to accept the values of ownership and accountability? For example: "A President or a Vice-President or a Director steals money and then says 'oh well it's for somebody else' and then his followers would say 'that's okay'". The question should be asked: Do you accept ownership and accountability for what you have done?"

(O'Connell 2006)

Ethical and moral leaders do honour these values, but others would not necessarily. Unethical and immoral leaders may be expedient and manipulative in their efforts to gain self-interests. Ethical and moral leaders however will resist policies and practices of self-interest. They will always first and foremost enquire whether any decision would benefit them personally. The immoral self-interest of unethical leaders may for example motivate the consequence of holding Swiss bank accounts to the amount of billions. The critical question is; is this money for the people? Is this for the long-term interests of the people? The (right) answer on this question should always focus on the priority of people's interests. Leader's responsibility should always focus on how their actions would impact on the interests of the people they serve. Authentic leaders are an ethical prerequisite and they should at all costs seek constructive collaboration.

South Africans have a corporate ethical calling and responsibility. We should develop stories of integrity; share stories of integrity and celebrate these stories. The promotion of these stories is a necessity. South Africans more than ever before, should build a culture of integrity, where everybody values integrity. South Africans are very tolerant with politicians. The public often knows that these politicians could be lying to them; they would laugh and say, 'that's politics'. What does it *mean* to say, 'that's politics'? The leaders are supposed to embody values of truth, respect, responsibility and justice. The problem with some citizens is that they are lenient with leaders who do not adhere to these values. Sometimes they would just accept the situation as if it is how it should be. The why-question can then rightly be asked. The answer to this question emphasizes the fact that such a culture are created and maintained by people. These people must consequently take responsibility for the consequences of this 'lenient-culture'.

The opposite scenario would be to create a culture of trust in which leaders ensure that their actions honour the trust people have in them. The following levels of consciousness are helpful for discerning how leadership may be challenged in various situations:

- (1) The level of survival is when the leader and his people's primary objective are to secure sufficient food to eat.
- (2) The level of relationship building comes after the leader's efforts to secure his people's survival. The next challenge here is for the leader to foster healthy relationships with his people.
- (3) In level three leaders would build their own and their people's self-esteem.

All three of these levels of consciousness are essential for the creation of a culture of trust. Each one should be treated with equal attention. There is however a problem of self-esteem, particularly with regard to Africans and South Africans. This problem is the cause of many lost opportunities. When we think of ourselves relative to others we do not think we are good enough, but often we are not good enough and we must face up to that. Bafana Bafana, for example, is a very weak soccer side.... We should face up to that. We should not develop a sense of who we are when all of the evidence contradicts that. The evidence may say you are not that which you say, but you insist "I'm that". Transformation is however a necessity, it help us with our self-actualization and internal cohesion. We seek purposes in live which form our decisions and interactions. Our interactions become independent from physical or material concerns. The primary questions ought to be: What is the purpose of it all? Is there something bigger than ourselves that we have to be concerned about?

The next step for leaders are to decide how they would make a difference and involve themselves in the lives of others and finally how they could avail themselves as servants (I am in the service of). Social responsibility form and construct leaders, into what they are. We all have to reflect on the meaning of being a socially responsible leader in our own lives, especially when we make decisions. Where do we see ourselves with respect to the level of consciousness in the decisions we make?

The case study of The Jagged Tear: HIV/AIDS during which shocking statistics were displayed indicating how many people have died due to the HIV/AIDS pandemic since 2000 and how many of them were youth in South Africa. The key conditions for the spreading of HIV/AIDS which were the following:

- ◆ Distribution of wealth and poverty
- ◆ Extent of social cohesion
- ◆ Mobility of people: migration, displacement, sexual mixing, etc.
- ◆ Absence of specific knowledge of the causes: scientific sense
- ◆ Absence of leadership

The following case study aims to evaluate what we have discussed above:

Sub-Saharan Africa has the largest number of people infected by HIV/AIDS, 27 million as opposed to the rest of the world. We know that South Africa has one of the highest infection rates in relation to Botswana, Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Zambia, Namibia and Malawi. The infection rates in other countries is

however very low, Sudan (1%), Mauritania (,5%), Equatorial Guinea (,5%), Madagascar (,2%). 25% of the South African population is infected with the HIV/AIDS virus. The argument that HIV/AIDS has a direct relation with poverty, is not suffice. Madagascar is fifty times poorer than South Africa, but only ,2% of its population is infected. Botswana is probably, per capita, the richest country in Africa, but is part of the countries with HIV/AIDS infected populations.

HIV/AIDS has to do with far more than poverty. The total number of infected South Africans amount to five to six million people. The lifespan of Zimbabwean women are 34 years and that of men are 37 years. This is what has happened in sub-Saharan Africa because of HIV/AIDS and the effects of all its wars. The life expectancy of Africans improved from the 1950's, but is rapidly decreasing.

What Are The Consequences Of The Life Expectancy Plummeting Down?

The mortality rate in South Africa, without HIV/AIDS infected cases in 1997, measured a *normal* distribution of deaths. The first few months of newly born babies are usually a vulnerable period. This period is characterised by a number of infant deaths. The mortality rate of newly born babies will decrease between the ages of 2 to 4 years. We usually record a slow increase and then the acceleration in deaths from the ages of 59 to 69. This was normal during the 1997's. The eighties recorded rapid increases of deaths as a direct consequence of HIV/AIDS infections.

The death rates of HIV/AIDS infected persons became the norm in South Africa. The year 2010 will consequently record a massive bulge of deaths in the twenty-four to fifty age groups. These people are going to die. This scenario represents a *devastating* reality of our country's future. This is the death of our country, and the question is; what kind of leadership can save us from this? Or what kind of leadership is going to help us to live through this? *We*, as young leaders in this country, are going to be right in the middle of devastating reality. It is therefore very important to look at the following facts.

Between 1994 and 2000 South Africa's death rate of males has almost doubled. There are twice as many males dying in our country now than 13 years ago. There are three times as many mothers and daughters dying in our country. All of this is a direct result of *what we do!* *God has not decided this*, we are responsible and this is what we are going to inherit, and what we will have to deal with.

The situation described above represents past deaths, these are not projections, these numbers represent our current reality. Women are dying at three times the rate. Can we imagine a country without mothers? We know from our own familial backgrounds that it is our women who are the foundation of our country. Women are the real contributors of our socioeconomic capital. We are going to lose them as a crucial influence in our lives. Women are practically vulnerable due to the irresponsible actions of our men. It is a physiological fact that women are far more susceptible to being infected. Men act in ways which are callous, brutal, unreflective and short-sighted. If men would consider the long-term consequences of their actions, they would realise the pending destruction of your country. The problem that we are faced with, is the fact that we intellectualize the HIV/AIDS pandemic. This is the point of truth which we should face. Traditionally we are not a country that respects knowledge. We acquire knowledge in diverse and challenging forms. The comment of the Chairperson of the South African National AIDS Council who said that HIV/AIDS infections can be deal with simply by having a shower, serves as a grave example.

The situation in our country is reaching exponential and grave proportions. HIV/AIDS patients die three times the rate that was previously regarded as the normal rate. The consequence for our country is the fact that we are losing talented and productive citizens. We lose as a consumer, a purchaser of goods, a user of health services, an influence on the market. We lose as a family member, an income earner, a caregiver, an educator and when we lose our mothers, the impact of that is uncountable. We lose even our doctors, lawyers and teachers. 12% of our teachers are known to be infected, 29% are in Kwa-Zulu Natal. We are losing investments. Communities lose leaders, who supported their communities and provided essential services in their respected communities. This is the dire consequence of these *deaths*. We can not replace the intellectual capital that we have lost. We can not replace the cultural capital that we have lost, because it takes 15 to 20 years to create it.

The highest infection HIV rate will recorded in 2020. Botswana's statistics, for example, show that it *will lose* people aged between 35, 40 and 45. This picture represents the prime of any person's productive life. Botswana would have lost most of its people in the prime of their productive lives. The question should be

asked: how would they create the resources for schools, for health and for welfare? Where will it come from when the very people are either sick or dying? What will happen to the spirit of a country when its people dies like that? One of our cultural practices of attending funerals will change as a direct consequence. The situation may dawn where most of our people will be attending daily funerals with less attendances and growing numbers of funerals. Our current practice of funeral attendance would have to change, because nobody would be working anymore, everybody would be attending funerals. This is what South Africa is going to look in the future.

These are the key consequences of the spreading of HIV and AIDS this is why South Africa, Botswana and Swaziland are losing productive and quality leaders and citizens. Poverty *is* a contributing factor, but is not entirely to blame. We have raised the issue above that some of the wealthier countries show growing numbers of HIV/AIDS infectious people. Poverty in itself is not the decisive factor. The second issue we have raised is the extent of the social cohesion in our society. Do we have strong families, with respect for one another and with intrinsic morals? Do husbands stay true to their own wives? The stronger our moral values the greater the chances that HIV and AIDS will not affect our communities. Men and women would then not have in-discriminative sex relationships. In many Muslim countries to the north, the infection rates are very low. The occurrences of infections are not the cause of liberal sex practices, but because of the intravenous use of drugs. Muslim societies have traditionally a high level of morality and sustain its institutional and societal practices. The stability of any country is in itself positive value for the embodiment of its morality. The mobility of societies brings however a challenge for its moral fibre to the fore. Wars and the migrations of people have caused and volatile situations which breed immorality in those affected societies. Big cities become over crowded and new communities, new sets of relationships, new sets of friends are formed. The HIV/AIDS pandemic increases by contributing factors such as the displacement of populations, in-discriminative sexual behaviour and the absence of scientific knowledge on the causes of HIV/AIDS infections.

South Africa had only 159 cases of HIV/AIDS in 1980. We had all the scientific knowledge to be able to do what other countries have done brilliantly. Brazil, for example is a bigger country than ours, with a population of 174 million people. Brazil has more or less the same gross domestic product (GDP) index as South Africa. Brazilians earn more or less the same salaries per person what we earn. Brazil is a Catholic country with set traditions which guide the behaviour patterns of its people. Brazilians have identified the threat of HIV/AIDS and decided to deal with the problem. Their leadership set the example and declared themselves open and transparent with regards to HIV/AIDS. Today Brazil has a very low HIV/AIDS infection rate. South Africa, with almost the same DNA as Brazil, has failed *miserably*, because *we refused* to accept the insight science provided. The science community informed us that the HIV virus was just a weak virus and that healthy and responsible sexual behaviour (with only one partner) would have prevented the spread of the disease. The dark picture described above is proof that our country has failed miserably.

The role that leadership played in all this is questionable. The senior leadership of this country, provincial or national did not set an example by declaring a national program to test *all* South Africans. South Africa failed because of a national ability to adhere to ethics, values and norms. Our culture was traditionally renowned for its inherent moral values and practices. Z/Xoli Malindi, the previous president of the United Democratic Front (UDF), emphasizes the fact that *discipline* as a moral value was part of the ways in which the Africans fought their struggle. The notion of chaos and disrespect of our current day, is a *new thing*, it's not an internalized element of African culture. The problem we are faced with is the fact that our current leadership may speak about the general chaos and disrespect without challenging it.

Bad leaders are incompetent; they don't know what the implications are of what they say, and yet people listen to and will follow them. Bad leaders are rigid; even when available information informs differently, they may still reject it. The problem we see in South Africa is the ease with which political leaders misinforms their different constituencies with regards to the same issues. Leaders generally may address their constituencies in ways which will win them favour and votes with the electorate, in stead of responding as South African leaders to issues which have national implications for everybody.

One of the grave examples of bad leadership is that of a religious leader in Ghana. He told his people that a spaceship behind Halley's comet is approaching to take them all (900 people) to heaven. He instructed them to kill themselves, to commit suicide, so that they could be taken up by the spaceship to go to heaven. These people obeyed and died. South Africa is a country where 25% of its people are infected with HIV and AIDS, and should not act with superiority by saying that the 900 people of Ghana was a stupid lot. South Africans

should become more critical towards their leaders and should engage with them. It is essential that we develop ethical frameworks which could help us to distinguish between good and bad behaviour and habits.

We are faced with a growing tendency of being intemperate (lack of self-control). There are numerous examples of leaders and citizens who act on impulses to take or do things, without distinguishing whether it is right or wrong. The intemperate leader and his followers are basically unwilling or unable to effectively intervene, to stop wrong things from happening. This might be the reason for the scale of fraud we are witnessing each day. The callous (uncaring, unkind) behaviour of leaders towards their followers disregard their needs, interests and the wishes. These leaders are nothing but corrupt leaders. The gap between the lifestyles of leaders and the people they supposedly should serve is questionable. Leaders should learn new languages of virtues and moral values of admitting and accepting their faults.

Magnetic resonance imaging (reads the brain patterns) research was done in the USA on a large group of people. These people were asked questions of how they usually make judgements. (Leaders must make *judgments all the time*.) The results found that as long as the issue did not relate directly to them, that they were prepared to be very critical and fair. They said for instance, "I think that was wrong", but the moment the question related to something that they *value* they acted emotionally and selfishly. One question was: "You are a Catholic. Are you prepared to say that Bush is evil? What are you prepared to say about the Pope? Is the Pope evil?" The results revealed the following: depending on the strength of your Catholicism, when it came to Catholicism you are not prepared to be rational. You are not prepared to engage critically with it, because it touches you too deeply, but you could quite easily (on the *same* matter) engage with someone else and say "that chap's wrong but your own guy is right". The results of this research are very helpful for the argument of this chapter.

The huge income gap in our country is a good example of the wealth and poverty that people from our villages, from our clans or from our families are experiencing. We can rationalize this when it's close to us but we are judgmental when it's far from us. This is the test of leadership, to test even the things that you value most. The things that mean the most to you - to put that under critical scrutiny, that's *difficult*. You can't be a leader if you are not prepared to do that. Live in the zone of safety may obscure a leader's ability to be critical about personal interests and those of poorer people.

The challenges facing our youth and youth leadership today are varied and huge. The young people are faced with the knowledge and information revolution, population explosion, globalization, economic revolution, technological revolution, ecological revolution and social and cultural revolution, aesthetic revolution, political revolution and values revolution. "In short, the world that you are now occupying, the one that you will be an adult in, the one in which you will raise children in, the one in which you will make decisions about your life is going to be fundamentally different from the world I grew up in." We are going to struggle with water first of all, we are going to struggle with energy, there will be no petrol or it will be unaffordable. We are going to struggle with the fact that our land South Africa, will not be a very fertile place. Approximately 12,5% of our land is fertile where we can grow plants with ease. We are going to struggle with migration as political problems in other parts in Africa increases. South Africa is going to struggle with the big world powers. China's affordable clothes will sell everywhere at the expense of our own clothing industries. India represents almost a third of the software genius's in the world, although it is a poorer country than South Africa. India is a country that values knowledge.

South Africans tend to pride themselves as exceptional leaders, manufacturers, sports teams and people. If we get stuck in our pride as leaders then we are doomed. A leader transcends the culture, tests the culture and push ahead. We need to live in a world where we have a bright vision of our future. We need to envision a future where we live in harmony with nature; in a fair and just democracy; where we have partnerships in social relations and not dominance; where our language is about peace and loving instead of war; where we have decent living standards for everybody; where we celebrate our democracy; where we value the work we do as a contribution to our species. Technology should be utilized for human growth and not to bring about fear and destruction.

Ethical leadership, have various faces. One aspect would be to demonstrate the ethical minimum when we just comply. Secondly our compliance with laws and regulations is broader than just to comply with the minimum. The third aspect is what we require today, is to build an ethical culture. South Africa need to demonstrate ethical exemplars of citizenship and governance to set an example for the world.

Our recent peaceful transition parted the evil of bad unethical leadership under the apartheid regime and introduced exemplary leadership of Nelson Mandela and Desmond Tutu. Mandela and Tutu should serve as living illustrations of exemplary ethical leadership.

The current situation in our country calls for caution and reflection. We have descended in terms of our ethical integrity. The Kibbe saga and the role of leaders and political parties in this regard, serve as a warning of the path we are taking.

We need leaders who can serve as models of morality. We need leaders with the appropriate levels of consciousness which would engage the people and the institutions of our country. Leaders must lead with a long-term perspective which will foster the values of truth, justice, responsibility and respect. "The future will be what we are" and if not, then our country *will be* that which anybody can make of it. Our leaders should always be honourable and transparent. Our education system is in deep trouble; students are ill prepared for their futures. It generates huge problems for our universities and labour markets. Our school system is can learn form what India accomplished in Calcutta. The "Loretta school [unclear]" in Calcutta educate students from grade 7 to grade 10 as teachers to teach the street children of their city. Street children receive education to read and write and are even fed. Their progress are being evaluated and measured on a continuous basis.

These school learner-teachers visit the villages every Friday to teach their fellow street citizens. South Africans are struggling to get their children to go to school, *just to be there*, much less to learn. Our country is in dire need for skilled labour to deal with example water, agricultural and fuel problems. South Africa is currently in a very difficult situation that threatens the sustainability of the country's developmental initiatives and its future. The identity and quality of our leaders are therefore of paramount importance. What are we doing in our schools? How are we operating in our schools? Do we have model schools where young Africans, from the Southern tip of Africa, could acquire knowledge to successfully build our country in the world. We need a dynamic dialogue between teacher and learner that would energise the youth to envision a progressive and healthy country.

Our transparency will foster a culture which will guard against HIV/AIDS infections. Institutions such as the University of the Western Cape (UWC) embody this 'safe guard' approach with its slogan: "if you arrived here without being infected you must *never* become infected as a consequence of what you will experience here. Never be infected. If you are infected, find out as fast as you can." UWC approach is to have regular testing of its staff and student population. This approach is taken seriously and is practiced with the utmost transparency. There is a general 'open' culture to talk on issues and even cases of HIV/AIDS infections and the infected.

We should be able to change the current HIV/AIDS threat by 2010. HIV/AIDS patients could be nurtured through a holistic support system that entails the provision of good and healthy nutrition, unconditional acceptance and love and the accessibility of anti-retroviral drugs - the spirits and CD4 counts of infected people increases as a direct result. South Africa do have the capacity to save the future of its people if only the five and a half million people are known. Our leadership should promote a culture of transparency and proactive intention and action and say that in *this* country we must now be bold and brave and every one of us older than 12 should be tested. The stigma attached to HIV/AIDS should be wiped out. The entire country with its Presidency must be tested and infected people should be protected and cared for in support groups. The nation of our country would consequently develop as a healthy, knowledgeable and proactive people. Our leadership must energise and transform society to be open and supportive. The tide of this pandemic can be turned with the collective, cooperative efforts of all our leaders and people. We need a commitment to transform our society and our nation morally and ethically.

A leading academic of the United States of America described the problem African-American boys are engaging with and how they are destroying themselves and their communities. HIV/AIDS is rising dramatically amongst the African-American community and African-American boys progressively feel unvalued. The American population counts 240 to 250 million, of which only twenty million are African-American. African-Americans represent a small proportion of the American population and are experiencing oppression of the other classes. There is a growing belief amongst African-American boys that their salvation lies in the identification with Africa. Africa is seen as a continent of hope and is called upon to embody and extend that hope. South Africans do not exist for themselves anymore. People in the African Diaspora, the Caribbean, Brazil and America are looking towards us to provide them with an example of what Africa can

be. The African-American youth are angry because of how they are being treated as a minority group. Black South Africans are not a minority and should take the responsibility to lead the rest of the world to become a racially integrated country. South Africans are becoming more developed in science, ethics, morality, economy and Africans all across the world will be impacted and inspired by that.

Normally, when we speak about culture, we think about the sort of the practices of a group of people when we speak of the Xhosa, Zulu or Muslim culture, but culture is much more than that. Culture is the total sum of our experiences and as a consequence of those experiences certain things have become institutionalized which we relate to and practise. There are good values and practices in culture. The Catholic Church's is that marriage between husband and wife should be permanent. This practice helps married people to focus on the choice in the first place and secondly work at their marriage together. You become one in a partnership.

There may however be historical good aspects of culture, which *no longer respond* to the challenges of the present. The Catholic Church' policy to forbid the use condoms might have been acceptable in the past, but is impractical and even unethical with the presentation of the HIV virus today. The redefinition of the "problem" or "answer" to the issues is what is needed.

We can not find the answer to the question of the diminishing underwater resources in South Africa in the past. Our underwater tables are not being recharged by natural rainfall and are being depleted by too many boreholes. There was an abundance of water and there were few people utilizing water in the past. Dwindling water supplies is a new challenge. We need to redefine our culture of perceiving and utilizing water to a culture of preservation more that in-discriminative utilization. This is a test of any culture. If the culture does not change it can cause severe complications. Cultures should either adopt new ways of practices or it will stagnate within its cultural confines.

What is right and what is wrong? The Zulu people traditionally had a practice of virginity testing. One view is that this practice is insulting for women. Another perspective is to ensure that girls remain chaste until they get married. Virginity testing is an ethical practice in the Zulu culture. Our Constitution however prohibits such a practice, but it contradicts an inherent and acceptable Zulu practice. There is no ethical standard which could be applied in every situation.

Ethics is about what is good and bad. We may reject virginity testing as a demeaning practice, but in the Zulu culture, there is a place for it and everybody within that culture accepts it as part of their culture. Nobody or community should however *impose* things on individuals because of its cultural significance. We can not *force* people to act in particular ways just because that is how it used to be or that those ways are being practiced in a particular culture. The opposite may even signal the death of that society or organization.

Another challenge we are faced with is that of personal accountability. We somehow always shift the accountability to a body, like the ANC, PAC or Azalea. There are individuals in those organizations who act on pre-planned actions without being accountable to their actions. One can not say that you received a mandate to kill someone, and that you are not accountable for that murder.

South Africans lack the responsibility of giving honest feedback on tasks done. The reason may be partly cultural; we are very concerned not to hurt people. Secondly, Apartheid taught us to reject the kind of scrutiny we were put under which made us to reject the notion of scrutiny all together. We rejected the notions of experts and ignored the existence of people with expertise. We have to relearn the value of critical feedback, so that we can grow as a country. Without critical feedback we will stagnate. If a teacher is derelict, that teacher should be informed that he or she is derelict. We have to scrutinize principals and teachers irrespective whether they are members of political parties or members of our villages. The incapability of people to function with optimal efficiency in key posts should not be allowed, irrespective of the person's affiliations with organizations.

The following examples are descriptive of this challenge. A stalwart of the unions described why the unions are generally supporting strike actions. He argued that the unions would support these actions although it could be clearly unethical. He was struggling, as a union stalwart, to support some of these actions. It would have been easier for him to convey to any other person that these actions were unethical. The problem with his organization however was that he would have had to justify its actions within the union's own framework. The result was that he remained 'silent' about the unethical nature of actions, due to his solidarity to his

organization. We as South Africans can not proceed or advance as a nation in the same manner. The virtue of openness and transparency falters because of our own ambivalence and manipulative reasons.

Another telling example is our own actions during the struggle for democratic liberation. We used to tell lies during the struggle just to attract the masses to our mass meetings. We would say that Boesak and Tutu would be the speakers at the meetings, knowing that Boesak would be in Kuala Lumpur or somewhere or maybe in jail. We have lied during the struggle by advertising attendance numbers in excess while a lesser number of people actually turned up at rally meetings and protest marchers. We would tell the SABC to set their cameras up on angles which would project the impression that thousands of people were in attendance. We gave the wrong information and created the wrong impressions just to motivate our course. Our conduct was similar to that of politics and was manipulative in nature. We knew that it was not the truth and that we could not build our objectives on an ethical culture based on lies. We have to tell the truth at all times and in every conceivable and difficult situation. Bush should have said to the American people, "we want to control Iraq, because Iraq has got oil. Saddam Hussein will not be our friend and will not make their oil accessible to us. We should therefore get rid of him and replace his government with another regime that will be supportive of the United States of America. That is why we are going in." Bush should never have created a fiction about weapons of mass destruction. Politicians unfortunately do exactly that, they are often manipulative to achieve their own hidden agendas.

Transparency is not negotiable. We need young leaders who will stand up and engage with political leaders in an ethical and open manner for the collective interests of our country.

We often relate education to ideology, but education and knowledge has nothing to do with ideology and the person who stated this so clearly was Lenin. The Communist youth, the Bolsheviks won the Russian Revolution in 1918. A youth big conference was held in 1919. The leader of the young communist party delivered the key note address and called for the rejection of all knowledge that was not created in the new republic. In other words, all forms of knowledge that was generated before the new republic had to be rejected. Lenin in his response wrote that it would be misguided and unfortunate to imagine that you can construct a new society without the body of knowledge generated before the revolution. "All knowledge created by our species is your heritage, what you do with that knowledge is something different."

There is no other way to do science except to learn the principles and formulas of that science. We have to know the relationship between the different elements. We can not deal with your soil if we do not know the chemistry of that which is in the soil. We can not deal with purifying water unless we know the scientific procedures and the elements. What we do with knowledge is a different matter. We could use knowledge to become technologically successful in order to provide our people with liveable allowances. There are no short cuts of acquiring and generating knowledge. The sum total of the body of knowledge which was created by the Europeans, Americans, Russians, and Chinese for example is our collective heritage. The key question is what we plan to do with that knowledge.

 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 2: Perspectives From Tertiary Student Leadership

© **Leanie Williams:**

Ethics And Morality For Leadership In Tertiary Institutions

Abstract

In relation to the student activities and marches on our campus the past week (Millicent Merton. 2 June 2006. Die Burger – Studente betogings kring uit na Bellville – Kampus), we, as student leaders have realized how important it has become to be more responsible in our actions. Our responsibility is not only towards our immediate stakeholders – the student population – but towards the local community, management and our interactions with external stakeholders. This chapter will focus on two influences in light of the above: power and its impact on student



leaders and the characteristics a student leader should have in order to meet the ethical and morality equilibrium. These characteristics will assist student leaders to obtain sound student governance, good performance, competency and how to become mature leaders.

Introduction

The perception that morality and ethics ought to be preserved exclusively for the religious sector is incorrect. Morality in general informs and guides leadership, relationships and structures in the application of its potential and primary objectives. Leadership is the process of creating an environment that encourages growth and development. Leadership direct and influence people to achieve their organization's objectives as effectively and efficiently as possible. Unethical leadership is the inability to carry out this responsibility.

Power

Power is essential for the accomplishment of the objectives of any organization. We can observe the struggle for power in every aspect of our social, economical, political or cultural lives (S. K. Chakraborty & P. Bhattacharya. Leadership and Power – Ethical Explorations. 2001 - for the sake of this paper, I am going to use the word 'him' to make it easier for me). References to power refer to phrases like, 'power brokers', 'corridors of power' and 'power corrupts, and 'absolute power corrupts absolutely'. Human greed, lust for power and the desire for status are probably the oldest and strongest force for and corruption that we know of. It leads to the downfall of leaders and the public image of institutions. Corruption amongst student leaders is associated with power and it is becoming a great threat to tertiary institutions today. Corruption plagues nearly every institution in our country. People's behaviour are increasingly being characterised by a growing urge for power. The urge for power, generally satisfies their personal actions and objectives. These people's behaviour manifests itself through their internal and personal selfish motives.

The responsible management of power is not primarily concerned with the acquiring of power but with the appropriate application and distribution of power. It takes courage to discipline our own desires. Sharing power should become the basis for democratic functioning. Leadership is indeed an important concept and practice that is synonymous to power. When we choose leaders we invest a measure of power or authority in them. We will listen to them and will even obey their orders, because we – in our wisdom – have made them our leaders. This scenario would be typical of the perfect world. We as individuals are however in reality, very suspicious of the power invested in individuals serving in top structures of organizations. Our suspicions may cause disruption in the unity that is vital for the progress of any structure/organization. Our disrespect for leadership may generate a scenario of disorder, while we would, at the same time, desire and need leadership for the sake of order. 'Power seekers' should remember that although power is worth 'having', real

power comes from the way in which people weigh and define their personal power. Personal power can only be earned through the respect, trust and support created by the way in which one executes leadership. It is only then that someone's power will be endorsed by the loyalty and commitment of student masses.

Unethical leadership is characteristic of corrupt behaviour, irresponsible mistakes and maybe incompetence. Leaders however seldom acknowledge their neglect and the implications of such neglect for sound administration and governance. Our understanding of unethical leadership should reflect on the human tendencies of immorality – with specific reference to the inherent principles, attitudes, habits - which may prevent leaders from carrying out their leadership responsibility.

Characteristics Of A Leader

This paragraph focuses on the characteristics of a leader according to Malan and Smith (2001:244). The best way to motivate people to work effectively and efficiently is to help them to motivate themselves to do so. To obtain this aim it is vital for leaders to inherit and develop:

- ◆ i. personal security for their stakeholders;
- ◆ ii. trust;
- ◆ iii. lifestyles and enforce the institution's value system;
- ◆ iv. self-esteem (pride, dignity and meaningfulness),
- ◆ v. a teamwork approach;
- ◆ vi. relationships; and
- ◆ vii. a culture of learning

The responsibility of being a leader requires an obligation of every leader to fulfil their role with dignity and sincerity. A successful leader can be distinguished by the ability one has to apply your potential and theories into practice. Leaders can only guide their followers to enlightenment if they are themselves enlightened. The inability of student leaders to see the bigger picture could result in wrong decision making. Their inability could divert their attention to crises or popular issues, while neglecting the priorities of students and misjudging the broader implication of their decision.

Leadership Competence

Malan and Smith (2001:244) identified the following ethical and capacity aspects of leadership competence:

- ◆ Generic life skills
 - ⑥ Creative thinking
 - ⑥ Conceptual skills problem solving and decision making ability
 - ⑥ Conflict resolution abilities
 - ⑥ Ability to cope with emotion, stressors and manage diversity
 - ⑥ Effective communication skills
- ◆ Values
 - ⑥ Integrity
 - ⑥ Loyalty
 - ⑥ Commitment
 - ⑥ Transparency competence
 - ⑥ Respect for human life and dignity
- ◆ Characteristics
 - ⑥ Honest

- ⑥ Fair minded
- ⑥ Truthful
- ⑥ Credible and congruent
- ⑥ Objective
- ⑥ Respect others for what they are
- ⑥ Resilient
- ⑥ Courage's
- ⑥ Optimistic
- ⑥ Loyal

The integration of the above aspects could be very helpful in leadership training and awareness programs for young and experienced leaders. We need leadership developmental program that will facilitate and guide us to build social capital that will be sustainable. The initiative of ELP is therefore appropriate and should impact on all levels of society's leadership circles.

Conclusion

The quality of a person's value system (believes, values and norms) determines and guides the ethics of their actions. An underdeveloped value system contributes to unethical behaviour in various ways. The conduct of a leader relates either positively or negatively to their followers. The result of any leaders' conduct may convey trust or distrust in their leadership capacity and ability.

 [To Contents Page](#)

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 [To Contents Page](#)

Uno De Waal:

Are Ethics Different For Tertiary Students?

Students are expected to make decisions at the same level as adults without any positive results. It is harder for students to make these choices as they are not expected to do so. All negative connotations exist without the positive benefits. A student leader should be protected and nurtured more than a normal, vulnerable student; as their skills are extremely valuable. This raises the question: are ethics for students different to those of adults, do we live according to different moral standards? No they are not, and no we do not, many students and especially student leaders have to deal with much greater issues at a much earlier level.



While we would not venture to say that there are different moral standards, we could say that there are big responsibilities placed on students at an earlier stage. It is not expected of a student to deal with issues such as corporate governance, tender processes and internal and external politics, but being in a leadership position, it is inevitable that a student leader will have to deal with issues such as these. Being young gives students the ability to cope with these unexpected circumstances.

When student structures suffer because of a lack of continuity, the blame is often placed on the student and the greater structures are not taken into context. The role of the Student Affairs Office, for example, should be expanded, Stellenbosch University has difficulty with sustainable leadership initiatives, student leaders are elected for only one year, after which they then decide to stand for a second year. Few stay on for more than two years. There should be greater structures supporting student leadership. Initiatives such as the South African Union of Students (SAUS) are wonderful platforms for young students and people to learn skills which will equip them to make ethical choices at a later stage in their lives.

The nature of student leadership is transient. While the time spent as a student is short, the youth bracket allows for a longer time scale. There are different stages one moves through as a youth: the scholar, the student, the young working person, and so forth; these are limited to academic boundaries. Concern should not be about the scholar or student, but the youth outside the academics. There are many young people who have no education, and who do not act ethically, these marginalized youth should be focused on. Student and youth leaders as well as mentors of young leaders; the educators of our society should address this issue. We must identify the boarder cases and nurture them. Our ethical framework does not always tolerate those cases that we perceive to be outside our own. Our structures and institutions such as our schools and universities do not always have the tools to deal with these cases of anomalies. It is often that situations and people are left to deteriorate to the point where it is too late to find a solution to the problem.

In conclusion, youth leadership, especially at student level needs to have more support structures in place, greater leadership structures need to be assisting and mentoring student leaders. The fringe elements need to be identified and learnt from. Our perceptions of normality and morality need to be questioned constantly, especially as leaders.

 [To Contents Page](#)

Gerald Malembe:

Good Leadership And Confidence For Society

Morality and ethics answer to good leadership and confidence of the society. One can study how leadership achieves these goals, the judgements that leaders should make as well as the unique ethical standards which leaders should adhere to. These are critical factors that most people tend to ignore. If one considers these factors in depth, one will find that they are capable of building the country and equipping future leaders of South Africa.



Firstly, the question of whether it is possible to gain the trust and respect of the constituent will be addressed. A leader should interpret the confidence that his followers have in him, and continue to maintain that confidence. One is faced with the question as to how a leader achieves this. Questions such as these are key questions which we as leaders find ourselves being faced with at all times. However, we do not deal with these questions in a manner that addresses the ethical standards which should be conducted by leaders. There is a tendency to lose our morality.

It is said that a person is innocent until they gain a position of leadership in any way, but the question is: are leaders able to make critical judgement of their actions? This question deals directly with ethics and the moral conduct of leaders. Many leaders tend to lose direction due to lack of judgement, judgement is overshadowed by personal interests and intensions. Compromises made on leaders' objectives, are because of personal interests. It is important to understand that these compromises do not affect the individual, but the constituency at large. It is therefore important for leaders to consider the organizational values and the visions of that organization.

In most cases the challenges which leaders face, is the understanding of the unique, ethical standards which leadership should adhere to. Ethics are usually romanticized and described as subjective. This is true, but society determines which ethics should drive a leader in society. A leader should conduct itself in the best ethical standard that society would want to identify with.

Having stated this, there is in short, no ethical standards set to which we should conduct ourselves on. However, a society sets standards in relation to the values and norms of that particular society.

In conclusion, it is possible for leaders to gain the confidence of their constituencies, but this does come with a greater responsibility of realizing that once one becomes a leader, one also becomes a public figure, and one becomes the asset of others, and less of your own. Leaders need to understand that people will always seek the best in what they are and that they are examples to others.

 [To Contents Page](#)

⑥ Ludwe Mbhele:

Student Leadership And Governance

Introduction

Different definitions on leadership characterize the different perspectives that exist in our world:

Leadership is the art of getting someone else to do something you want done because he wants to do it

(Dwight D. Eisenhower).



Does this mean that we manipulate, convince and even force people into doing things that they would otherwise not have done? Eisenhower however, may suggest that a key element of a great leader is the ability to motivate and encourage people to go the extra mile to accomplish organizational objectives.

One of the tests of leadership is the ability to recognize a problem before it becomes an emergency.

(Arnold Glasgow)

The meaning of the above is that a leader needs to be vigilant and very observant and should be able to read internal dynamics, intervene and guide processes towards organizational development and growth. This means keeping an eye out for any potential threats, determine what the best solutions are, and acting quickly and efficiently if problems should arise.

The next quote is critical in progressive leadership:

The final test of a leader is that he leaves behind him in other men the conviction and the will to carry on.

(Walter Lippmann)

The future of any organization is determined by the dedication of those people who are left behind and continuously practice the good things which their previous leader had implemented. The quality of the legacy we leave behind should be exemplary in our behaviour and leadership style. The question is, whether we succeeded as leaders to teach our colleagues everything they needed to know; encouraged their abilities; helped them with their weaknesses; inspired them to give all they have; and had a clear concrete succession plan to train second layer leadership. We could define ourselves as true leaders in every respect, only if we achieve all the above aspects.

The single most important question in our country today is; how leaders should manage and overcome their selfish individualistic needs for wealth and a lust for power, without impacting negatively on organizations, its members and the broader society.

The definitions on leadership mentioned above may be well versed and may relate to all of us, but the practice in student governance illustrates different variables that play themselves out in the student political arena.

STUDENT LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE

The University of Cape Town's student governance electoral system demonstrates an ambivalent practice where student political organizations and individual interests 'systems' contest for power and leadership. This

process is vigorous and intensive, especially where issues of mandates, accountability and organizational standards, ethics and professionalism are raised. The current practice demonstrates that particular reputations and institutional standards are being promoted to achieve political and individual objectives.

Student leadership is first and foremost a personal commitment. We should weigh our aspirations and motivation for contesting leadership positions. Student leaders should be clear about what to gain out of the process and what vision and leadership stance they want to advance. This involves a thorough introspection, clear decision making and ability to listen to others, their views and concerns. The process of introspection prevents immoral behaviour and actions of greed and selfishness which may influence our decision making, our leadership style and organizations, its members as well as how we are perceived by the community. We have to be able to lead ourselves first before we can effectively lead others, this inner work, its authenticity and genuineness is shown in the way we lead others and our actions.

Student leaders have a responsibility to model the above mentioned principles. The primary objective of student leaders is to provide quality service to students and to make an ultimate difference in the lives of other student leaders and their constituents.

Student leaders are faced with many challenges. Leaders must earn credibility and confidence from the constituencies they serve. Credibility is a process that takes time, hard work, devotion and patience. The difference in an academic environment is the hypercritical culture of the Higher Education student populace. Student leaders, most of the time, are on the receiving end of critical feedback, where student leaders under their leadership will question their decisions and leadership. Leaders may, at times, view this as mean-spirited criticisms. These criticisms are usually reactive comments, generalizations, personal attacks, opinions stated as facts, rather than specific balanced feedback. Balanced feedback provides both constructive critique and positive reinforcement. However feedback may often present itself in the form of critique. Constructive discussion that builds and support initiatives and strengthens relationships between the involved parties should always be encouraged.

Youth leaders are most often being pressured by traditional or historic leader models who may consciously or unconsciously act as a reminder of past experiences and successes. Youth leaders may at times be required to compromise themselves by agreeing to engage in unethical behaviour; and accepting illegal offers. Youth leaders may, as a direct result, involve themselves in situations where objectivity does not prevail, but are overshadowed by practices of bias-ness; cliques; affiliations and cabals. The question we must raise, is: where do we draw the line?; should we use traditional student leaders as references of good leadership, who set ethical standards which the rest of us must follow?

The avoidance of temptation is a difficult task for leadership, specifically when we are tempted to excel in leadership through alternated routes. The benefits or rewards gained are usually greater than being ethical and professional in our conduct and aspirations. How do we as leaders inspire and motivate others to be good leaders? How do we become models for society and how can we set up benchmarks for our followers? The answer on these questions can simply be described as the development and upholding of general accepted standards, moral leadership and ethical behaviour and practices in society.

Language is the house or may be the destruction of moral leadership and ethical behaviour. Eastwaran states: "we have to choose words that will be supportive and loving, not words that embarrass or wound another person". All of us understand, at least in theory, what boxing blows can do to someone, but we do not realize that words can create a more painful injury, one that can last for many years. Nor do we understand the terribly destructive impact words can have on the conscious of the person who uses them.

Any meaningful reflection on moral leadership and ethical conduct should focus on concepts such "soul" and "spirituality". We apply the concepts "soul" and "spirituality" with a degree of hesitancy, because of their broad meaning, their somewhat taboo nature in young minds, and their overuse in popular culture. These concepts, however are very prevalent in our personal journals, and have occurred with increasing frequency in ethical leadership books over the past decade.

These linguistic clues point to a paradigm shift: a growing recognition that spirituality is essential to ethical leadership, because ethical leadership emerges from our essence as human beings. Russ Moxley states in his book, *Leadership and Spirit* that "Spirits works within us. It helps define the true, real, unique self that is us ... we are who we are because of spirit" (2000:23). The implications of this concept for student leaders is

the importance of personal authenticity and genuineness, deep caring about students, leading from the heart, living daily leadership principles and practices, seizing the opportunity to do our own inner work in the process, knowing it will show in our outer work. In the process we will discover how deeply rewarding it is to grow ourselves and make meaningful contributions to students at our institutions.

The greatest leverage to being a better ethical leader is our emotional and spiritual development. This process is difficult, complex, and often overlooked in a culture that focuses almost exclusively on intellectual and physical development. Yet the wisdom of this inner work reaches from recent ethical leadership studies to as far back as Socrates.

We lead from the essence of whom and what we are. Knowing ourselves is as crucial to ethical leadership as knowing our constituents and knowing our leadership structures. The best ethical leadership cannot be reduced to technique. It arises from our identity and integrity and appears in authentic leadership behaviours and actions.

Student leadership requires us to be effective in the moment of action. Yet student life, with the fast pace, ambiguity and chaos that accompany challenges and changes, and the growing demands of students, is full of distractions that pull us out of the present moment.

It takes a concerted effort to be student leaders today. Effective ethical leadership may be realised by learning more about ourselves and improving how we apply knowledge, skills and our abilities, in serve to our constituents, country and continent.

CONCLUSION

The point, where inner and outer leadership comes together, is the secret, the moment of truth that enables a leader to make a lasting difference. This is the essential challenge of student leadership, and we should strive to achieve this creative balance, and have a positive impact on our constituencies, institutions, country, and our continent. We should engage with these leadership challenges in an ongoing process.

 [To Contents Page](#)

6 Mastura Jamodien:

Women In Leadership Positions

Introduction

How can I become a better leader? Where would a person start to become a better leader?

Students often ask these questions. Most of us are constantly searching for new things to learn and ways to grow, but sometimes the best way to learn is to return to the fundamentals.

(Maxwell 1993)



Maxwell (1993:35) is of the view that becoming a leader is like investing successfully in the stock market. If our

hope is to make a fortune in a day, we are not going to be successful. What is of utmost importance is what we do day by day, in other words, if we constantly invest in our leadership development, the expected result is growth. It is true that some people are born with extra ordinary gifts than others, but leadership skills can be learned and improved all the time. Growth and progress is a step by step process, following a natural sequence of development. The same applies to leadership. There are no short cuts to good leadership.

Morality And Ethics

We might legitimately question the need for the study of ethics in leadership. If we think about it, the majority of organizations that exist are in the business and government sectors. We might argue that these sectors are unconcerned with ethics or morality. It can then be disputed that human beings are as much responsible for the decay of their environment as for its development. Therefore, the remedial action would require us to analyse human competence and human morality which enables leaders to perform ethically or prevents them from doing so (Malan & Smit, 2001). A person's developmental environment (family, community, culture and national influences) and experiences modify their ability to deal with the demands of life and the way they do so. Individual's competencies are made up of quantitative and qualitative knowledge and specific assumptions, belief, attitude, values, associative feelings and life skills (Malan & Smith, 2001).

We may argue that parents often lay the foundations of a child's knowledge. Therefore, the values and norms that a child acquires from their parents lay the ethical foundations and define the moral boundaries of their behaviour and leadership ability. Values operate as a moral guide to people's personal and work-related behaviour, while norms define the standards by which they judge the behaviour of others. Together, values and norms determine a person's honesty, integrity, commitment, loyalty and respect for human life and dignity. As a result, a person's developmental environment plays a major role in their eventual personal definition and will affect their morality and competence.

On the other hand, Covey (1991:19) stresses that correct principles are like compasses: they are always pointing the way. Covey (1991:19) further explains that principles are self-evident and self-validating. Principles are natural laws and does not change or shift, but provide direction to our lives. Principles can be described as values that uplift, empower, and inspire people.

However, while heredity defines our potential abilities, our developmental environment moulds that potential into an existing competence. All of these enables us to deal with life's demands, and is made up of a combination of our knowledge, assumptions, beliefs, perceptions, values and generic life skills.

There is an increasing realization that student leaders today need to become more responsible, not just to the institutions but also to the student community as a whole.

Female Students At Tertiary Institutions

Statistics have shown that leadership at tertiary institutions is dominated by male students. Female students are not as visible and active as their male counterparts. The problem of gender imbalance at tertiary institutions is generally well known (Namuddu, 1993). This imbalance manifests in factors such as the apparent low gender awareness/sensitivity, inadequate empowerment for women students and slow upward mobility (to leadership roles) of such female students. Therefore, leadership training has been identified as critical in the development of female students in their preparation to assume more challenging positions in tertiary institutions. Whilst this training is relevant to all students, more emphasis should be made on training female students as part of the redress of past imbalances and skills enrichment to successfully compete with their male counterparts.

The Women in Leadership Project (WILP is a collaborative venture of higher institutions in the Western Cape which include, the Universities of Cape Town, Western Cape, Stellenbosch and Cape Peninsula University of Technology) is an example of such an effort to address the challenge. WILP produces women leaders who are capable of providing strong leadership and service to the student community. The Women in Leadership Project' objective is to enhance their self-development for the ultimate benefit of their constituency and the broader society they lead.

 [To Contents Page](#)

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 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 3: Psychological And Cultural Factors Influencing An Ethical Mindset

📍 Prof Pamela Naidoo

Despite the intellectualization of what the ideal factors for the healthy mental and physical development of a child are, it remains clear as a mother, a “so-called” academic or intellectual, and a clinical psychologist that the family remains the most powerful agent of socialization. The family of course may be constituted in various ways but the ideal is to have influential, significant male and female role models in the life of a growing individual. Traditionally speaking, a child needs both “mothering” and “fathering” in order to develop an understanding of the world and its people. Moral messages given to children, of course, form the basis for the development of an ethical mind-set and help individuals make informed decisions about what is right and what is wrong.



Within an Eastern cultural framework the following statement (translated into English) embodies the reason that the family, particularly its senior members, should be perceived as having a huge influence in a child’s life: The order of importance of the significant figures in a child’s life is: the mother, the father, the teacher (Guru), and God. This is not to say that realizing God, using religion as a vehicle, is the least important but what is implied is that ones mother, father, and teacher embody God and it is through the virtues and teachings of each of these figures that God is ultimately realized. In a sense then this experience is the origin of what it means to be ethical and sets the stage for the development of an ethical mind-set. Using ones own experience within the context of your family of origin, including your extended family, your schooling, your cultural and religious background, and your friends, the role of the teacher is of utmost importance and needs to be revered. Each and every significant other in ones life teaches us something important, albeit seemingly minute. However, within the South African context disrupted families are common place. There appears to be very few “real life” gurus that are exemplary and that young people feel confident about and have a sense of complete trust in to seek their guidance. In the absence of family role-models, therefore, the role of religious leaders, educationists and sound politicians is crucial. Young people learn by example.

Our existing and potential young leaders need a theoretical framework for ethical leadership. The height of arrogance is, of course, when one thinks one knows everything- this is completely contrary to the development of an ethical mind-set. Arrogance of this kind is often displayed by leaders who believe that they are all powerful and not answerable to the people they are meant to be leading. Leaders of this kind are often guilty of the abuse of power and powerful positions. Knowing fully who we are, including what our strengths, weaknesses and prejudices are; and having an open mind, which allows us to learn from others and other’s experiences, forms the basis for sound leadership. It remains clear in our minds how student leaders during the apartheid struggle consulted our parents for guidance about matters they were conflicted about with respect to their roles, actions and responsibilities.

The following suggestions describe how our youth leaders and potential leaders, despite the positive or adverse conditions under which they were raised and continue to face, can become powerfully influential in the most constructive way.

- ◆ Learn to go about their work with quiet confidence and maintain their dignity to make an impact.

- ◆ Always consult more experienced, ethical leaders, especially those leaders that have earned their respect in the communities they serve. Highly controversial leaders tend to leave the people they serve confused about what the correct life choices are.
- ◆ Do not express protest calls and ideological positions through domination. The natural human response to domination is to fight back overtly or covertly. We are still healing from the wounds of apartheid ideology based on dominate and rule. No one wants to go back there.
- ◆ Learn the difference between strength and aggression. A good leader has a strong and well-balanced character and creates confidence in those they lead. Take the moral high ground, whilst recognizing that not everything is simply black or white and that there are grey areas in human existence. An aggressive leader uses power destructively.
- ◆ The timing of our leadership position is critical. We should be self-realized individuals to a large degree. What will set us apart is the capacity to have developed a higher level of knowing or consciousness that extends well beyond the self. Fine examples are Madiba, Mohandas Gandhi, Govan Mbeki and Mother Teresa.
- ◆ Earn a place in leadership. We must have walked the path of service from a young age. Firstly, serving our loved ones by abiding by their guidance and secondly, we need to serve our communities, religious bodies, and sporting institutions. Make it our duty to understand the fears and needs of people we may one day lead. Understand their mind-set.
- ◆ Remember: being a leader puts us in the public domain. There is only one of us and hundreds of those we are meant to lead. This is the irony because this makes us a “small fish in a big pond”. Therefore: in leadership position power equals selfless service to others. It is akin to a fiduciary relationship (like a parent to their child – whether young or older) because our actions must always be in the best interest of those we serve. A true leader does not expect people to follow but empowers those around them to become fully realized individuals. Leading is always confined strictly and in disciplined fashion to a human rights framework.

Finally, leading ethically equals purity of mind. In order to achieve this purity of mind we need to develop an intense ability to concentrate and focus on the tasks that we need to engage in, in our positions. In developing our minds and bodies, we will continue to develop our level of consciousness about what is right and what is wrong: hence an Ethical Mind-Set. In the process of developing an ethical mind-set, we would have developed an incredible will-power to act on what we believe is the correct thing to do in the interest of those we serve, including our family.

 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 4: Perspectives From Youth Leaders In Political Organizations

📍 **Pooven Chetty:**

Building A Foundation For A New Generation

Looking at a generation of youth living in the 13th year of democracy it is interesting to see how they have lost the passion to build this nation as a nation amongst nations; while the rich history of men and women struggling to bring racial freedom and equality are taught to us. Our moral characteristic as South Africans has been decaying day by day. We are looked at by the rest of the world as a solution to the many wars, famines and political corruptions in Africa, but how can we help them when we as a nation, has leaders that embraces us and have no moral conscience. We all are very well aware that the world view of young people gets shaped at a very young age. From school teaching to newspapers and magazines and TV, to our friends and neighbours we interact with. This becomes interesting because that means we are influenced by a world view that corrupts, and is selfish and negative. It will come forth in our future actions and behaviour.

A value based education system should be developed and implemented. Education would consequently centre on principled stewardship and equity in developing and utilizing our nation's natural resources. This would nurture us as individuals with the values of character, charity, capacity and community. It is based on a system with the aim of enabling the learner to achieve inquiring and interpretative abilities and critical assessment skill, knowledge and application skills and social values.

Imagine a tree that is planted and not rooted well, or upheld in a firm upright position. It will only grow into a crooked and bent tree and it will virtually be impossible to straighten it when it's fully grown. The growth path of a tree is a perfect example of why we need our young brothers and sisters to be nurtured as people of integrity with a good and positive influence. The lack of role models in our society is a major problem today and; it puts pressure on everyone. Families and especially fathers need to take on the role of being the examples and role models. We need more fathers in society to put there hands up and say we will become the role models for our families and kids.

Many people today have fallen into the trap of being sidetracked by power and wealth. The primary task of any office of government is one of service and hence many of our leaders fall short of this characteristic, availing them selves to serve. The vote of confidence for a particular leader/s to take up public office calls them to serve society as a key prerequisite. Future young leaders would have to work hard (in the light of the general distrust in today's leadership) to gain the trust of their constituents. In fact it's a process that might take a few years. They will have to build a good reputation with society. The ACDP youth believes that young people can make a difference and important changes if they would prioritize the needs and interests of the people. We believe that humans are answerable to God hence if God is the ultimate power that watches over us, we cannot hide anything then from Him. Our respect for a Higher Authority would keep us honest and inculcate us with integrity.

Young people should be influenced by positive role models and peers that could undoubtedly contribute to the transformation of our society. Students in high schools and tertiary institutions usually observe and identify with what seniors do. Every one of us has a responsibility to behave in a way that is morally right and ethically sound.



The African continent is another important area where there is a need for a new moral awakening. This has to be done through an African reformation.

Advocating for a moral renaissance implies in principle that a latent morality is present. Moral latency may be a direct result of the negative and veil influence of certain forces, be they tyrannical regimes or economic exploitative powers. The resurgence of morality that moves against these destructive forces is long overdue. The Bible teaches about a morality that flows from God, and upon which humans should engage their affairs within this world. The deviation from such moral standards may lead to reductionism, relativism and situational expediency, power and control. Societies will always be subjected to exploitation and violent hostilities, unless the acknowledgement of divine principles is understood as a warning to our human fallibility. The absence of a moral consciousness cause some leaders to rule with tyrannical ruthlessness, plundering state coffers at the expense of the people, and causing huge scale of starvation, genocide and conflict. Righteousness, justice, peace and the integrity and dignity of another human being have been isolated as being non-political principles, leading most countries to be ruled by authoritarian and despotic values.

If change is to take place it must start with us first. Let us take the first step to transforming our community, province, nation and continent. Let us change our moral views and behaviours first!

 [To Contents Page](#)

Ferdinand Smith:

Perspectives From Youth Leaders In Political Organizations

The African National Congress is not just a party, but a movement of people who speak to the realization of the freedom charter, which is not just an ANC document.

The freedom charter was born out of all forms of society uniting. This realization of the freedom charter guarantees each South African a morally justifiable society.

As ethical leaders, we have our problems just as every organization. What the African National Congress envisions a bureaucracy free of corruption and all forms of crime, because corruption is only but one problem within government.

Often it is systems that have been put into place that are compromising the position of the party in power.

The moral impact of this is the lack of decent resources for some citizens living in poverty, the fact that there are people living in these conditions is immoral and unethical in itself.



[To Contents Page](#)

Geordin Hill-Lewis:

Ethics As The Immovable Mast

The story goes, according to the ancient Greek philosopher, Homer, that there were two beautiful mermaids called the Sirens who would draw the young captains in their grand ships of war towards the rocks. The captains, beguiled by the beauty and charm of these women, would steer their ships to their doom. A young captain by the name of Ulysses, however, was determined to not succumb to the Sirens. He instructed his crew to tie him to the mast of his ship and not to untie him, though he may beg them, until they had sailed safely passed the Sirens.

The story is of course a myth, but it has a significance that is eminently relevant to the program of the MRM and the ELP. Ethics can be likened to that immovable mast we tie ourselves to, that no matter what temptation or persuasion may come our way, we remain on course. We never lose sight of the vision; we never veer from the track because that would be a betrayal of our ethics.

Sadly though, South Africa is today afflicted with a critical deficiency of leaders of this moral stature- and at a time when they are desperately needed. We need not outline all of the massive social challenges faced by our country- we are well aware of them. We should, however, hone in on those issues faced by our youth that require the urgent intervention of ethical leaders.

This province has recently been shaken awake to the full reality of violent crime. As we speak this morning schools around the province are breaking up for the holidays, but some will not return next term as they fall to the influence of gangsterism and drugs. Those that do return will be met with high razor fences and security guards patrolling the passages. So firm has the evil grip of gangsterism become that young boys and girls can no longer play in the street in Hannover Park or visit their friends in Lavender Hill. Drugs, especially Tik, continue to bring misery to those it enslaves. More than this, murderers, rapists and muggers persist in their sinister deeds.

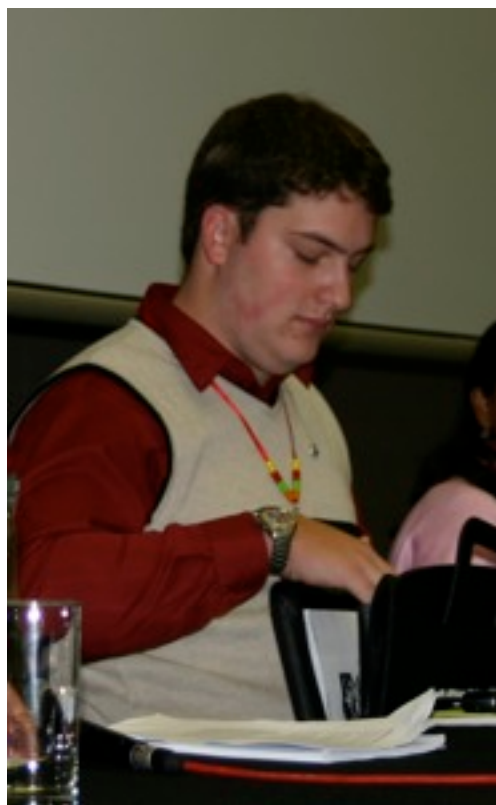
In a time when citizens are becoming increasingly uneasy and nervous about crime, what we did not need to hear from our national leaders is that if we moan about crime, we should just leave the country. Did we moan when our friend was shot in Mowbray, Manenburg, Johannesburg and in each city and town in our country? Yes! Did we moan when our car was broken into and cleaned out? Yes! When some of us were mugged? Yes! Being moaners is fine, but instead of telling us to leave the country, we should get reassurance and sincere leadership. To send a resounding message to those thugs that society will never accept their behaviour, that we will not be victimized- that we reject crime and that we will mobilize everything and everybody to root them out and let justice prevail.

The pronouncements on crime by the ministry of Safety and Security introduce the second point. The youth of South Africa has lost all confidence in the nation's political leadership.

We were shocked to learn of a provincial minister in KZN who has been living in luxury hotels for the past year on taxpayers' money. That is just the latest in a string of examples of endemic corruption that have served to severely undermine the mandated authority of our elected representatives.

Dinner Gate, Oilgate, Travelgate, Big Bay, Jewellery City, the Gravy Plane and the arms deal debacle are all cases in point.

Corruption is actually the highest betrayal of ethical leadership. We elect our representatives on the assumption that they are passionately dedicated to the improvement of South Africa. We entrust to them our



vision of a prosperous nation. They are the guardians of the national interest, but when they choose to plunder and steal, they also become the chief assassins of the national destiny.

And we must recognize the words of Martin Luther King that “injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere.” When these corrupt officials pillage the national treasury they do not only enrich themselves, they impoverish everyone else. We the youth cannot accept that, we must stand up to corruption. Those who develop a moral confusion for profit and self gain must know this ... we will name their names and shame them as they deserve to be shamed.

The second factor that corrodes confidence in political leadership is legislation that allows for elected representatives to cross the floor and so effectively switch the vote of their constituents.

Without question, the electorate had demonstrated that it is fundamentally opposed to this system. In the recent local government elections, not one candidate who had crossed the floor was re-elected in Cape Town. In Pretoria 29 out of 33 candidates who had crossed the floor were NOT returned to office.

The argument is made, by some academics, that the system deepens democratic consolidation. The very essence of democracy is that the people must be able to directly influence policy and legislation. To not take cognizance of the clear disapproval of the electorate undermines that democratic maxim - it cannot strengthen it.

In the final analysis, it is clear that the challenges are many, the solutions to which lie largely in ethical leadership. Youth must make sure that they elect leaders who are of unquestionable ethical standing. Leaders who adhere to a strict moral code, founded on service and a desire to see the best for all South Africans.

We must commemorate those champions of liberty who took to the streets in 1976. We should hope that the youth of today, like those heroes, will lead a new social struggle; this time one that demands ethical leadership, one that rejects those who seek to govern others while they cannot govern themselves, and one that commits itself to making responsible choices.

It is a struggle, that with the help of ELP, we will fight and win. More importantly though, it is a struggle that we cannot afford to lose.

 [To Contents Page](#)

Natalie Leibrandt:

Nurturing Civil Society To Promote Ethical Leadership

Introduction

This chapter investigates the question of ethical leadership in and through youth with the mandatory involvement of civil society. The concept of moral leadership will be explained, followed by an assessment of the state of democracy in South Africa. Then, the potential of the Moral Regeneration Movement (MRM) will be discussed in terms of the role it can play as an institution training youth on moral decision-making and its possible role as moral watchdog on key youth institutions, like the National Youth Commission, the South African Youth Council and the Umsobomvu Youth Fund.



Moral Leadership Defined

There are many definitions that aim to describe the related concepts of morality and ethics. To act morally, within the scope of this chapter, means to act correctly according to the norms and standards of our society.

Morality and ethical behaviour differs from society to society, from culture to culture and from person to person. Issues and practices of morality tend to generate ferocious debate and grappling amongst leaders, especially in political circles. We could argue that such debates are just mere debates, disagreements and aggressive expressions of differences of how people perceive what is either right or wrong. But, according to Olen and Barry (1999) whether we choose correctly, according to society's norms and standards, depends on "how well informed we are, how carefully we reason, how accurately we gauge the pros and cons of the alternatives, [and] how exhaustive our deliberations are."

In politics, serious consequences could follow from a political decision. Political leaders should therefore take all the possible consequences into account when considering their personal, social and political actions and practices. Young and aspiring political leaders of different political affiliations often tend follow the leadership style of their political mentors. This would mean that a particular ideology, decision-making procedure and style would often be passed on to the future generation of leaders. The aforementioned situation represents a learning process that is very relevant to South Africa.

Democracy In South Africa

South Africa is a very young democracy that has yet to be consolidated. According to O'Donnell (1996), consolidation can be measured through the following checklist:

"1) alternation in power between former rivals; 2) continued widespread support and stability during times of extreme economic hardship; 3) successful defeat and punishment of a handful of strategically placed rebels; 4) regime stability in the face of a radical restructuring of the party system; and 5) the absence of a politically significant anti-system party or social movement."

The African National Congress (ANC)-led government has been governing South Africa since 1994, when the country first became a democracy. No other government has ruled since then which implies that, if we follow O'Donnell's theory, South Africa is still a very vulnerable democracy since no "alternation in power between former rivals" has occurred in this country's political arena.

The ANC government has done much to involve civil society organizations in its decision-making procedures. The government has established various movements and bodies to serve as discussion platforms that involve all sectors of society, such as the Moral Regeneration Movement, the National Youth Commission and the Gender Commission. These platforms are very important for the consolidation process, that is, if they operate as effectively as they should.

Moral Deliberation In South Africa

A Personal Experience

I recently attended the Moral Regeneration Movement's Annual Conference in Johannesburg for the first time. I must admit that I was a bit confused about what delegates were supposed to discuss and what the desired outcomes would be. Quite interestingly, one of the first things I noticed through my networking endeavours was that my colleague and I were the only official representatives from a political party-capacity, and the only official representatives of a political youth wing. The remaining delegates either came from a faith-based background, or other civil society groupings.

This discovery disappointed me as I strongly believed, and I still believe, that when it comes to the moral regeneration of a society, leaders or representatives from all spheres in society must be present, especially those in very important decision-making positions.

This phenomenon coincides with serious problems. One could either assume that every other single political party, especially from the opposition, had something else that occupied them throughout the course of the conference. Or, one could argue that there were members of all political parties there, even though they did not attend in that capacity. Worse though, if one can be allowed to express with some cynicism, one could even go as far as to say that political leaders are just not interested when it comes to the question of morality – this being quite a disappointing reason when we look at the infamous moral debates of late in our political arena.

Implications For Future Leadership

The absence of political organizations, especially in terms of youth in leadership positions, could have serious implications for future leaders, irrespective of the reason of absence. This absence also runs the danger of showing that aspirant political leaders are disinterested in the work and concerns of civil society. And, through a domino-effect, this could affect aspirant leaders' accountability to the society which they are supposed to serve, leading to decisions taken without civil society's input and without any sense of responsibility toward them. If this trend continues, serious threats face our political culture.

Almond and Verba (1963) defined political culture as "the attitudes towards the political system and its various parts, and attitudes towards the role of the self in the system." A country's civil society certainly is one of these various parts. Hence, the disregard of civil society could lead to a lack of trust in political leaders and the government institutions where these leaders serve. A democracy without trust would hamper true consolidation.

The Way Forward

Political leadership and civil society must unite in order for true, ethical leadership to transpire in our society. Youth leaders must become aware of the ethical considerations they need to make when embarking on a particular decision or action. Active consultation with civil society must be recognized as a mandatory requirement; only then will our country's political culture be preserved.

We, as South Africans, require a set of rules or guidelines that need to be followed when decisions of any nature, especially of an ethical nature, need to be taken. The development of these guidelines should include contributions from political parties, government and civil society. These guidelines should then be distributed to all political and civil youth leaders especially.

The role of the MRM, in addition, has to be expanded. This movement has the potential to develop into a true ethical watchdog, if applied properly. The MRM could probably serve as the body that develops compulsory ethical courses and training tools for all aspiring youth leaders, while playing a key role in the

operation of the South African National Youth Council, the National Youth Commission and the Umsobomvu Youth Fund.

In conclusion then, this chapter advocates the crucial cooperation between government, youth leaders in political parties, and civil society, as a means to 1) promote ethical leadership in and through youth; 2) contribute to the consolidation of our vulnerable democracy; 3) preserve and improve our existing political culture through the promotion of ethical leadership; and 4) advocate a more active approach towards the role of the MRM. The serious consideration of the arguments presented in this essay could play a significant role in the development and promotion of true ethical leadership. This is crucial for a country where research has proven that society's trust in governmental institutions is decreasing (Garcia-Rivero et al., 2002).

 [To Contents Page](#)

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 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 5: Perspectives From School Learners

📖 **Lunga Adam:**

Future Leaders Or Perpetrators Of Immorality

Phakama Secondary School

The odds have been stacked heavily, and sometimes aptly, in the present times, against the youth at large. The youth, apart from being viewed as future leaders, are perceived as the ones who perpetrate today's heinous crimes like rape and murder, which often leave psychological scars on the sufferer's families.

The negative impact of some of the youth in our society is such that it could make or break the country's future. Sometimes these young folks are left with not much choice but to drop out of school because of circumstances beyond their control. The question hence is: who should be blamed in such tough situations, the youth or us? We generally claim that we do not know the answer on such questions.

Unlike the past where the youth looked up to older people, during the reign of apartheid, these days everyone looks up to the youth. The wealth of talent, knowledge and dreams that the youth embodies signifies a promising and brighter future. The reality however indicates that the youth, especially in the townships, find themselves in the most disadvantageous positions. They grow up with the extreme realities of poverty. These young people learn how to pull the trigger of firearms and witnessed the practices of drug dealers. The circumstances of these young people perpetuate some of their despicable behaviour. Often some of them are sentenced to life imprisonment. This picture is a reflection of their plight and reaction against flagrant discriminatory socioeconomic conditions.



Our youth spend a prolonged time in the slammer, for crimes (sometimes petty crimes) they have never thought of committing. The late African Jamaican giant Bob Marley once said "blacks, free yourselves from mental slavery". We cannot imply that change will never occur and that our youth would remain stubborn and unchanged. It is also not morally advisable to argue that poverty and unemployment could be employed as a licence to visit the trauma and frustration of the innocent youth.

The lack of role models for the youth is another problem. Mr Jacob Zuma's actions are raising so many questions about the credibility of our leaders. We may begin to wonder what the difference between greed and need is. The youth perceive these examples as deplorable acts of our modern society.

It is completely out of line to think that we, as the young people are gaining something from these internecine acts of delinquency. In fact, we suffer and eventually die. The first HIV/AIDS case (patient) is said to have fallen into this perilous trap, often because of ignorance and preconceived ideas that never were grounded.

Alcohol consumption in the townships is an everyday practice which calls for sincere concern and action. Young minds often have to be subjected to the sight of their own waning stars, whilst-even if not literally writing their own obituaries. The youth are therefore the ones who bear most of the brunt of moral decay. Alcohol, in our townships, is more than money the root of all evil. Quite frankly, our brethren and sisters are doing themselves a disservice by holding glasses in taverns on Saturday evenings and Sunday mornings. It may be the fashionable thing to do, but where does it lead?

Where has the spirit of our young people that we've known since the dark days of Apartheid, gone? Where have the real youth, who used to stand up for what is theirs, gone? Where has the young minds' creativity and energy, gone? Where to have our future leaders vanished? We could also ask: how much barbarism and senselessness pay? Unless we act in a pro-active manner, these questions will remain indefinitely.

We should inexplicably be concerned with the little children of our society, who look up to us for solace and inspiration. One of the lessons we should learn from our hopeless situation not to forget, is our background. It is strange and disheartening that young people underestimate the teachings and values of their mothers or grand parents. The world would be a better place if we hold on to, and appreciate the traditions and belief we inherited.

Some of us are privileged to live in affluent suburbs, yet we are unable to realise the pressing needs and dreams of less fortunate young people of society. We are generally not born as millionaires, but have to suffer and work hart first. Life is figuratively speaking short, yet Nelson Mandela "managed" to spend 27 years of his life on Robben Island. Today he continues to live life as anybody else, without regretting the fact that he was incarcerated. Our destiny is in our own hands. We need to become leaders in our own right, able to be moral responsible agents and willing to serve our society. Leaders most often experience failure, but some will bounce back, whereas many of us are not even prepared to take up some form of responsibility.

The youth of our country must be encouraged to attend school in order to receive education which could form them into good citizens. Disciplined school education will help to decrease the levels of crime. Good public education for our youth is one of the main vehicles which could unlock the doors of positive future prospects. The secret is to saturate our minds with positive thoughts, to see beyond the darkness of our situation and to rise up every time we fall.

The current crime and morality problem lies with each and every one of us. We, as South Africans, have disrespected human life for such a long time that the killing of our brothers and sisters became an acceptable fact of life. We must stop the tide of immoral behaviour and habits in the country. The vision for moral regeneration will otherwise only be an empty and useless concept.

 [To Contents Page](#)

6 Barbara Burger:

Morality For Dick And Jane

Gr.12, Montagu High School

... because there were no 'good old days' these are the good old days"

(from the song 'The Good Old Days' by the Libertines).

Growing up is a confusing time for every human being. It always has been and always will be. We do not only have to do busloads of Mathematical homework, we are simultaneously challenged to discover our own identities in the process.

This scenario is not confined to the human-race alone. Young animals playfully fight in preparation for the real fighting (for their survival) they will do as adults. The only glitch is that not all of us are fortunate enough to be frolicking in grasslands (not that all animals these days are either, but that is another story). Even our (human's) playgrounds are filled with broken glass bottles and cigarette butts. The young animals learn skills so that they will be able to survive. What skills do we need to survive in a world where the newspapers are filled with sensation and advertisements that make it difficult to distinguish what are real? It should therefore not be a surprise that so many young people end up as casualties of crime or mindless consumerism?



The problem lies in the fact that we all feel the need to have something to believe in, something to be a part of, especially when we are young. This is not a new problem: In Crime and Punishment by Dostoyevsky the protagonist Roskolnikov has a dream that the earth is infected by a plague that made people become insane so that "never had they believed so unswervingly in the correctness of their judgements, their moral convictions and beliefs. No one knew who to make the subjects of judgement, no one could agree about what should be considered evil and what good. People killed another in a kind of senseless anger."

We should ask ourselves whether Dostoyevsky's observation sounds familiar to our own situation in the country. The youth's perception of our world is dominated by damage caused by the convictions held by various people, institutions and ideologies. Gangsterism, Capitalism, Communism, Christianity, Islam or the ideology of race superiority represents a few of these convictions. Most of the wars in our world are based on convictions and ideologies people represents and are prepared to fight for. It is no wonder that young people today feel confused and even cynical.

The picture description above is not a new thing; it has presented itself throughout the ages. Yet we never seem to learn from our mistakes. The ancient belief systems of our world (religious and patriotic extremism, etc.) were the root cause of the deaths of millions of people, and yet, it could not solve anything. The world and we especially need something new (hope or solutions), before millions of more people lose their lives.

What can we do about it? We should more than ever before stand up and reject any cause that aims to destroy our societies and world. We must not mindlessly accept everything that comes our way. No person is ever going to grow up in ideal circumstances. Most of us are not lucky enough to experience a 'fairy-tale-like coming-of-age life story'. We don't get our life-lessons handed to us on a plate. When we do (like on certain family-orientated TV programs), these messages are often coy, naive and not applicable in the real world. The only way we are going to escape becoming victims of society is to go out and search for the truth ourselves. We have to make constructive contributions for the development of this new or moral world.

We must say no to the capitalist market strategies of greed and personal fulfilment at the expense of communities at risk. We must refuse to be placated by reality shows while poverty and crime in the REAL world is rife and a reality. We should refuse to admire Lindsay Lohan's latest hairstyle. We must admire and promote the actual and real art being produced by those less fortunate and infamous.

All forms of hero-worship must be avoided and even destroyed. All people, no matter how noble, are only that: people, ordinary human beings. Everyone makes mistakes. No one deserves to be elevated to the status of a god, not that all forms of emulation must be abolished. Deeds and accomplishments should be admired and not personalities. Heroes should be replaced by mentors, people who by their deeds would help us to discover our identities and purpose in life.

The idea and modern practice of fame, the biggest idol of all, should be burned. If we could make large fires with tabloids and celebrity magazines, we would be providing heat for millions of poor people. Instead of fame we should strive for the development of our talents and the respect of people. Celebrity teaches us not to value the people around us.

This might all be easier said than done, but we know for a fact that a lot of young people would agree and if we all share our opinions and ideals with other people we can at least try to make a difference, which is a lot better than doing nothing. Modern day youths are tired of being seen as some kind of litmus test for the morals of society. The time may be ripe for the youth to be the catalysts of our society and world.

 [To Contents Page](#)

📌 Hammaad Gamielien:

Morality 'Cast In Stone' Within The Youth

The South African nation is seen by the world as a nation of miracles. The admiration that this country has received because of our peaceful and bloodless transition to democracy has been phenomenal. It has generated the kind of goodwill that we are still observing today.

Young people since the beginning of the fight for liberation have been at the forefront of this struggle regardless of race, belief, language and culture. Is this still the case? Many examples exist in South African history of how young people have led the vanguard in the anti-apartheid struggle. The most famous of our young heroes being young men like Hector Petersen who died during the youth uprising in 1976 and Philip Kgosana who at 19 led 30 000 people in a march from Langa to Cape Town city centre in March 1960. In the Western Cape young people like Colleen Waterwich and Ashley Kriel were at the forefront of riots in Athlone in which they died. The Trojan Horse Memorial stands as a testimony to their bravery in the face of adversity. Twenty years later one should ask who these youths was? Where did they get their courage from? This is one way of getting young people excited about the future and motivating them to greater heights. Seizing our past and using it to propel ourselves into a better tomorrow.



In this day and age the youth seem to be searching for new and more interesting ways in which to spend their time (the precious little that we have). Instead of spending their time doing something constructive, they indulge in immoral acts such as; sexual intercourse, drugs, excessive consumption of alcohol and even criminal behaviour. All of this is the product of a misled youth who have no common goal and who are completely misguided. The only apparent reason for this seems to be that they are not being recognized and taken into account as important citizens who are the future of this country. As a result of this non-recognition they indulge in immoral behaviour in order to make their presence felt. It is too simplistic to completely lay the blame of immoral behaviour at the feet of the youth, society as a whole need to take responsibility. The fact that we live in a multicultural and diverse society means that there are many different moral and ethical standards, however, this is no excuse for the lack of moral standards amongst the youth.

In any society there are common levels of morality that govern our behaviour. Morality must be 'cast in stone' within the youth, and this starts at home from a young age with the parents. The foundation has to be laid within the home and from there moral and ethical youth can be built – more importantly, as young people that are able to service society without being a burden. It is a sad and unfortunate reality that young people all around us are being brought up in dysfunctional homes where a firm foundation of morals and ethics are not being laid down. Some of us are extremely privileged to have grown up in homes where we have been taught the responsibility that needs to be shown toward life.

If the moral foundation is not laid within the home then special interventions will have to take place. These interventions could be: a life skills training program that not only shares information on the dangers and temptations of indulging in immoral behaviour, but also one that provides a space where youths can debate and come up with alternative ways to spend their time. This could take the form of counselling and workshops where youth can acquire new skills like web design, photography, music and art, writing and journalism. By completing these life skills programs youth should receive credits, which they can use to help them to enter tertiary institutions more easily or to obtain jobs. The credits would therefore be an incentive to

attend these life skills training programs. This will provide a platform for youth to show their true colours and in turn teach them the necessary life skills, which will hopefully instil a sense of responsibility toward society. Such interventions can serve to highlight that young people do not only have rights and privileges but also the obligation to serve their society and be good citizens.

Another intervention could be that the government introduce school psychologists and counsellors on a permanent basis. Teachers are not always able to deal with the vast array of problems surrounding immoral behaviour. These psychologists and counsellors should have regular meetings with the parents and teachers of the youth. This could bridge the gap and assist in solving problems and overcoming challenges.

All of these interventions are good only if the government realizes this and act on it. The youth, however will still have to take the initiative, and this is where part of the problem lies. Numerous opportunities are being presented to the youth today, yet they are not accepted by the very people in question. Young people have to realise that everything is not going to be handed to them on a silver platter. They will have to make an effort as well. Young people like Mark Shuttleworth have seized the opportunities presented by a free market economy. Young men like him are a perfect example for the youth to follow.

We need more public, open and accessible workshops for the youth to attend which can teach them practical ways in which to deal with other youth of diverse cultures, religions, denominations, ethical and moral backgrounds. This will only lead to positive results, and through this; energy, practicality and the creative spirit of the youth can be channelled. The bonus of keeping free minded and naïve youth off the streets is an added value. The number of youth who would have been committing crimes and indulging in immoral activities is also reduced. There is no clear-cut solution to any one problem, but education and interaction is essential for any solution. When the youth usually come together and work as a team, group or unit, the best is brought out of them. When our youth encountered obstacles they can then look back and emulate the mindset and passion that our youth of once had demonstrated.

We do not have a lack of role models; it is our failure to recognize, appreciate and acknowledge them for what they have done and are still doing. The past has long been a guideline and a light that lights up our path into the future. Unfortunately today the youth have become ignorant and arrogant, and have the perception that all is well. And this is the reason that leaders are so important, they shine in the face of mediocrity and lead the people to excellence – in this regard toward ethical excellence and morality.

 [To Contents Page](#)

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 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 6: Perspectives From Youth Leaders In Political Organizations

Rudi Buys

The Youth Commission is a type of 'watchdog' structure created from dominations of civil society and various other organizations, and appointed by the Premier to monitor government departments in terms of their delivery towards youth development and so forth.

The Youth Commission fully supports the work of the Ethical Leadership Project as it is critical that in terms of leadership in the youth, there is an agreement as to what type of society we want as young people.

Successive generations of leaders from our country have paved the way for us all to engage on issues of society and leadership in a land where freedom, justice, dignity, and democracy reigns supreme. These people have through many years, demonstrated to us as leaders the vision of a shared future and age of hope for all. We must realise that as young people we stand on the shoulders of leaders that have been there before us. We will never forget the huge debt that we owe to the generations of 1976 and many others, who risked death, curtailed their education, and defied the might of the apartheid system so that we and many future generations can enjoy liberation, democracy and human rights. It is for this reason that we have made exceptional efforts in all sectors in this province and our society as a whole to honour and commemorate the sacrifices of young people in the last three decades. This effort does not simply aim to spend resources on festivals or marches just for the sake of fun. All efforts as a nation to commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of 1976, bares witness to who we are as a people and what we hold dear as a society, namely, the defence and promotion of dignity, freedom, and justice for all.

Our history has provided us as the new generation of leaders with broad shoulders that stand on other broad shoulders of past generations of leaders. Their shoulders, say that even though a great battle was won in gaining freedom and democracy for all, the many battles to realise freedom to each and every one still lie ahead. Today young people face different struggles which require a similar movement of change that deals with the shocking levels of unemployment, poverty and many other issues that condemn many to having despair.

Let us not be mistaken, education is the key to total transformation; this has again been highlighted by the Human Rights Commission's latest report. This report focuses on the right to basic education, and reflects on a process of public hearing to speak on what people on grassroots level feel about education. The voice of the youth were not clearly heard in that process.

We are aware of the daily challenges we face on a daily basis, such as, violence in many forms and especially against the most vulnerable among us, the challenge of sickness and health issues, crime, lack of opportunity, lack of resources, substance abuse and many others. However, as each leader and organization works to deal with these challenges in their respective fields of speciality, they must also consider how they can exponentially and continually expedite growth, while containing and eradicating the shackles that keep us from truly realizing the fruits of democracy.

The question is what key should all young people, despite their backgrounds, use to do development work? We have already indicated that we need a movement of young people that rises up and participates in creating a future for themselves and the community in order to speed up the process of constructing and growing the Western Cape and the country. Our rationale to commemorate the anniversary of 1976 and to use



that as a basis of reflecting about where we are going, is to say that that is a clear picture of a movement of young people for change. We need a movement of young people that works for the community, a new form of activism, a new movement that cuts across barriers and unites the youth on issues often debated on. A movement of young people that grasps the opportunity for responsible citizenship, and becomes a force to be reckoned with based on the contribution it makes.

As leaders in the youth sector, our first task must be to inspire young people to believe in their ability to transform their lives and that of their community. When we speak of inspiring others, we speak of a challenge we make to a particular mindset that we may come across. The mindset that voices fear, lethargy, superficiality, mediocrity and quick fixes.

By inspiring ourselves as young people, we must aim to establish a manner of thinking and speaking that enables us to be creative and take initiative in finding solutions. We must aim to establish a manner of behaviour that speaks of courage that moves beyond boundaries that oppress us. We aim to inculcate a spirit of wisdom and true engagement in a battle of ideas where we can explore in depth what direction we, as young people, believe the nation should follow. Above all, it is our task as leaders to inspire our generation to know that we have the power to change our destiny. We must become the change we want to achieve. In order to inspire, as leaders, we need to ensure that we focus on guiding a process of meaning, engaging in a process of how we will find meaning in our lives and how to construct meaning in our communities. It is a critical aspect of inspiring ourselves. We need to establish significant teams and community; we must be able to create networks of people working together towards a shared goal. We need to inculcate a spirit of dialogue and discussion, where we see partners from various perspectives, because debates that do take place only take place within our own communities.

One of the challenges that we are faced with is how to go about critically engaging people outside of our familiar communities and cross the boundaries; whether between physical barriers, political ideas, or religion. This is the spirit of dialogue. However, we must inspire ourselves towards a specific goal; as leaders we must be able to guide energy unleashed towards a significant goal, namely, giving people a voice. Meaning the strengthening of civil society, creating a way whereby people in various sectors can unite in a forum to discuss issues of community. That is a critical key that cuts across all communities, because it simply provides a voice, and does not argue for specific interests.

We as young people need to ensure that we are able to make meaningful contributions to strengthening civil society. We should have worked for quality and people that can make an impact, at every meeting where young people participate. When we discuss creating civil society initiatives, there must be continuous partnerships between the various directions that we are taking. We must be able to participate in decision-making forums, and lastly we must realise that we all need to align our thoughts with the constitution. We have a constitution that dictates that we must give affect to freedom, and the rights of people. Everyone should work towards the development of the constitution's ideals and values. In giving the youth a voice, a new activism and spirit of voluntary work ought to be developed. What we want to reclaim as a youth sector is that exhibition of selfless service to community, serving something that is bigger than ourselves. By serving others, we do not serve mediocrity, but excellence. It is important that we speak out on social political issues. We should not leave leadership and participation to others; everyone has a responsibility, as a citizen, to participate in discourse. Therefore, we must pay attention as to where we can find opportunities to participate within public forums of discourse.

We might still ask ourselves what the most essential cause of a young generation is. The challenge of humanity is the attempt to move beyond the set categories, which our societies have structured; categories of race, gender, religion, language and so forth that have been used to divide people. The challenge of our generation in developing society is to realise the vision of unity, and reconciliation as a means to how people interact.

In conclusion, to what extent are we as young leaders succeeding in acting in a manner that says that our country has changed, while celebrating our differences?

Chapter 7: Ethical Leadership In And Through Youth Workshops

George Youth Workshop

This workshop was held in George on the 27th July 2006 and was facilitated by Distinctive Choice Development Consultants.

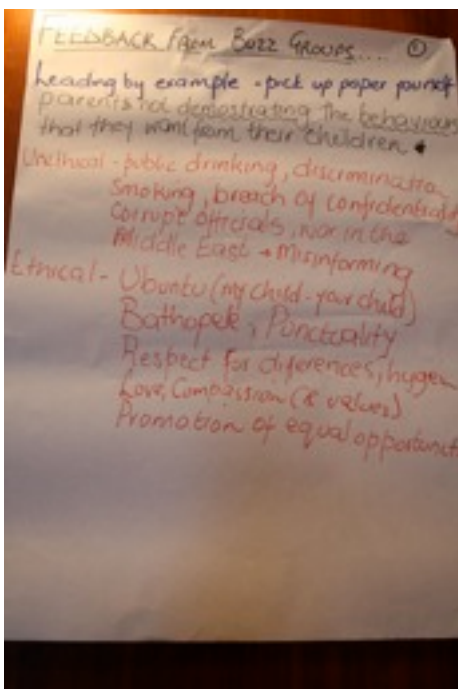
The George workshop was one of a series of workshops that was conducted with young people throughout the province on the topic of ethical leadership.

The ELP Youth Conference held in June 2006 identified a broad range of issues currently affecting young people - including that of identity, unemployment, high school dropout rates, teenage pregnancies, crime, HIV/AIDS, and service delivery for youth within the various local communities.

The choice for George (the Eden Municipal District) as the location for the workshop was motivated by the results of research which proved that young people in this area face many of the issues identified at the Youth Conference.

The overall objective of the workshops was to build and strengthen ethical leadership in selected communities by stimulating critical thinking and discussion amongst the youth.

The expected outcomes of the workshops were to



create a place and space for young people/ leaders to enhance and foster moral consciousness in and through the process of moral formation and transformation.

The workshop brought together a demographically diverse group of 69 young people.

Participants called for follow up processes to monitor how these young people would apply what they have learnt in the workshop. Participants found that the methodology and facilitation of the workshop allowed them to share they own understanding, knowledge and to explore their own solutions.

 [To Contents Page](#)

Paarl Youth Workshop

The second Youth Workshop took place in the Drakenstein Community, held at the Paarl Town Hall on 2nd August, 2006. The workshop was facilitated by facilitators from the vibrant local community-development group, Koinonia. Nearly 100 participants took part in this one-day workshop.

This workshop focused on the challenges facing South Africa's youth, namely unemployment, lack of role models, poverty, poor morale, identity issues, violence, the HIV/AIDS crisis, abuse, crime, etcetera and the potential of the youth to change the world.

The poem, *Africa, alive with possibilities*, served as a motivation for the entire workshop proceedings.



The fictitious character "Ubizzy" was introduced to encourage young people to discuss their own challenges in a safe environment by projecting them onto Ubizzy.



The workshop focused on morals, values, principles and ethics and the said examples of specific leaders, and scenarios involving those leaders.

The workshop concluded with President Mbeki's views on the true African way of leadership which encouraged participants to "be the difference you wish to see in the world!"

 [To Contents Page](#)

Section 4:



Ethical Leadership In & Through Gender

 [To Contents Page](#)

Introduction And Background

ELP research has identified and highlighted gender based violence as one of the biggest challenges for a morally transformed society. The Belhar, Delft, Bishop Lavis, Elsie's River and Ravensmead communities, as examples of this scourge in the Western Province, shows high incidents/ levels of GBV. The following paragraph gives a brief overview on these communities.

In these areas domestic violence and sexual abuse is on the increase, according to the South African Media and Gender Institute (SAMGI). There are local community organizations which provide specialized services to many women who are abused in these areas, for example MOSAIC (a training, service and healing centre which offers supportive and educational services for abused women and female youth), The Eden Centre for women (who initiate action against abusers), and Rape Crisis (offering counseling and education for sexually assaulted women). However, these programs can do only as much as their resources allow them to, and they are therefore limited and cannot focus on core issues of morality, values and ethics.

Furthermore, the media has been reporting many instances of child sexual abuse in these areas. Herewith a few incidents that were reported in the media:

- ◆ A forty two year old man from Belhar was caught on Macassar Beach in his kombi filming a porn movie with a thirteen and a fifteen year-old. He is facing charges of indecent assault and of producing child pornography. The concern is that images of children from these communities could soon find their way onto the countless child porn websites via small-time local producers (Special Assignment, SABC news 30/08/2005).
- ◆ Two pre-teen girls were raped, murdered and their bodies dumped in the bushes near their homes in Delft (Mail & Guardian, 11 November 2005).
- ◆ The brutal rape and murder of a four-year-old from Ravensmead and killing of a five-year-old from Delft shocked the Western Cape. It has become a well known fact that girls and women (in particular) are often raped and murdered by a close friend or relative who knows the victim and her family quite well. In the case of the four year old, it was a neighbour and close family friend, a 35 years old man, who raped, sexually assaulted and killed her. He has subsequently been arrested having pleaded guilty to raping, sexually assaulting and murdering the little girl (IOL 20/08/2006).

It is reported in the Mail & Guardian that the unemployment rate in Delft is between 65% and 75%. High unemployment, alcohol and drug abuse is often connected to the high crime rate in particular domestic violence and sexual abuse in communities.

Such activities are also often linked with gangsterism which is rife on the poverty-stricken Cape flats where there is an estimated 100 000 gang members affiliated to 137 gangs of which the 28 gang is the most notorious for its brutal rapes and killings in the area (Special Assignment, SABC news 12/10/ 2004).

According to Jewkes, Penn-Kekana, Levin, Ratsaka and Schrieber (1999) in a recent community-based prevalence study on GBV, 26.8% of women in the Eastern Cape, 28.4% of women in Mpumalanga, and 19.1% of women in the Northern Province had been physically abused in their lifetimes by a current or ex-partner. Furthermore, it is estimated that in Gauteng one woman is killed by her male partner every six days. According to Lisa Vetten and Kailash Bhana (2001), 44% men working in Cape Town have admitted to abusing their female partners in 1999. If this information is understood within the context of GBV, the issue of rape in South Africa is even more horrific according to a South African feminist theologian and scholar, Beverley Haddad (2002).

In this instance it is also important to note that gender roles in general have rapidly changed over the years, in particular the roles of women in both the private sector as well as the public sphere. More and more women are now empowered to play leading roles within various sectors of the public domain. Through education, training, legislation and awareness raising, women are becoming recognized as "equal" to their male counterparts. However, together with these progressive changes, more women are also becoming single parents. This in turn is a strong indication that women now also have to take the lead in being the sole breadwinners of the household. Within these contexts, though, some women seem to be experiencing GBV

on an ever increasing rate as they now have to contend with their male partners who still seem to have the perceptions that a “woman’s place is in the kitchen” and that women remain the “ property” of men whether it be their fathers, brothers, husbands, etc. Thus, GBV seems to be a vicious cycle where women continue to be abused by their male partners. The Ethical Leadership in and through Gender Conference was held against the backdrop of the above-mentioned scenario.

The Ethical leadership in and through Gender Conference was held at the Kramer Law Building, University of Cape Town (UCT) on 12 and 13 September 2006. The aim of the conference was to scrutinize the role of gender in ethical leadership focussing on the following critical areas: gender based violence (GBV hereafter) (including child sexual assault); women and men roles with respect to socialization, religion, culture and tradition; a critical introspection on women, men and morality; the relationship between SA men’s identities and women’s equality; the implications of gender mainstreaming, moral transformation, health and sexuality (including reproductive rights and HIV/AIDS); gender roles and discrimination in the workplace and gender, globalization and poverty. The conference was attended by 243 representatives from various non-governmental organizations (NGOs), faith based communities (FBOs), community based organization (CBOs), educational institutions, state departments, businesses and advocacy groups dealing with issues relating to ethical leadership in and through gender.

 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter Outline

Chapter 1

Describes the **Deputy Minister Sue Van Der Merwe’s** (Department of Foreign Affairs) views on the crucial role of ethical leadership within all sectors of society, especially with reference to build social capital. She maintains that gender related matters is pertinent, as the role of women and men in society is continuously redefined according to socialization, religion and tradition as well as socioeconomic trends.

Chapter 2

Focuses on gender based violence (GBV), including child sexual assault from the different perspectives of **Rev. Bafana Khumalo** (Co-Director of Sonke Gender Justice Project); **Prof. Sheila Meintjes** (Political Studies Department, Wits); **Ms. Lungiswa Memela** (Western Cape Network for Violence against Women; Women’s Centre) and **Ms. Nazma Hendricks** (Rape Crisis & Nine-In-One).

Rev. Bafana Khumalo argues that the eradication of gender based violence (GBV) is the responsibility of both men and women in all spheres of society. His presentation entitle The scourge of Gender Based Violence is based within the South African contemporary context. He poses the question, “Why is it that our society ignores the plight of women and children in circumstances of continued violence and abuse and continues to show respect for persons of invidious character?” He states that this is indeed the challenge of moral leadership.

Prof. Sheila Meintjes applies the concept “androcentrism” and argues that it has become very powerful to describe the total control which men presumably have over all “subjects and matters”. GBV needs to be understood within the overall context of patriarchy as well as androcentrism and that a re-investigation and intervention needs to be launched to eradicate GBV in all sectors of society. Prof. Meintjes calls on all to practice ethical leadership within the context of child sexual assault. The aforementioned seems to be on the increase and poses an even more serious threat which relates to the ever increasing HIV/AIDS infection rate in South Africa.

Lungiswa Memela highlights the definitive and destructive role culture and tradition play within the context of GBV. She appeals for a critical introspection of and reflection on culture and tradition.

Nazma Hendricks (Rape Crisis and the Nine-In-One activist campaign) outlines the work and purpose of the Nine-in-One campaign established in support of the victim in the Jacob Zuma rape trial. Hendricks points out that rape as a form of GBV is on the increase as confused and mixed messages filtered through by the media.

Chapter 3

Focuses on the role of women and men with respect to Socialization, Religion, Culture and Tradition. **Sibongile Ndashe** (Women’s Legal Centre) sketches a picture of the differences and similarities between customary law and the law of the Constitution. Tension exists between that which ought to be and that which is, namely, the reality within which ordinary South Africans find themselves today. She calls for new, creative, yet diverse and innovative ways to live with such tension and ambiguity with regard to the role which men and women must play with respect to socialization, religion, culture and tradition. **Dr. Marjorie Jobson** (Commissioner for the Commission to Protect and Promote the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities) focuses on the gendering of ethical leadership. She reflects on the values, the role of culture, tradition and religion in the promotion of ethical leadership in South Africa and in the rest of the

world. Vivid and realistic examples illustrate how both men and women speak out from a deep sense of vulnerability regarding what they experience as injustice.

Chapter 4

Represents the views of the following exponents: **Mr. Mbuyiselo Botha** (SA Men's Forum), **Ms. Gertrude Fester** (Gender and Research in Education Specialist) and **Dr. Desiree Lewis** (Women and Gender Studies, UWC).

Mbuyiselo Botha focuses on the relationship between the identity of men and the equality of women in South Africa. Men have been brought up to believe that they are inherently born with leadership qualities and skills that would make them automatic leaders of women in any given situation. Women on the other hand have been brought up or socialized to believe in their being inherently inferior, incompetent and always without fail, expected to be lead by men.

Gertrude Fester focuses on the implications of gender mainstreaming within the process of social transformation. Ms. Fester sketches a brief historical overview and provides a workable definition of gender mainstreaming on a global level. Fester suggests that gender mainstreaming seeks to radically transform the entire society and that it would be beneficial for both women and men.

Dr. Desiree Lewis assesses the history of mainstreaming processes, and considers how far they have instituted meaningful processes for ensuring gender justice. Dr. Lewis critically reviews the current ethical and political challenges posed by the existing mainstreaming process, and raises the urgency for reinvigorating and politicizing such notions as ethics and morality, which have generally served particular (patriarchal, racial or class) interests.

Chapter 5

Deals with the perspectives of **Mr. Dumisani Rebombo** (Engender Health; Men as Partners) and **Prof. Tammy Shefer** (Dept. of Women and Gender Studies, UWC).

Dumisani Rebombo focuses on moral transformation, health and sexuality including reproductive rights and HIV/AIDS. Rebombo discusses morality and the need for moral transformation both for the individual and the nation. He identifies loopholes and challenges facing the transformation process. Moral decay contributes negatively to the overall health and sexuality of all, and this infringes on reproductive rights and other human rights.

Prof Tammy Shefer argues on gender and power in the negotiation of (hetero) sexual relationships in contemporary South African contexts. She provides a broad overview of what people know about how men and women in communities within South Africa currently negotiate their sexuality, with particular focus on safe sexual practices in the light of HIV/AIDS. She highlights some of the key findings of about 15 years of empirical research in local contexts which presents an overall picture of women's lack of negotiation and coercive and violent practices in heterosexual relationships. The social stigmatization of HIV/AIDS illustrates the continued inequalities between men and women through 'blaming' discourses in which women's morality is questioned.

Chapter 6

Describes **Prof. Teresa Barnes's** (History Dept, UWC) views on gender roles and discrimination in the workplace as a continued barrier towards the practice of ethical leadership within the work place. Barnes explores how higher education institutions in particular function in structured ways to reproduce gendered regimes of knowledge production. Gendered regimes in society code power and authority as male attributes, as things that some people learn in order to be men. She exerts that ethical leadership has to play a crucial role in higher education as to persistently interrogate and scrutinize the educational and academic structures of institutions to reveal gendered crookedness.

Chapter 7

Addresses **Dr. Maretha De Waal's** (HOD Policy & Research, Commission for Gender Equity) perspectives on gender, globalization and poverty. She argues that gender disparities in economic power-sharing is responsible for both the risks and uncertainties in the future. Globalization poses a threat to the economic development of especially women. De Waal states that the feminization of poverty has been recognized as a significant problem in the countries with transitional economies, such as those in Southern Africa.

Chapter 8

Describes **Dr. Clint Le Bruyns'** (Beyers Naude Centre, University of Stellenbosch; Ethical Leadership Project) views on gender, globalization and poverty. He highlights three different dimensions of globalization namely, cultural, political and economic. Dr. Le Bruyns links the notion of globalization with the feminization of gender and emphasizes the plight of women in this process. In conclusion he links Globalization, poverty, gender – and ethical leadership, by firstly, noting the vision and mission of the ELP and secondly, coupling it with its context situated in a globalizing South Africa and its reality of gender inequalities and injustices.

 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 1: Moral Transformation And Ethical Leadership In And Through

📎 **Sue Van Der Merwe:**

Women And Men

Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs

Three important factors will be discussed, namely the values of our South African society, our South African history in dialogue and debate and our role in leadership and ethical leadership in the international arena.

Our strength as South Africans has been on one level, and continues to be, our ability to dialogue and deal with our problems in this manner. This dialogue will take us closer to building a united and democratic South Africa. Issues of ethical leadership remain critical in the process of consolidating our democracy, and during the many years that South Africans and indeed many nations of the world have struggled to gain their liberation. The goal has always been about the attainment of freedom and justice, of the rejection of imposed forms of authority, of racial and gender domination. The freedoms and rights that generations of South Africans have fought for are at the core of our democracy. Our democratic agenda is predicated on the transformation of our society; from an unjust and divided one to a just and equal South Africa where all its people live in peace and prosperity. In defining the values in our society we use, as a measure, the quality and ethical standards of our leadership.



Does our leadership promote the ideals of a just and equal society, and create a South Africa that belongs to all who live in it? Do our leaders demonstrate in their actions, the values that come from our shared beliefs based on our collective past and our common destiny?

We need to define our common values. After the first democratic elections in 1994 the new government began with the task of building a new nation and healing the wounds of our past; and one sense this endeavour was about building common values upon which our new society would be based. Values are essentially enduring beliefs that influence the attitudes, actions and choices that we make as people and as a nation. Ethical leadership therefore entails the practical implementation of these values.

In the making of our constitution we have agreed to a common set of values against which we could measure our leaders. The mark of an ethical leader, in the context of our discussion, is therefore whether such a leader leads and lives by these values. In the post - apartheid South Africa there was a genuine expectation that the new crop of leadership, both women and men should be different from their predecessors. Our transition to democracy, in the commitment to resolving our historical problems through dialogue, gave our post – apartheid leadership a moral authority endorsed by most South Africans. The reverence that our first president, President Nelson Mandela, continues to enjoy today, both here and abroad, demonstrates the moral character of our revolution and democracy, and provides a vision for South Africa we aspire to.

Moral and ethical leadership should be concerned with the pursuit of rights to freedom, equality, fairness; and justice; values that have been fought for by past leaders and by all people. The South African constitution is the embodiment of these values, the collectively negotiated and accepted declaration of our shared values and is therefore the best guide of us as citizens to use as the standard for our leaders' behaviour and our own.

The preamble to the constitution states: “We the people of South Africa recognize the injustices of our past, honour those who suffered for justice and freedom in our land. Respect those who have worked to build and develop our country and believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it; united in our diversity”. This brief statement unambiguously articulates what the struggle for our liberation has been and continues to be about, namely the creation of a sovereign, democratic state based on the values of human dignity, the achievement of equality, and the advancement of human rights and freedoms, of non – racialism, and non – sexism. Therefore since 1994, the main task of political leadership in South Africa has been to transform this state machinery and society by eradicating discrimination, immorality and unethical apartheid legislation. However, real change will not be fully attained through transformation, legislation or policies alone, but also through the actions of leaders and of the citizenry in fostering these values.

In his opening address to parliament in 1999, President Mandela introduced the concept of the RDP of the soul. The need for a value based society in the attainment of our development objectives. He also clearly articulated the need for participatory development of the whole society, rather than leaving it to leaders alone; and he said:

“South African society needs to infuse itself with a measure of discipline, a work ethic and responsibility for the actions we undertake. Related to this is the reconstruction of the soul of the nation, the RDP of the soul. By this we mean, first and foremost, respect for life, pride and self – respect as South Africans, it means asserting our collective and individual identity as Africans, committed to the rebirth of the continent. Being respectful of other citizens and honouring women and children of our country, who are exposed to domestic - violence and abuse. It means building our schools into communities of learning and improvement of character. It means mobilizing one another and not merely waiting for government to clean our streets; or for the funding allocations to plant trees and tend school yards. These are things we need to embrace as a nation that is nurturing its new patriotism. They constitute an important environment for bringing up future generations”

This statement recognizes that all of us, as a society, have a critical role to play in transforming our apartheid legacy and building the kind of society that we desire. One of the strengths of our society is the commitment to participatory democracy, of dealing with the challenges of nation building through dialogue, accommodation, tolerance and ultimately, forgiveness. This is the legacy that we will leave for our children, the future leaders of this country. Real social transformation must be underpinned by a real understanding of the impact of these laws and policies on the lives of ordinary people.

A discussion document was produced by government entitled: “A Nation in the Making”, on macro – social trends. Here an analysis was done to answer questions regarding how the material conditions of South Africans have changed in the past decade, trends in the organization of social life, the identities through which South Africans define themselves, how the diverse and over arching identities and value systems affect South Africans’ self – worth. The document poses interesting questions based on the facts about the nature of our society and effects of policy choices on the South African public. It concludes thus; “what the data does show, as an aspirations value system, is that the nation knows that collective survival depends on successful regulation of social behaviour, including elements of the private space, in so far as they would be in direct relevance to the social sphere. The state, supported by the system of political organization, is the pre-eminent authority charged with leading this process. Civil society should add to both the formal and informal mechanisms of social regulation and morality. It can be argued that there is in our country and dominant and collective social aspiration to fashion a society that cares, an aspiration informed by the ideals of equity, of compassion for the most vulnerable, of gender sensitivity and honesty in individual and collective behaviour. These are the ideals that inform the core values of the constitution”. It concludes by saying: “the truth, however, is that aspiration and reality do not necessarily and do not always coincide. Real life, even if made jar with ideals, influences social behaviour in the here and now. Our task then requires conscious individuals determined to propagate humane values. In government, not enticed by arrogance, an elicit reward that power can bring; in business, not mesmerized by the glitter that purely selfish interests can harvest into personal use; and in civil society, not fazed by mindsets that pour scorn on the humble lifestyle of an honest day’s work.

The question of morality has long been part of our post – apartheid discourse.

A document entitled *The Moral Renewal of the Nation*, published by the ANC in 1998, made the point that democratic change in 1994 introduced a major change. The apartheid system was consigned to history, all countries that have passed through a major social change to establish new objectives, structures and modes of behaviour have found this a time of tension. Some seek to inhibit the development, others use it for party political purposes and blatantly immoral elements come to the surface. Corruption, criminality, tax evasion, fraud, rape, the abuse of women and children, extortion, and family break down, much of a touch by violence are the outward forms of a diseased social climate which affects us all. The whole country is passing through a period of transition in which we seek to establish a new and successful modern society. The problems we experience are not different from those in other societies, but at this formative stage we intend to do something to ensure that South Africa becomes a truly moral society.

In 2006 we are still undergoing a process of nation building, which of course has its own challenges which requires leaders of strong ethical and moral character. Our apartheid history has made us acutely aware of the destructive tendencies that come with unethical and immoral leadership based on favouritism, victimization, special interests, and racial privilege. In the end, leaders who rely on these create polarization of the society; into primitive notions of “us versus them”. Such leadership festers mistrust and encourages rule by fear, innuendo and mistrust.

Transitional periods have a tendency to create space for contending ideologies to emerge to challenge existing authority. These new transitional spaces create the opportunities for creative thinking, to finding new solutions to problems. Such problems can be dealt with through an open and fair engagement between those who lead and those who follow. Our culture of activism and commitment to dialogue becomes very important in overcoming challenges along the way.

Leaders in both government and civil society have a duty and responsibility to always lead by example. Values are conveyed and supported, not by words, but by deeds. One observer has made the point which says: “All the fine words in the world about the value of people have no weight besides gestures or actions that suggest the opposite”.

In South Africa there are a number of initiatives to engage the population in taking collective responsibility in ownership on ethical issues in our society; and over the long term ethical leadership that is founded on ethical values best serves both personal development and the common good.

We remain hopeful that collectively as government and civil society we can deal with the vital problems of the day and craft solutions to them. During the apartheid years South Africa received support from the international community, the powerful and influential anti – apartheid movement was mobilized in solidarity with the South African liberation movement. Through this, the role of ethical and effective leadership extended beyond South Africa’s borders. In the international arena today, South Africa continues to play a leadership role in our region, on our continent and indeed in the world. Our foreign policy agenda is informed by our domestic policy and the two are mutually reinforcing. Both domestic and foreign policy are guided by the vision of a better South Africa in a better Africa and a better world.

At the time we gained our independency from apartheid, South Africa was internationally isolated. One of the key foreign policy challenges facing our post – apartheid leadership, was to build relationships with the world that were damaged by apartheid. In doing so we adopted a foreign policy agenda based on the principles enshrined in our constitution.

In terms of international politics, the year since the Cold war has seen much soul searching among the nations of the world about reforming the institutions of global governance; key among this, is the nature of the structures of global governance; their inappropriateness in our modern world and the unfairness of a system based on conditions that existed in the world sixty years ago in the world.

There has been much debate, in these circles, on transforming these institutions. With a sharp focus on addressing, importantly, issues of leadership, good governance, and international morality. We have seen this theme carry through into multi – lateral forums and in particular the security council of the United Nations. We have already mentioned the interconnected nature of our domestic and foreign policies, the universal values which South Africa strives to achieve are also those to which it aspires to Africa, the South and the rest of the world in general. The principles, policies, and priorities of democratic South Africa provide

hope, not only for the people of South Africa and Africa, but also for the South; since they essentially provide hope for humanity as a whole.

We have been at the forefront of the struggle and key to this project of transformation of the global institutions of governance. Most of these institutions were created when many African countries were still ruled by colonial powers, and not yet liberated. These countries now seek to be regarded as equal members of the international community. One of the major debates for the past two years has been the reform of the United Nations' Security Council, and this matter has not yet been resolved. In addressing the United Nations general assembly in March 2005, the Secretary general Mr Koffi Anan stated:

"I urge member states to make the security council more broadly representative of the international community as a whole, as well as of the geopolitical realities of today; and I suggest that the renewed security council should make clear, in a resolution, the principles by which it intends to be guided when deciding whether to authorize or mandate the use of force"

As developing states we share these views as we believe that the current membership of the Security Council needs to be reformed to give equal voice to the people of the world. The way in which this Security Council is constituted lives up to that old maxim that says: "the strong do what they can, and the weak suffer what they must". South Africa has been nominated for a non – permanent seat on the United Nations' Security Council for 2007 and 2008. Security Council membership will present the opportunities for us, including the possibility for South Africa to play in an enhanced role in contributing to the work of the United Nations and the maintenance of international peace and security particularly in Africa. As an elected member, we will face formidable challenges and constraints due to the dominance of the permanent five members in the council. South Africa's status as an independent minded country, with a principled and predictable foreign policy, may be challenged by its participation and potentially questionable decisions of the council that may run counter to the interests of developing countries. Because of our commitment to multilateralism we are committed to the creation of a just, equal and rules – based international system; and adhering to standards and codes that seek legal protection for the poor and restraints on the strong. In this regard, declarations such as the United Nations' declaration on human rights and the African Union Human Rights Charter have created a basis for determining our approach on leadership and good governance.

To demonstrate our commitment, South Africa is undergoing a process of reviewing the promotion of democracy and good political governance as the basis for the reduction of poverty, and the attainment of sustainable development. On our own continent the African peer – review mechanism process evaluates and aims to assist countries in addressing issues of democratic and political governance, economic management and corporate governance for social and economic development. Participation by South Africa in the peer – review process shows the commitment, adhering to international standards and practices on issues of leadership, development and governance.

In conclusion, to address the question about what ethical leadership means to us in today's world, we would like to refer to the declaration in the 2003 Progressive Governance Summit which states: "this century has the potential to bring huge advances in health, in knowledge, in prosperity and to bring billions of people out of poverty. We are optimistic that a truly prosperous, inclusive and secure global society is within our reach. However, realizing that potential depends on careful and concerted action; it depends on the progress we make in further integrating our economies, societies, regions, and communities. And it depends on our success in standing firm against division within society, against prejudice, discrimination, and inequality and against division at a global level into competing blocks. Some will continue to respond by turning inward to the comforts of old identities, old ways of thinking, and old structures. We believe that new challenges demand new solutions that combine physical responsibility, investment in citizens and democratic processes; as progressive governments we will therefore accelerate our work in matching imaginative new ideas with practical means of putting them at the service of the citizens we represent". The above views express the sentiments of a collective of leaders who had met to deliberate on matters of significance and consequences as we have today. The conclusions they drew from their deliberations are indeed instructive by what we intend to do about the challenges that face us today. Therefore, we, ourselves, need to ensure that in the work we are about to undertake, we understand the following basic principles that we need to adhere to. These are: moral character, ethical values conveyed and supported by deeds, and a legitimate process of

engagement based on a common understanding of the rules of the game and the shared belief to contribute to the building of a better South Africa.

 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 2: Gender Based Violence And Child Sexual Assault

Rev Bafana Khumalo:

Seeking Creative And Positive Male Involvement

Co - Director of Sonke Gender Justice Project

The Ethical Leadership conference is taking place at a critical stage where we have to evaluate where we are going as a country. There are challenges that are emerging in the twelve years of our democracy that are worrying for some of us, in terms of where we seek to go.

Our focus is on seeking creative, positive, male involvement as we deal with the question of gender-based violence. We cannot resolve issues of gender-based violence without involving men in the process. Capacitating women on their rights and what it means for them in society is important and critical work; but in situations where there is gender violence which encapsulates those relationships we are actually exposing women to even more serious dangers. A woman who goes to a workshop where she is taught of her rights and returns to an abusive partner is actually in serious trouble. Therefore we need to do committed work with men so that a common view can be shared.

This discussion seeks to situate this problem and suggest a way forward in terms of what we think we need to be addressing it.

Our history, as a country, is laden with many challenges that are positive developments that one can talk of. It is a paradox at one level we are excited in terms of where we are heading, but at the same time there are negative challenges which we have to deal with.

It is surprising how the Women's Charter has seemed to vanish from the radar of our history. One wonders whether this is because it is a women's document, but it is a document that even at that time, began to say: side by side, with our men, we will march forward to defeat apartheid; and yet it is not featuring very prominently in our lexicon.

The challenge of violence against women and children remains great. Violence, rape, sexual violence particularly against young children, and the levels at which these types of dysfunctions are occurring is worrying, because the ages of victims are becoming younger.

The link between gender – based violence and HIV Aids is a major challenge. One journalist stated: "We are a nation without moral leadership", after a story of two young boys who tortured a toddler in a house. This unfortunately, is a mirror of the challenges we are facing.

It is not just a South African crisis, but a global phenomenon. Gender violence is not just physical abuse, but psychological as well; women are but down on a daily basis. In social economic violence, money is used to manipulate women, and sexual abuse. There are harmful practices which are taking place that need to be considered in our processes of moving forward. These are not conclusive, but some of the types of abuse that should be considered.

Men can and should play a meaningful role in the quest for gender equality. The struggle for gender equality is key to the success of our vision of a vibrant democratic society. We cannot talk about a successful democracy when half of our population is still treated like children. It is a blot on our, otherwise positive,



report card. Men's involvement would enhance our advancement in terms of values. We need to bring men on board, challenge and educate them in considering their positive role in our gender transformation; and not see it as a threat to what it means to be a man, because it is not.

In some instances we see change that is positive by men, men who are driving policies of transformation; there are social turns that are positive. There are individual and local circumstances which one can point to, which are glimpses of hope. Men are beginning to acknowledge sexual and reproductive rights, which in the past have been seen as only a women's domain. We need to work with men to transform gender norms, which in many instances occur at small scales and this needs to broaden so that this potential can be developed.

Men as Partners Process seeks to mobilize men for positive action, it is not only about talking, but involvement, actions. It formed part of women's organizations, because it is not only part of men but everyone. We need to educate young men on progressive masculinity. We need to establish community action teams, because it is important that what has been started is sustained and not merely a once off process. These interventions need to be sustained, mainstreamed so that we can see possible successes. There are seven areas of the spectrum of change, but we perhaps there are four critical areas that need to be focused on. One, at an individual level, because change has to happen at this level, therefore we need to develop programs that seek to transform individuals in terms of the role they play. Two, an interpersonal level, how to ensure that peers can hold each other accountable and how to deal with challenges faced with. A lot of work needs to be done on a communal level. Institutional level relates to government, a lot has been on this level: legislations, etc, but at a communal level a little has been done to advocate that, more work needs to be done so that there can be communal censure. When violence occurs, some say that it is a private matter, but this is not true as one can hear the screams and see the evidence of violence. What is our responsibility as a community in dealing with these issues? It is in this area which we would like to focus on.

What are the indigenous instruments available to us, on which we can build on? We have progressive legislation, the domestic violence act, which is important, but the scale of violence is increasing. We need to look at other approaches in responding to violence.

Koffi Anan says:

"A woman that lives in the shadow of daily violence is not truly free"

It is sad that women, in the African philosophy, who are bearers and nurturers have to live in the shadow of violence, it is an injustice to all.

At the end of one of the Women's Movement's conferences O.R Tambo said:

"The mobilization of women is the task not only of women alone or of men alone, but of all of us, men and women alike; comrades in the struggle".

 [To Contents Page](#)

📍 **Prof Sheila Meintjes:**

A War - Gender Based Violence And Child Sexual Abuse

We are living at the moment through a war upon our children.
Gender – based violence and child sexual abuse will be addressed in the following discussion.

Child sexual abuse must be seen in the context of a range of abuses against children; neglect, physical violence, is others, but there is a whole range of other neglects that could be included in the notion of abuse against children.

The meaning of child sexual abuse is as significant as the act of abuse itself. It is important to understand that different meanings can be ascribed to the same kinds of acts in different contexts. This is very important, but essentially what is meant by child sexual abuse is culturally inappropriate behaviour involving a disruption of expected adult roles. So that children who experience this, experience confusion, guilt, etc. Critical in any understanding of gender violence of any sort, in relation to children, is significance of gender power. Abuse is linked to power. Those with power can abuse, not all do, but many do. Those without power fall victim to abuse. We need to understand who has power in society around sexual matters.



Cultural and normative conventions shape how people understand and legitimize their rights and behaviour particularly around sexual matters. It is important for us to understand what the cultural and normative dynamics are in society and particularly in our own.

Androcentrism means male centred, male defined value – systems. There is no society in the world which is not androcentric. The term “patriarchal” is tired and overused and therefore we will replace it with the term “androcentrism”. In highly patriarchal societies men may see their behaviour as within their cultural and normative rights. This is a critical feature, what does it mean to have male rights in a society? We need to consider this carefully. What we mean is that men have rights over women and children. Rights and duties to protect them, care and provide for them. What we have found in global research is that the risk of abuse in societies is most likely in those where men are expected to exercise power over women and children. What we mean by power is about the authoritative right to exercise authority over another. What we have in these androcentric, hierarchical, patriarchal societies is a culture of male entitlement. Men see themselves as the first citizens. Society adds to that, men are the protectors; men are those who go out to war and give up their lives for the society. Women on the other hand stay at home and care providing the framework in which men can live. Men are the public representatives of the family in society. Men are the head and women are the neck.

In these androcentric societies women are defined as dependents and are not treated as fully equal, they are secondary citizens. Secondary citizens because they nurture, provide support and should not be allowed in to the public realm, because they are crazy once given any authoritative power. These are societies where the risk of abuse is very high. A final aspect of this very high risk factor is the culture of unquestionable obedience to elders and acceptance of subjugation of women and children.

Masculinity is linked to notions of sexuality. The conception of masculinity is linked to a biologically driven male appetite; what one person has called the hydraulic model of sexuality. This legitimizes the possibility of male abusive behaviour. In this situation women think it's a good thing to be grabbed by some male or other.

Women may collude or, in fact, expect men to behave in ways that are abusive. We have often heard: “he shows his love when he beats me”, it is frighteningly familiar.

In trying to look at the problems around child sexual abuse in this kind of context, the literature seems to suggest that one of the major problems in solving child sexual abuse is the dramatization of the event. We read about the incidents of abuse, but newspapers provide no analysis; we do not understand why this happens. The second aspect of the problem, in trying to come to grips with this, is the idea that women and children are victims and they are helpless. Well there is nothing helpless about most women one knows in the family, who is it that brought you up by hand? Your mother. The third is that the idea of naming victims or perpetrators is not a solution; what that does it to violate the human rights of both the child/ survivor, and, of course, the perpetrator to their dignity and privacy. A final issue, is that what happens in defining child sexual abuse is that it gets collapsed into a single category, that of incest. It masks the enormous complexity of this whole question. There are varying context of child sexual abuse, it happens in schools; girls and boys from the ages of eleven onwards are vulnerable to teacher and older boy abuse, for example. Adolescent offenders are becoming an increasing category of those who violate. Survival and transactional sex of teenagers and even younger children in poverty stricken families is something that we are learning more about. Umhlabulo and Ukugeza payments for pregnancy, that is damage payments to young women, often leads to continued payments for extended abuse by the perpetrators; this is becoming an increasing problem. Another context of sexual abuse is that of alcohol linked to intimate family abuse, and that seems to be one of the critical factors. There are big debates around the genetic predisposition of different types of people to act in violent ways once they have alcohol.

There are different kinds of sexual abuse as well and they are a long continuum, and this is a critical concept this idea of a continuum. We must think of it as a continuum, touching assaults on young girls, attempted rape by adolescent strangers, for example, these are terrifying experiences that scar women and girls for life. Flashing which creates threat and absolute distress for those who experience it and of course there are a range of incestuous experiences fondling, masturbation, rape by biological or social fathers or other relatives are very common and sexual harassment. That is all part of the range of sexual abuse that exists in this continuum.

What about prevention? Strategies need to take in to account the full range of the form of abuse. It is important that people don't think of abuse in a single sense. Telling children to say no, for example, could silence those who resist but cannot stop abuse. People feel guilty, because although they have been told about “no”, when it happens and they are unable to do anything they believe it is their fault. We have to be careful in how we engage with children around saying no; and of course, it doesn't deal with children who are to afraid to resist. What happens to those who are too terrified and women, for that matter, we need to confront the guilt children feel in those kinds of contacts as part of a preventive strategy.

What is critical is the coordination of agencies that care for abused children. From the police to the councillors, the NGO's that are dealing with this and the courts, all of these need to be re-evaluated in how they deal with children. There needs to be a much more concerted effort and understanding about what is going to help children to get through the ordeal of the whole criminal justice system.

Finally, the cultural construction of gender relations and child sexuality is a critical factor and it is one that people don't think about enough. Ann Levette, who was a psychoanalyst in Cape Town criticised what she called the Normative Local Positivist Science that focused on social deviance and social behaviour. In her discussion she showed that the objective knowledge that we think about in our modern thinking never takes in to account the issue of social context or unconscious processes that implicate and explain the attitudes, identities, ideologies and power that exist in real lived relations; and that is where we should be going. We should not be too abstract about these things and we should certainly reject the certainties that some objective sides provide us with. We have to be very careful.

In conclusion, we need a new research agenda. Research should be open minded, it should be expansive, include both qualitative innovation, as well as, looking at all the quantitative factors. We need to be aware of poorly designed projects that lead to inappropriate quality. We need to include the interconnectedness of human behaviour and the social historical context; we need to understand that behaviour can change. These cultural norms that we keep referring back to, African tradition, is a myth; we are simply re-inventing traditions that are extraordinarily conservative, that are re-constructing androcentrism, male hierarchies in ways that are going to damage society. The challenge here to leadership, is to do research in practise in way

that respects the dignity and autonomy of children. An assault on our children is an assault on ourselves, on the essence of our humanity.

 [To Contents Page](#)

📖 Lungiswa Memela:

The Impact Of Socialization On Adults And Our Children

Socialization is crucial, because it makes us who we are. When we as parents or family members look at socialization and at what role we can play in changing our current circumstances; we could make major changes which would make an impact on the way adults and our children would live their lives.

When a child is born, the doctor indicates whether it is a boy or girl, and in this we make an immediate separation between the two. From there onwards the child is most probably taught as toddler to play with certain toys. The boy receives a toy car and toy gun and allowed to play shoot family members, we laugh and play along at this. The girl receives a doll and tea set, she has to be doing a lot of cooking and she will be hosting many events, so she will need to learn this as it is important, and she must learn to nurse so that when she is mature enough she can trade her doll with a real baby. The same message should go for the boy, that he can exchange the plastic gun for a real gun. It is these subtle messages that we are giving that we sometimes don't consider.

In terms of expressing their feelings, if a girl comes in crying both parents would soothe the child, but a boy child must learn to fight their own battles. In this we teach boys not to learn to express their feelings; leading to them feeling frustrated. In curfews, the even if the girl is older than her brother, it is expected that the boy looks after his sister. Society is cruel at the moment, because we all need protection, there is nothing wrong with the children being told that they need to look after each other; but the emphasis is more that the girl child has to feel that she cannot be free and she depends on men or boys to look after her. The boy learns that he is the one in society that can do anything and that he can be free. This should not be the case. It is how we are saying it more than what we are saying.

In terms of chores given, in general the girl has to do the dishes sweep and make sure that the house is clean, while the boy child doesn't do much. That time that he gets gives him more time to do his homework, read and prepare for school, which is why we would most likely have partners who come home and relax, where as women still have to cook etc. If women could make a list of the type of partner she would want, the list would be very long. As parents are we raising our children up to that list? It is as though we think that at some stage, like 21, they just turn around and become the men that we are looking for; it does not happen like that. They have to be taught, because the world out there is already teaching, it is competing with us, so we have to make sure that we do our best in teaching them what they need to know.

In an African marriage it is up to the woman to make sure that the problems between her husband and herself are taken care of. A certain behaviour and certain things are expected from the married woman, not just by her husband and family, but by the entire society. There are certain things she may not eat in his home, there are places that may not be entered. When the husband dies, and he was abusive, this gives her a bit of freedom, but after six months men will start to approach her, and once again there is expected behaviour from the woman. There are things in each culture which need to be scrutinized. We should keep what is good and get rid of the bad. Some positive aspects in the Xhosa culture is if a woman is abused whether her family believes she should leave your husband or not, she would be given a roof over her head. Few African women will go to shelters for abused women, because the family believe that even if they have a one room house that, if you are family, we will take care of you. Those are some of the positive things in the Xhosa culture that can be kept.



When one considers the violence against women to HIV Aids, we know that millions of condoms are distributed by the department of health. How many of these get used? Few, because most are given to women, because women are the ones who attend clinics or surgeries more than men do. Sex in our society is still not focused on what the women want out of their sexual relationships. Women are the first ones, in most relationships, that will know of an HIV status before the male partner. This has put many women in danger, because the partner will place the blame on here even though he is the womanizer. At that point, because the woman is the first to mention her HIV positive status, it puts her in danger. The partners should discuss what they both want, we need to understand these situations and be able to work out strategies that will support the challenges mentioned. These challenges have to be addressed by everyone, males and females. HIV has shown us that there is no way that we can win the battle on our own. The time is now that we fight.

There is nothing new that is going to come in terms of other people who will help us, we are what we are waiting for. Let us use the time that we have to make those changes.

 [To Contents Page](#)

Nazma Hendricks:

Rape Crisis And The Context Of Rape

We will discuss what Rape Crisis is and the social context of rape and the statistics of rape.

Rape Crisis has been in the industry for 30 years, their overall aim is to eradicate rape. Although we are clearly sure that this will not be happening soon. Particular when one considers what is happening in our country at the moment. We try to challenge the power imbalance within society, on which gender violence is ultimately based. We have three offices, one in Observatory which is 30 years old, in Kayalitsa that is 10 years old, and the office in Heideveld.

Sometimes when we talk to the public we don't realise what people don't know: definitions of rape, definitions of sexual assault, we assume that we are talking to the converted.



We are in partnership with many other organizations as well. We offer free confidential counselling services to survivors 14 years and older, both male and female. The counselling is provided to the survivors, their families, partners, friends, whoever requires the counselling. We have support groups at different offices as well as telephonic counselling. We have a 24 hour telephonic service that provides support and containment. We have training and public awareness in two offices, we go out to schools, NGO's, government organizations, around rape awareness: the challenges, the myths, and also with service providers, how to prevent secondary victimization to rape survivors. Often at these forums there are many men, but when it comes to being active and joining campaigns and marches, we see very few men. We need to be working with men. There is one male in our organization, we need to think about how we strategically work together; and not to have separation.

In terms of partnership when we do training and awareness, often there is no cohesive communication, or united front. Where then do we have leadership? If we need ethical leadership how do we show a united, a national front?

One-In-Nine is using the media to its advantage. It is trying to identify 12 cases nationally, and then track it in the media, being more sensitive to the survivor's role in it. Rape Crisis also has a lobbying and advocacy department which gives court support, pre-trial consultations with all survivors if they request it. Whether they have accessed our services or not. We work very closely in conjunction with other government departments, with regard to lobbying and advocacy. The sexual offences bill, the draft is currently being looked at, so we are very involved in checking that our survivors' voices are heard.

One of the partnerships within our lobbying and advocacy department, was our involvement with NPA and social services around the launch of the anti – rape strategy draft, during women's month. We played a role in the development of that strategy. By mentioning all of these partnerships we are trying to make the point that these partnerships are important and the challenge that we have is how to develop partnerships that will take us through ethical leadership. We have leadership in terms of one, leadership in terms of individuals, leadership in terms of the communities, but how do we redefine ethical leadership in terms of the communities and NGO's that we work with. How do we not start making it about issues around power? How do we get to the basis of equity so that we talk and present ourselves as equal and balanced. But we know that there are underlying dynamics which are often projected; we need to start showing a more cohesive united front.

Chapter 3: Gender Roles With Respect To Socialization, Religion, Culture And Tradition

📍 **Sibongile Ndashe:**

Gender And Tradition - Are We Willing To Acknowledge The Leadership Vacancy?

Women's Legal Centre

Introduction

The false dichotomy between human rights and culture is perpetuated by those who have interest in maintaining inequality. Our attempts to address gender inequality are futile if we do not acknowledge the vacuum created by leaders who continue to re-present culture as static and not susceptible to interpretations that accommodates gender equality.

Background

I have argued elsewhere (Gender, Culture and Rights, Agenda Special Focus 2005 Human Rights, Gender and Culture – A deliberate confusion p36 - 41) that the subject of human rights gender and culture was subjected to a deliberate confusion. In that article I set out three arguments that are advanced in order to deal with the “perceived” inconsistency between human rights, gender & culture. There is a view that argues that the Constitution entrenches the right to culture and that, therefore, this rights is protected by the constitution. It continues to argue that the failure to recognize customary law on its own terms will not only have a disintegrating effect on cultural rights but that it will perpetuate the treatment that was previously accorded to customary law by the previous regime. CONTRALESA has been the main proponent of this view. The other variations of this group are that failure to recognize customary law on its own terms and simply applying the Constitution, is an introduction of western values and norms. The difficulty with the first group is that these argument do not say outright that it is the language of the Constitution that is rejected. It wishes away the Constitution and the values that it seeks to introduce. It acts as if the constitutional debates that prevailed at the Constitutional Assembly are still continuing. It has to be pointed out that the right to culture, although provided for in the Constitution, is made subject to other rights in the Constitution. This means that it does not suffice to simply argue that a particular rule is protected us custom; it is also imperative to argue further that the exercise of that right is not inconsistent with other rights in the Constitution.

There is a group that states that although there is textual support for the provision that the right to culture may not be exercised in a manner that is inconsistent with other provisions in the Bill of Rights, it is difficult to imagine how this will work in practice, if customary law is to be retained. Within this group there is a subtle call for pragmatism in the face of a radical rights-based discourse. This group argues that rights in the abstract, without the institutional framework that support these rights, like judicial institution, will lead to less protection that may ultimately disadvantage women rather than protect them. The other variation of this outlook is that the state has to negotiate between two frequently incompatible claims in a way that is sensitive to both the claims of groups, while still protecting the rights of vulnerable persons (Bentley, 2004). This is a call for a balancing exercise. In a constitutional interpretation, the exercise of balancing of rights only occurs during the second state, when rights are limited. It is therefore, argued that a better approach is to equip women to utilize local institutions that are best able to protect their rights. The danger of this approach is that it runs the risk of removing women’s rights from the ambit of constitutional protection and of subjecting them to a further re-negotiation in order to “protect women”. It delays the application of



fundamental rights until such time that there are institutions that are able to assist in the enforcement of these rights – making these rights subject to “progressive realization”. Finally, there is a grouping that argues that the rights-based discourse remains by far, the most convincing argument for the advancement of women's rights.

I'd like to expand on this argument and raise a further issue. The theoretical base for my arguments remain unchanged and I'd therefore repeat them for the sake of completeness.

Section 31 of the Constitution provides as follows:-

- (1) *Persons belonging to a cultural, religious or linguistic community may not be denied the right, with other members of that community -*
 - (a) *to enjoy their culture, practice their religion and use their language; and*
 - (b) *to form, join and maintain cultural, religious and linguistic associations and other organs of civil society.*
- (2) *The rights in subsection (1) may not be exercised in a manner inconsistent with any provision of the Bill of Rights. (my emphasis)*

The society that the South African Constitution aspires towards is an egalitarian one. The internal limitation which essentially provides that group rights cannot be exercised in a manner inconsistent with the Constitution, was secured during the Constitutional Assembly when groups such as the Intake Freedom Party and CONTRALESA opposed the certification of the final Constitution on the basis that it made inadequate protection for customary law and institution of traditional leadership.

Over the past ten years, the issue regarding what the Constitution provided for was left alone but the debates continued along parallel lines. I suspect that this was because there was an “assumed” lack of understanding about what the Constitution requires from those who are the “custodians” of the custom. Trust was put on the idea that when everyone recognizes the value of living in a constitutional state there may be acceptance of the values that the constitution embodies. Time has made it clearer that this lack of understanding has another dimension to it. It constitutes resistance to what the constitution provides for and unless there is political will to safeguard the interests of those who are at the mercy of those who resist the principles of equality and dignity – the constitutional gains made will remain elusive to people who belonged to a certain class, gender, and race.

Customary law as a legal system enjoyed a dubious position in relation to the apartheid legal system. This position continues to present a dilemma when discusses issues of customary law. How much of the colonial distortion resulted in the subjugation of women or differently put had there been no colonial interference what would have been the position of women under customary law? In a highly contested terrain such as this, a definitive answer may yet prove elusive. What has been clear however, since the advent of the Constitution has been the extent upon which the collusion between patriarchy, customary law and formal legal system has served to strengthen the subjugation of black women.

In the Bhe case, Langa J, made set out the problem as follows:

“At a time when the patriarchal features of Roman-Dutch law were progressively being removed by legislation, customary law was robbed of its inherent capacity to evolve in keeping with the changing life of the people it served, particularly of women. Thus customary law as administered failed to respond creatively to new kinds of economic activity by women, different forms of property and household arrangements for women and men, and changing values concerning gender roles in society. The outcome has been formalization and fossilization of a system which by its nature should function in an active and dynamic manner.”

Nhlapho set out the problem as follows:

“Although African law and custom has always had [a] patriarchal bias, the colonial period saw it exaggerated and entrenched through a distortion of custom and practice which, in many cases, had been either relatively egalitarian or mitigated by checks and balances in favour of women and the young ... Enthroning the male head of the household as the only true person in law, sole holder of family property and civic status, rendered wives, children and unmarried sons and daughters invisible in a social and legal sense. The identification of the male head of the household as the only person with property-holding capacity, without acknowledging the strong rights of wives to security of tenure and use of land, for example, was a major distortion. Similarly, enacting the so-called perpetual minority of women as positive law when, in the pre-colonial context, everybody under the household head was a minor (including unmarried sons and even married sons who had not yet established a separate residence), had a profound and deleterious effect on the lives of African women. They were deprived of the opportunity to manipulate the rules to their advantage through the subtle interplay of social norms, and, at the same time, denied protections of the formal legal order. Women became ‘outlaws’.”

Nhlapho “African customary law in the interim Constitution” in Liebenberg (ed) *The Constitution of South Africa from a Gender Perspective* (Community Law Centre, University of the Western Cape in association with David Philip, Cape Town 1995) 162

What is often missing in these narratives is the resistance and rejection of statutory laws that gradually removed the protection that were given to women at customary law, if at all there ever was. Why was it so easy to implement and enforce laws that subjugated one sector of the society? Whether one can rightly label this as an act of collusion, by two legal systems where the one treated the other with utter disdain and contempt, maybe questionable but what cannot be questioned however is the steady erosion of women’s rights and the devastating consequences that continue unabated. In accepting that customary law itself is a victim of distortion, what is the incentive for insisting on the application of a distorted version of customary law? Accepting again, that not all customary laws have been distorted what standard do we use to test the “correctness” of customary law?

The answer lies in the Constitution and the rights based approach which moves from the premise that all practices, standards must be tested against the constitution and consequently human rights norms to ensure that customary law is not treated as a sub- human legal system. At the onset I think it is apposite to state what the rights based approach is not about. The issue is not simply that customary law is discriminatory against women and should therefore not be applied and therefore human rights standards must be applied instead of customary law. This framing of the debate raises a number of concerns foremost it presupposes that rights based approach is abolitionist in form and simply wants to get rid of customary law. What the constitution is concerned with is customary law is recognized and must be applied but only to the extent that it is not inconsistent with other rights in the constitution. The problem with the framing is that it continues to force women to choose between race (which is impliedly embedded in the application of customary law) and gender equality, thus exposing the proponents of gender equality to the rhetorical questions of whether one is for their ‘culture’ or ‘western values’. The focus of the rights based approach is located on the discriminatory aspects of customary law that results in adverse consequences for women. Women’s human rights advocates are not fascinated with removing women from the protection that they enjoy as members of communities or in various family networks as it is consistently charged that the rights based agenda is individualistic.

I have also argued elsewhere (Gender Instrument in Africa, critical perspective, Future Strategies, using international Human Rights Instrument to re-envision gender in customary law 77 - 95, Institute for Global Dialogue 2005) that what needs to happen with this debate is that a ceiling and a floor must be set in order to use human rights standards to protect women’s rights whilst recognizing the multiple identities of women and the role occupied by culture in the lives of some African women. What this calls for is a need to conduct an enquiry regarding how the discrimination manifests itself and more importantly how rights can be recognized and protected regardless of which system of law is applicable. We do need to acknowledge that some of the customary law institutions that exist have not embraced the spirit and tenor of the Constitution and more importantly that this not due to an oversight but because people who have privilege rarely give it

up unless it contested, won and secured. Women's human rights advocates still have a bit to go in securing those privileges.

Gender discriminatory aspects of customary law – do they still exist?

There are certain customary practices that have always come to mind when one discusses the discriminatory aspects of customary law and the discrimination will vary depending on the impact of a rule.

Lobola And Custody Of Children

It is argued that lobola exists to protect women whilst others see it as a form of women subjugation. The question is what are the aspects of this rule that contributes or form a basis for discrimination against women. In the formal application of lobola, custody of the children at dissolution of a customary marriage was determined based on whether lobola had been given or not. This obviously had a detrimental aspect to women. Section 28 of the Constitution states that in matters dealing with a child, the best interest of the child are paramount. What the Courts need to enquire into is therefore not whether lobola has been provided or not because this does not necessarily determine the best interest of the child. These are the interventions that seek to remove rules that are arbitrary and whose application is detrimental to women. The Recognition of Customary Marriages Act repealed the customary law dealing with custody of children at the dissolution of the marriage. This is an example of how human rights norms have been able to guide the legislatures in eliminating discrimination against women.

The Return Of Lobola:

The Native Appeal Court case law dealt with that remains case law and men who want their lobola back continue to rely on. These 'laws' did not disappear with the advent of the Constitution. In instances where there has been domestic violence, the Courts will enquire as to whether the beating "exceeded moderate chastisement". Section 12 of the constitution provides everyone with the right to be free from violence whether it emanates from public or private sources. The questions therefore becomes does such a rule have a place in the society that is envisaged in the Constitution? Does a victim of violence have to weigh whether the violence has exceeded moderate chastisement or not? Does this rule not impact on whether women are able to leave abusive relationships or not? The response that is consistent with the constitution would be to develop this rule of custom to ensure that in instances of domestic violence lobola cannot be claimed back. The promise implicit in section 12 is that there will be legal consequences for those who inflict domestic violence on their spouses.

Primogeniture:

At its best this rule has been described as – "upon his death, the man's eldest son, in most cases becomes his successor and heir. He steps into his father's shoe, inheriting both his assets and liabilities. His widow should enjoy the same rights and privileges as she did while her husband lives similarly, with the heir's siblings while they have to be encouraged to set up their own homesteads, they may not be evicted from their home. The assets of the deceased, therefore are not exclusive preserve of the heir, to be used as his unrestricted pleasure, this however has not always been the case. All laws that seeks to regulate human interaction are bolstered by building in checks and balances, enforcement of obligation, and sometime sanctions. This did not exist in greater detail thus leaving the intended beneficiaries sometimes vulnerable. The lack of proper implementation was however not the only issue that bothered the court. In Bhe, the court found that the rule fell short of the constitutional promise to equality and dignity. The exclusion of women from heirship and consequently from being able to inherit property was in keeping with a system dominated by a deeply embedded patriarchy which reserved for women a position of subservience and subordination and in which they were regarded as perpetual minors under the tutelage of the fathers, husbands or the head of the extended family.

The Leadership Challenge?

To believe that the very same traditional leaders who were opposed to the notion of gender equality, during the constitution making process, will suddenly be in charge and in support of implementing constitutional ideals defies imagination. Resistance occasioned by fear of loss of privilege that is fundamentally patriarchal but disguised as communitarian values is the menace at play. Himonga (C Himonga, the advancements of African women's rights in the first decade of democracy in South Africa: The reform of the customary law of marriage and succession. Advancing women's rights : the first decade of democracy, first published in Acta

Juridical) argues that there are threats to the effective implementation of the new laws, and that traditional leaders who oppose the new laws on the basis that they side line customary law and culture in preference for Roman Dutch law will exert considerable influence on how these laws are received and implemented in their community. We have seen numerous examples of these, the Shilubana case pending before the Constitutional Court and the position adopted by CONTRALESA is a recent case in point (http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?click_id=13&set_id=1&art_id=vn20070506100708348C896547) and should not come as a surprise.

What continues to be of concern is the conspicuous silence that has been adopted by the ruling party regarding the stance adopted by its members of parliament. Whereas it is acceptable that members of parliament will not necessarily agree with everything that is contained in the Constitution, their constituency and party position is the basis for them being in parliament. The principle of gender equality is not contested within the ANC. It is a leadership challenge that traditional leaders who are members of the ANC continue to espouse a position which is inconsistent with the Bill of Rights and that of the ruling party (http://www.gaycentre.org.za/news.asp?Section_ID=8). The ongoing contestations between traditional leaders and the right to equality has not only been limited to gender equality it is also evident in the debates surrounding same sex marriages. In February 2007 CONTRALESA's Phatekile Holomisa stated at the conclusion of its general meeting that the position on same-sex marriages is that 'We will continue to inform our people that this is something we don't support'. There have been similar utterances which have been clearly homophobic and sometimes going as far as saying the constitutional court was wrong. This was shortly after the ANC had instructed its members to vote for the civil union bill. ANC leaders who are members of CONTRALESA were noticeably absent during the vote (http://www.int.iol.co.za/index.php?set_id=1&click_id=13&art_id=vn20061115043713495C702320).

A firm commitment aimed at ensuring that customary law is developed to be consistent with the constitution needs to be made, the debate of how customary law becomes part of a new democratic dispensation can not happen outside the parameters set out in the constitution. There needs to be a concession that the battle to remove customary from being subject to the Constitution was lost during the constitution making process. Whether one agrees with the constitution or not the constitution sets benchmarks regarding how we should understand the right to culture, custom. By continuing to have discussions outside the scope of the law one runs the risk of either marginalizing the laws passed by a democratic government and marginalizing customary laws and thus perpetuating what apartheid started.

References to laws that are mandated by the Constitution as "Western Laws" adds nothing to the debate regarding the role and status of customary law other than to appeal to popular sentiment, advance rhetoric, emotive and divisive. Sadly, it does not advance the case for customary law. The Constitution is not "western laws" it is an instrument that constitutes an embodiment of the aspiration of South Africans. We are all aware, often too well, of the fact that it is a compromise document. What is being called for, at the very least, is an acknowledgment that there is a stalemate. Our vision of gender equality is not aligned, some want full equality others are willing to give partial equality because.

Conclusion

With women who live on under customary laws we have not begun to specifically address the challenges comprehensively, because we are struggling with the fundamental problem of naming the problem. The problem sometimes ranges from lack of awareness or resistance to implementing laws. If a decisive step is not taken to address these challenges I am afraid that the constitution will in sometime be blamed for having had a disintegrating effect on customary law. When that happens, let it to be known that the people who treat customary law as an inferior law, despite the advent of the constitution are doing a disservice to customary law. My hope and contribution in this debate, is that we make ourselves understands again why we believed, at some point and even more so now, that the rights based approach is the most convincing approach in securing our freedoms, dignity and equality.

 [To Contents Page](#)

📖 Dr Marjorie Jobson:

Through A Gender Lens - Taking Account Of Socialization, Religion, Culture And Tradition. An Exploration

Introduction

Leadership makes a difference, as Cornel West, author of *Race Matters*, reminds us. The fact that a bloodbath was averted in South Africa, could, he asserts, be attributed to the leadership demonstrated by former President Mandela who influenced South Africans in all their diversity, to choose the path of dialogue rather than that of vengeance. Former President Mandela inspired all South Africans to rise to the historical challenge of changing the direction in which they and the country was headed and to begin to work together for a democratic and free



society in which all persons might live in harmony and with equal opportunities, irrespective of their race, gender, ethnicity, belief, social origin, culture or tradition.

The leadership demonstrated at the time of the transition, was coherent with the definition of leadership, constructed by Dr Robert Terry, former Director of the Institute for Reflective Leadership at the University of Minnesota's Humphrey Institute for Public Affairs. Dr Terry taught that if an action is not ethical, it is not leadership. The leadership demonstrated at this critical period in South Africa's history was most definitely ethical in that it sought to construct an ethical government that would govern through consent and by legitimate means, with an emphasis on embracing the dignity of all persons living in the country, unceasing striving for justice and the realization and progressive expansion of the public good.

Gender And Ethical Leadership In The Transition

While the political discourse of the transition was one of inclusiveness, the world of the transition negotiators would have remained an all-male political arena, had it not been for the leadership demonstrated by the women who inserted into the transition process the presence and the voice of women. Their goal was to make strategic interventions that might foreground the issues that disadvantage and marginalize women experienced, so that the decision-making forums might prioritize these issues in their law and public policy-making processes. These interventions could be said to have been ethical interventions. They involved strategic and principled decisions to change the reality that across most of the world, it has been customary for public policy-making forums to be male-dominated so that the policies that are constructed, are male-biased. These interventions were enormously disruptive because they set out to change the norms of how the business of politics was being done. The change demanded by women in the transition meant that every participant in the negotiation process was challenged to review how they had become accustomed to doing politics. This was the beginning of a process of reflection that sought to generate a climate in the country in which people in every area of life might try to uncover their ways of thinking about how the world runs and who runs the world towards the creation of greater equity between men and women.

Sustaining Ethical Leadership In And Through Men And Women

South Africa, in its transition, was blessed with a calibre of ethical leadership that enabled us to successfully navigate a treacherous terrain. That leadership had been honed over many years. It came from a historical context of struggle. The social values informed that struggle, primarily the values of the equality and inherent dignity of every person. Both men and women had contributed to that struggle. They had shared the experience of race and class oppression, but women had carried the additional burden of gender oppression. During the negotiations, it became evident that the political leadership had not comprehended that the state of social relations between men and women, was an arena of ethical limitation. Given their

experience of a male bias in society and its consequent legacies of inequality and dispossession, it was women that were left to draw attention to this ethical deficiency.

Most people, both male and female, have been and continue to be complicit with gender arrangements that disadvantage women. Most people have simply accepted the benefits of these arrangements without questioning or protest. Given this reality, the question arises as to what then might inform the ethical basis of the reconstruction and transformation of society through a gender lens. Certainly, the challenge involves a questioning and review of the very terms of Western modernism itself, amongst which are the secure contrasts of male and female, gifts and commodities, public and private, white and black. As Comaroff reminds us, this is the essential drama of our lives, the lives of ordinary people who are tasked with the everyday work of making society and culture in ways which do not merely re-enact valued cultural forms that continue to subordinate or oppress women, but rather in novel and experimental ways that demonstrate greater justice, care and compassion. This is an awesome challenge – the challenge of making and re-making an ever more compassionate social world.

An Ethical Framework For The Reconstruction And Transformation Of Society

A particular conception of the ethical that might most effectively form the basis for this task of building the foundations of a new and more just society, is reverence for life – a belief that good consists in maintaining, assisting and enhancing life. This is the lens that should be proposed for the task of reflecting on all aspects of life, starting with the assumptions and beliefs that inform our attitudes and behaviour.

An interrogation of what underlies our interpersonal behaviour is a practice that we all need to embrace. There are guidelines for this practice. These are to remain openly aware of the limitations of our individual worldviews; to develop a habit of questioning everything; to engage every issue; and to develop our capacities to reason and to debate, rather than being satisfied to be passively compliant, complacent and conformist and deadened to the pain and suffering of others.

Many South Africans have become deadened to the harsh realities of the lives of half of our population. There has been a progressive disengagement with the practices of democracy and a resorting by many to what Cornel West has called 'the paraphernalia of power, prestige and wealth', those things that insulate us from suffering. This is understandable because there has been so much suffering in our past. But it has meant that our ethical sensibilities have become blunted.

The capacity to be ethical is not gendered. It can be grown in all of us. It is the capacity not to be afraid to continue to encounter suffering and to demonstrate a willingness to be in solidarity with those whose tears are still flowing. Some of these are the men who are declaring that they feel they are destroyed all the time. Many men say that they were robbed of their pride in the past and that they continue to fight against indignity with little support. Men in rural communities express a feeling of threat caused by the contemporary focus on measures to enable women to catch up. As women become providers for their families, as is happening in many parts of the country, men's feelings of insecurity become heightened and their frustration quickly turns to violence. Many attribute the increase in violence against women and in interpersonal relationships of all kinds, to the fact that the norm in society has been the construction of the role of men as one of providers. Not everyone accepts this justification. Professor Jimi Adesina, President of the Sociological Association of South Africa, is one of these critics. He alleges that the domination of women is not traditional in Africa and that gender categories have not been universal across Africa. Professor Adesina calls on people to re-examine constructions of maleness in Africa that negate women, especially within culture, tradition and religion.

The Challenge Of Rethinking Our Understandings Of Culture, Tradition And Religion As They Relate To Men And Women

All of us need to rethink our understandings of culture, tradition and religion and the way they inform our everyday lives and behaviours. We have been shaped by these powerful institutions in the socialization process. We need to shape them in the same manner too. While each of these institutions has played an invaluable role in shaping who we are, each of them in turn must be reviewed against the background of our contemporary constitutional framework that refuses to privilege one gender over the other and that acknowledges the equal value and worth of all people, wherever they are located.

The arenas of culture, tradition and religion have been profoundly gendered. These are the spheres of life that have tended to be governed by an 'honour code' rather than a 'human rights' code. Honour codes, as

Professor Dennis Smith of Loughborough University in the United Kingdom explains, protect the strong; tolerate violence in defence of personal property and take the spoils of conquest without any obligation to protect or to help the weak. We see the honour code acted out every time a male relative takes the property left by a deceased brother as his own, rather than ensuring it secures the future survival of the bereaved widow and her offspring.

It has become urgent that we explore this clash of the honour code with the human rights code across our institutions and in particular within culture, tradition and religion. It is time to end systems that undermine and humiliate others within our values- and norm-making institutions. This challenge is particularly difficult within those institutions that have experienced oppression and humiliation over many centuries through having been relegated to an inferior status or having been totally marginalized and treated with contempt. This certainly applies to African Traditional Religion and its practitioners across Africa.

The challenge remains for each of us to reclaim the invaluable treasures embedded in these institutions without perpetuating practises of domination within them. They are powerful sources for the reinvigoration of community and communal life but should not be used to constrain the choices of women and girls who live within these spheres and systems.

Two Case Studies To Illustrate Ways Of Transforming These Institutions

Two recent examples that we could explore to review how traditional or religious systems might be interrogated to invoke ways of being in the world that are not oppressive while they still inform and invigorate communal life, are the cases of Princess Sikhanyiso, oldest daughter of the first wife of King Mswati of Swaziland and the case of Nadia Davids, the Muslim playwright and author of 'At Her Feet', a play about the lives and challenges of young Muslim women in South Africa.

In the first example, Princess Sikhanyiso found the courage to publicly question the practice of the Swazi king to take a new wife every year. She expressed the opinion that this system of extensive polygamy was seriously disadvantaging women in Swazi culture. The princess was severely censored for having spoken out but the raising of these questions in public has provided ordinary people with permission to start to question whether and to what extent polygamy disadvantages women.

In the second example, Nadia Jacobs found herself called upon to publicly critique proposals being debated in the Netherlands for the daughters of Muslim immigrants to be submitted to vaginal examinations to detect whether they had been subjected to female genital mutilation. The proposals were for appointed government officials to be able to conduct vaginal examinations of post-menarchal young Muslim girls in the Netherlands, without their parents' informed consent. The proposed legislation was for the purpose of criminalizing parents who might be continuing the practice of female circumcision. Nadia Jacobs explained that she herself did not support the tradition of female circumcision. But she asserted that the proposed measures violated the fundamental right of women to autonomy over their own bodies and the right to the security and integrity of the female body. She furthermore tried to explain that the proposed measures to end female circumcision would not achieve their objective because they were humiliating and degrading to a tradition that would fiercely resist such change imposed from the outside, rather than working with change agents who might be able to catalyse change from within the tradition. The proposed measures, she explained, would entrench the tradition rather than assist those within the culture to work for its transformation.

The two cases are powerful recent examples of women interrogating particular cultural and religious practices from within those traditions, with the objective of finding ways of supporting and encouraging positive change.

The Gendering Of Values That Inform Systems Of Ethics

It has been said that all aspects of life are gendered, meaning that all arenas of life are characterised as being attributed to either men or women as the areas in which they have allocated roles and responsibilities. One example of this phenomenon is the gendering of most workplaces with men being employed in management while most women are employed in the service occupations. This has been called the sexual division of labour – a division of labour that occurs not only in the public domain but also in the private sphere. We have earlier also discussed the gendering of politics.

Could this process of gendering be extended to the value systems that underlie the way we live our lives? Feminist critiques have suggested that the values underlying all human activity are themselves gendered. Carol Gilligan in her groundbreaking work of the 1980s claimed that the value systems of women are characterised by an ethic of care and responsibility. She claimed that girls are socialized to demonstrate this ethic while men, she claimed, were socialized for a practice of justice.

While social relations have been characterised by men and women acting out these ethical practices, it is time to end the socialization of young men and women for compliance with such sex-related virtues. It is time for the citizens of contemporary society to be socialized to integrate the values of caring for people, of struggling for justice and of joining hands in solidarity across the genders to realise the gender transformation of the society. Then we will witness men and women living with courage in ways that enhance their mutual freedom.

Conclusion

The person who has given us the clearest intimation of this possible future, has been the Limpopo artist, Mr Jackson Hlungwane who sculpts in wood, images that point to what he names as the Coming Age of eve. Jackson Hlungwane presents us with images of people standing with both their hands open. Nearby is always an image of a bird, symbolic testimony to the capacity within all human beings to fly to realise their greatest potential. He calls these images of Eve and he points to the necessity of replacing the clenched fist with the open hand, if we are to survive as the human race.

Let us share a prayer-poem written by newspaper cartoonist, Michael Leunig, who puts into words what Jackson Hlungwane hints at in his visual craft.

*Supreme Being
We loosen our grip
We open our hand
We are accepting
In our empty hand
We feel the shape
Of simple eternity
It nestles there
We hold it gently
We are accepting.*

In loosening our grip and in opening our hands to each other, we are inviting a different future. Are we willing to follow the example of Jackson Hlungwane, as we co-create an ethical future, based on deep respectfulness for each other, for the earth that supports us and for the spirit that infuses all of creation.

 [To Contents Page](#)

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 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 4: South African Men's Identities And Women's Equality

📍 **Mbuyiselo Botha:**

South African Men And Women's Contested Relationships

Introduction

Men and women's relationship has always been a contested terrain. Men were raised to believe that they are inherently born with leadership qualities and skills that would invariably make them automatic leaders of women in any given situation. Women, on the other hand, was socialized into believing they are inherently inferior, incompetent and, always without fail, expects to be led by men. With the dawn of our democracy, the relationship between men and women became even more a contested terrain. Transformation brought in its wake issues such as the Employment Equity Act, the outlawing of sexual harassment in the work place, and a host of other laws that sought to correct the glaring inequalities that were so prevalent and pervasive between men and women previously. This transformative agenda has posed a threat to most men who think that levelling the playing fields means disaster for them and their manhood. Men feel threatened, marginalized and useless with what they perceive to be the erosion of their power. Men think that empowering women or brining them on par with them should not happen at their expense. Women on the other hand feel that the status quo cannot and should not remain the same or unchanged. Most women are of the opinion that these perceptions about power, control and domination should be challenged and dealt with vigorously. Black men in particular think that transformation especially among black woman has made them disrespectful, bossy, and Eurocentric



The inequalities between men and women were always been predicated on the assumption or arguments that men and women were not born or culturally made to be equal, among others. Men have always had the upper hand in their relationship with their women in our society based on such assumptions and arguments. Men were considered and thought to be protectors, providers and leaders of their families and their communities. And women were thought and gendered into being nurturers, keepers of the home-fires and followers of men in families and community public life.

These relationships have since come under extreme strain and stresses, with the advent of political democracy and social transformation. Most men feel that the emancipation of women is at their own expense thereby making them part of an endangered specie. Many men feel that the emancipation of women is the cause for the lost of their roles as providers for their families. Indeed more and more women, at least when considering business and government, are beginning to occupy positions that were previously meant for and occupied by men-only. The number of women moving into formerly male-only positions is, however, still small. The few publicly visible women who have moved into what was previously a man's world, has created an adversarial relationship that might most often lead to violence. Violence against women perpetrated by men has reached epidemic proportions. What is worth thinking about, beyond the reasons around employment or poverty, is why there is such support among sections of our male population that violence can be a means towards regaining a supposedly 'lost manhood'.

The legal equality of women with men might seem to men as a direct threat. It may be true that men experience a threat to what was traditionally their core identity as men. As we said, the emancipation of women, especially when coupled with economic empowerment, has seen an emergence of free, independent, and empowered women who do not see themselves, being beholden to men's whims and fancies. When we appreciate the fact that men in our country feel that their "male voice" or their manhood is

under attack by giving in to what they consider as unreasonable demands from women, the relationship between men and women is further adversely affected by what men consider as too much concentration on “women’s rights”.

These strains and tensions in the relationships between men and women in our country as women’s equality is concerned, appears to be more pronounced in African communities. The question that needs answering is, Are gender tensions more pronounced in these communities as compared to others, and if so why? If we do find that this is in fact so, and we can answer satisfactorily as to why, perhaps we can find ways to deal with these before we, as African communities, self-annihilate.

There are many explanations to this question. Culture is one of the most used and abused ones. Culture, however, especially when focussing on Zulu or Xhosa or Sotho communities, for example, does play a role in the identity of African men in general. That is, culture functions more often as an explanation of issues in African communities with regard to women’s and men’s roles and identities. For centuries the role and identities of women have culturally been defined as staying at home and being subservient towards their fathers and husbands.

Religion is another explanation. Without doubt, religion has also played a significant role in the degradation or oppression of women. In most religions, the expectations of the men continue to define their women’s roles. Concerns about the inequality between men and women in religious institutions and structures are always viewed as anti-God or a threat for the fundamentals of creation. This inequality between men and women continues to bedevil the life of and relationships between men and women in the church, mosque or temple.

What all these explanations or indeed excuses add up to is that men as a group do not wish to share cultural or religious power, but also of course social power, economic power and sexual power, with women. This has resulted in what can be considered to be a backlash from. Some pretty extreme forms of violence have been visited upon women by men as an attempt by the latter to regain cultural power or religious power, to take back what they feel is lost territory in the latest war of the sexes in South Africa.

What Can Be Done To Redress This Situation?

Firstly, we need as a society to socialize both boys and girls differently to how the previous generations were socialized. That means there is a need to create at an early age correct power distribution if need be.

Secondly, all institutions in our society need to be sensitized and mobilized on the needs for women’s leadership and value that this leadership brings with it. Traditional leadership should be part and parcel of creating these ideal egalitarian societies. This they can do by re-orientating the mindset of their subjects. It is these efforts that will go a long way in our quest to improve men’s identities and thereby contributing towards them feeling less threatened by women’s freedom.

Third, the private sector, the corporate world, should also contribute in this process by vigorously accelerating their employment of women in top senior management positions. Doing so would send a clear unambiguous message to men and women on the value and the talents that women bring into the work place. The relationships between men and women can be improved if we mobilize men in not seeing the empowerment of women as not necessarily meaning their disempowerment.

Finally, as South African Men’s Forum we feel in the liberation of women lies our own liberation as men. Equally true, we believe in the oppression and degradation of women lies our own degradation and oppression. It is in liberating others as men that our own liberation will come. The women’s equality with men should not be a threat to our own existence as men but it should instead a complimentary component of our existence.

 [To Contents Page](#)

6 Gertrude Fester:

Social Transformation Through Gender Mainstreaming

Gender equality and the empowerment of women are imperative, and not a favour, if we believe in the inherent humanity and dignity of each person. Gender equality is a human rights and social justice issue. One strategy to achieve gender equality is gender mainstreaming. Historically the evolution of gender mainstreaming was multifaceted. On the one hand, grassroots women's struggles and structures realised that there would be minimal progress to promote the equality of women, if women did not get access to power, i.e. participate in the state and decision-making.

On the other hand, at the level of international debate, specifically the United Nations, a similar concern evolved. Individual countries too engaged with this challenge. The women's movements in countries like the Nordic countries, Canada and Australia were vibrant and through this, they were able to influence governments and increase the number of women as well as set up gender mainstreaming mechanisms. Australia in 1971 established the office on the status of women and coined the word 'femocrats' for their feminist bureaucrats.

Internationally the United Nations (UN) World Women's conferences in 1975 (Mexico), 1980 (Copenhagen), 1985 (Nairobi), and 1995 (Beijing) refined resolutions around mechanisms to fast track women's participation in government, including gender mainstreaming. The Beijing platform for Action clearly articulates these mechanisms to promote women in decision making at all levels of government. Lately, lessons also emerged from the practical experience of Women's Ministries. In countries like Zimbabwe, it was found that women's ministries ghettoized or marginalized women's issues. Hence, the proposal of gender mainstreaming that could counter this marginalization.

According to the UN Development Program (UNDP):

Gender mainstreaming is taking account of gender equity concerns all in policy, program, administrative and financial activities, and in organizational procedures, thereby contributing to a profound organizational transformation... Women and men have different positions, roles, and responsibilities, but also different asset bases and opportunities at home and in society. Gender analysis (and mainstreaming) bring to light many of the gaps and challenges, as well as the strategies for possible action.

(UNDP, 2003 quoted in Lowe Morna, 2004:193)

Gender Mainstreaming is a 'long term strategy or systematic institutional approach for promoting/producing gender equality as a policy outcome' (Woodford-Berger 2004:66). The underlying aim is that of the transformation of current unequal gender relations:

Gender Mainstreaming seeks to produce transformatory processes and practices that will concern, engage and benefit women and men equally by systematically integrating explicit attention to issues of sex and gender into all aspects of an organization's work. Gender analytical...frameworks are usually designed to fit into the planning requirements and routines of development bureaucracies, used in training courses and "gender sensitization" or "gender awareness-training" exercises to marshal support for specific values and interpretations'.

(Woodford-Berger, 2004:66)



The above encapsulates comprehensive aspects such as transformation, values and attitudes. Through gender mainstreaming gender and hierarchical power relations could be challenged and ultimately changed. Gender mainstreaming is the outcome of a series of critiques of developmental approaches that over the decades have not achieved its aims: that of meaningfully changing the secondary position of women and addressing poverty amongst women. The first approach was the Women in Development (WID) policy framework, resulted as a critique of development, which ignored the needs of women in the mid-1970s. After a critique of this approach, the Women and Development (WAD) model emerged. By the 1980s after a decade of WAD there was no appreciable difference in the status of women and the limitations of this model as an 'add women and stir' process were exposed. Feminist analysis concluded that for any development work to be effective that there should be a disaggregation of who benefits: a stark deviation from the rather vague articulation that 'the community' will benefit; (Naila Kabeer addressed this in her keynote address at the conference on 'Women and Gender in Southern Africa', Jan 30-Feb 2 1991, University of Natal, Durban (Organized by the Gender Research Group)) that the position of women will not be redressed without challenging and transforming gender power relations; that the position of women cannot be transformed without transforming the position of men. Gender relations are complex and intersected by race, culture, class, location and etcetera. This meant that the WAD framework was substituted by the Gender and Development (GAD) framework.

Internationally there have not been many successes in gender mainstreaming. As much as the Nordic countries, Australia, some European countries and Canada have made progress, issues around power and equality for women still have a far way to go. Goetz, (1995) assesses the development of women and gender relations in six countries: Bangladesh, Chile, Jamaica, Mali, Morocco and Uganda. The problem found was that gender mainstreaming did not emerge from within the country but rather that gender and national machinery had been implemented from above - via donor funding. This means no interrogation of gender and power relations took place and it was a case of 'add women on and stir approach'. With the complexities of culture, religion and poverty, not much progress has been made in these countries – there are only 'pockets of progress'.

The positive development in South Africa is that it was through struggles by the women's movements initiated by the ANC WL that there are ample mechanisms in place, including constitutional institutions like the Commission of Gender Equality (CGE). Amanda Gouws (The Politics of State Structures, 2004) states that the South African National Gender Machinery (NGM), as it is called, is one of the most sophisticated in the world. The key elements of the NGM are the Office on the Status of Women (OSW) within the Presidency, the Commission on Gender Equality (CGE), the Joint Monitoring Committee on the Improvement of the Quality of Life and Status of Women (JMC) and women's movements or civil society.

Strengths

The OSW is in Presidency and its mandate is to advise the Presidency on issues of gender equality. It is thus in the highest decision-making office in the country. This is replicated at provincial level and the provincial OSW's are in the Premiers' offices. There is Gender Focal Persons (GFP) in each department. The CGE, tasked with monitoring, promoting and protecting gender equality, is an independent institution accountable only to parliament. The JMC has oversight power on all ministries and departments.

Weaknesses Of NGM

There is not always clarity about the mandates of the particular bodies and 'who does what'. The institutions do not communicate effectively and often duplicate work. There are severe budgetary constraints, because there are no precedents to these structures. There are structural problems and an absence of examples of 'best practice'. NGM are not taken seriously by policy makers and departments and other 'implementers'.

The SADC country report (2004), SA Country report Beijing +10 (2004) and monitoring by the CGE acknowledge that there are no or minimal budgets for these positions, there is a lack of skills, GFP are not in decision-making positions and The CGE Act is not comprehensive and the severe gaps contribute to diverse interpretations. For e.g. there are no working conditions for commissioners. Like many structures in this country, there are the challenges and sometimes confusions due to transition. The women's movements and structures of civil society are weak.

The position of GFP's illustrates the challenges. There are often no clear job descriptions; no allowance made for the employment of a GFP. Someone with passion, usually a woman, will be asked to do the work voluntarily; and all the 'vulnerabilities' are lumped together – individuals will focus (ad hoc) on gender, youth, disabilities, HIV/AIDS issues etcetera. The GFP's work will generally be limited to events on 'big days' such as women's day or women's month and 16 days of no violence against women. The rest of the year is 'work as usual'.

Because of the complexities of the South African society there are many contradictions and challenges. There are many competing interest groups and these interests often contradict one another – the constitution attempts to reconcile these competing interests. An example of these is the institutions noted in Chapter 9 of our constitution.

Chapter 9 Institutions

These institutions, the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC), the Commission on Gender Equality (CGE) and the Commission on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities (CRL), are to promote the constitutional principles and specifically have to strengthen constitutional democracy. In the light of the balancing of sexual justice/gender equality and social justice one should assess to what extent the rights of women are promoted and enhanced or marginalized or undermined. One major concern is the role of culture and religion, whether and how these can help promote a human rights culture as proposed by the constitution. It is mostly women, widows, or any marginal group people with disabilities or lesbian and gays who are further disadvantaged when it comes to culture. However, given the complexities of the South African society, the CRL is an attempt to redress the issues of various cultures but also, because of the colonial and apartheid past, the erosion of cultures. In terms of protecting and safeguarding the ideal of our rainbow nation, we embody a formal respect for all cultures. Some of the objectives of the CRL are:

- ◆ To promote and develop peace, friendship, humanity, tolerance and national unity among and within all cultural, religious and linguistic communities, on the basis of equality, non-discrimination and free association;
- ◆ To foster the right of communities to develop their historically diminished Heritage; and
- ◆ The Commission must be composed in such a way that it broadly reflects the gender composition of South Africa (CRL Act of 2002).

The nuances of the competing and complex demands of South Africa are reflected in these institutions. On the one hand, we have the South African Commission on Human Rights (SAHRC) to promote and protect a culture of Human rights, a Commission on Gender Equality (CGE) to promote and protect gender equality, and the CRL, that may in fact be doing the opposite as all religions and cultures are patriarchal. How does one "... foster the right of communities to develop their historically diminished heritage" when the historically diminished heritage has changed over time either through disuse, irrelevance or coercion? Some traditional or cultural aspects has been deliberately and coercively eradicated through colonialism and/or Christianity. Culture, however, is never static and changes have occurred over time. Who decides which aspects of the "diminished heritage" are to be privileged and hence revived and/or retained? How is this to be decided? Moreover, how does one distinguish between practices of cultural, religious and linguistic (read tribal) communities that are negative and violate the human rights and dignity enshrined in the constitution? Decisions on these issues are usually made by those in power. In the rural traditional communities the chiefs (male only) in consultation with the elders (again males) usually have power to take decisions, but the situation is much more complex (Because of time constraints I am not able to elaborate on this. However, it is interesting to note that it was also women in Kwa-Zulu Natal who initiated virginity testing). It is well known that women in certain communities in the north of South Africa do not stand in the presence of men nor are they allowed to eat with men. This practice forms an integral part of that culture. Yet, these very chiefs have trappings that are not part of their 'authentic' culture. It is not uncommon to see chiefs wearing Pierre Cardin clothes, Italian shoes and driving the latest Mercedes Benz cars.

The role of organized religion in perpetuating women's inequality in many ways parallels the role played by traditional chiefs and customary law. Many South Africans are very religious, and the majority are Christians. Although there are attempts by some churches to address the issues of gender equality, the majority argue that women need to be submissive and obedient to their husbands "as the church is subject to Christ so let

wives be to their husbands in everything” (Pillay 1994: 46). The phenomenal growth of churches creates left us with a feeling of ambivalence; Christians could perceive this as positive but women in general should be extremely concerned as most of these new Christian churches promote very conservative beliefs around the role of women.

South Africa Today

South Africa is deeply patriarchal. Families, often seen as the nucleus of society, a safe haven and secure place, have become ‘the most dangerous place for women and girls’ according to recent research. Socialization of children in the family is still very much within the mould of gender stereotypes, with children being exposed to violence against women, conflict and abuse. Family murders, are on the increase, encapsulate succinctly the essence of patriarchal power and control. In supporting the ‘Gun Free SA’ lobby we could be contributing to minimizing this to an extent.

The very institutions which could directly and indirectly promote the contents of our constitution, the education system and the media, have become sites of perpetuating gross gender stereotypes, violence and exploitation. It is an indictment of our new democracy that sexual abuse and rapes of girl children have increased in the Western Cape schools. The existence of and the increasing sales of Die Son and The Daily Voice should seriously be interrogated. One needs to question freedom of expression at the expense of exploitation and promotion of values that perhaps do not enhance the values enshrined in our constitution.

The picture emerges of a South Africa with an impressive constitution, gender aware policies and legislation, an imperfect and challenging situation as regards the implementation of gender mainstreaming. We could argue that there is the rhetoric of gender mainstreaming, but the reality states otherwise. Biblically saying ‘the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak’.

An extract from a recent speech effectively highlighted issues of leadership, misogyny, the judicial system, morality, confusions and contradictions of what is culture, patriarchal power – men having power over women and controlling their bodies, the internalization of patriarchy by women themselves, of uncritical political and other loyalties, what does it mean to be a man, issues of identity and masculinity, and many others.

If anything should alert women and progressive men across our country as to how easy it is to manipulate culture as misogyny, it was the rape trial of ex-Deputy President, Jacob Zuma. Could the message of misogyny, the hatred of the female, been conveyed any more powerfully in the week of International Women’s Day: the burning of photocopied photos of the complainant outside the courtroom itself, to the chant of “Burn the Bitch, burn her”. One of Zuma’s woman supporters said that since Zuma was a chief, she had no right to bring disgrace on him, even if he raped her – he owned her and had every right to her. Absolute outrage should have been expressed by our leaders in COSATU, in the SACP, by Zuma himself. He said nothing – the censure from male spokespersons in the SACP and COSATU was mild, if anything. Those Zulu men who spoke out were dismissed as ‘apolitical’, as ‘not quite Zulu’.

(Pregs Govender, Women’s Day Rally, Community House, Salt River)

What kind of justice sees it as right to expose the entire sexual history of the defendant from the age of three; yet we do not know the history of the alleged perpetrator? How many wives does he have, girlfriends, children? Why was it women who were on the forefront of shouting the slogan ‘Burn the Bitch’ and tramping on the complainant’s photograph? It needs to be emphasised that women do not necessarily support women and gender awareness is not biologically defined and determined. There are men and women who question the hierarchical, exploitative, unequal sexual divisions of labour and power. Having a consciousness of gender inequalities means interrogating our own behaviour and attitude, our own values and personal relationships.

The Way Forward

Our reference to gender mainstreaming (GM), is about personal behaviours and tendencies. Gender mainstreaming seeks to radically transform the entire society and would be beneficial for both women and men. It is therefore not enough to have gender mainstreaming at one level only, that of government. GM

should 'mainstream' the entire society; all units and structures of society should have gender mainstreaming in order to be effectively transform power and gender relations.

There thus needs to be an engagement with gender equality and patriarchy by all role players- to reverse this seemingly trend of increasing violence against women, misogyny and the many other social ills raised over the past two days. A comprehensive plan needs to address this. There should be GM in the media, education systems, institutions of faith, corporate world, etcetera. Some institutions have started and we should commend them for this. Archbishop Ndungane in 2005 stated at the Church of the Province/Anglican Church Synod of Southern African: We must repent of the historic patriarchy of our faith which so often colludes with discriminatory attitudes of our cultures.' The Anglican Church passed a motion on 17 August 2006 that the Theological Commission will have a study on patriarchy and re-interpret the patriarchal context and texts of the Bible and that a gender desk be established.

We must applaud those who have been courageous to raise their voices against behaviour or trends that are not conducive to our young democracy and the values enshrined in the constitution. We need critical voices in South Africa. Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu at the Harold Wolpe Memorial lecture in Cape Town on 23 August 2006 called on Jacob Zuma to remove himself from the succession race and made a plea that all South Africans should directly be involved in electing the president. He likened Zuma to David of the Old Testament who also was an adulterer:

The difference being that there was contrition and an asking for forgiveness in the case of David. ... I am not aware that Zuma apologized for engaging in what he claims to have been consensual sex, a version accepted by the court that acquitted him ... The conduct (of his supporters) was abominable and quite disgraceful. So far as I can tell, at no time does he seem to have been nonplussed or embarrassed by it. ... He did nothing to stop his supporters. I for one would not be able to hold my head up high if a person with such supporters were to become my president, someone who did not think it necessary to apologize for engaging in casual sex without taking precautions in a country that is being devastated by this horrendous HIV/AIDS pandemic. What sort of example would he be setting?

(Mail & Guardian, 25 to 31 August 2006, p27).

The above raises many issues, but we want to emphasize and focus on issues of leadership and power. Can we and should we expect leadership of a specific calibre - bearing in mind the injunction: 'Who am I to cast the first stone?' but also the title of the conference, 'Ethical Leadership in and through women and men.' South Africa prides itself that the majority of people are religious. What does this mean in terms of morality and moral transformation? Who decides on and defines 'morality'? Much has been said about Ubuntu. How do we reconcile this 'African humanity' with the current situation with rape statistics of the highest in the world? We perhaps require a national conversation, a review of our status quo. SABC has already initiated the issue of exploring our values at a practical level by its series, Heartlines and The Big Question. There are no easy and simple solution but if we all engage in it, it will at least be a good start. We must not hold conferences as 'talk shops', but should actively work to create a morally transformed South Africa.

 [To Contents Page](#)

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 [To Contents Page](#)

📍 **Dr Desiree Lewis:**

Gender Mainstreaming In South Africa - Current Ethical And Political Challenges

Introduction

The emphasis on "gender mainstreaming" among very different organizations through the Beijing Platform in 1995 indicated that it could form an umbrella strategy, construable as both radical and as moderate, for addressing gender inequality. The emphasis on mainstreaming through the PFA also indicated that the driving force behind mainstreaming was the global women's movement and progressive forces in society. There have been two implications of mainstreaming: one is the need to integrate gender into all levels of change, to ensure that gender transformation is mainstreamed as a transformative process, rather than as an add-on or ghettoized issue.

The other implication is the need for states to take up struggles waged at the level of civil society. The Beijing Platform recognized the need for governments to commit themselves to gender transformation through policy-making, budgeting, legislation and what became known as gender machinery.

The South African government's adoption of the Beijing Platform for Action indicates its acceptance of gender mainstreaming in both senses. The taking up of gender into the nation-building agenda, or what Shireen Hassim has identified as the "gender pact" (2003) meant that, from the early 90s, gender concerns were institutionalized in planning towards a future democracy.

But today, despite the numerous structures, and in particular, the Gender Machinery, mainstreaming for many is seen as an ineffectual process.

Why is this the case, and what are the reasons for the cynicism about mainstreaming? Equally importantly, how can we think about transformation beyond the limits of current definitions and strategies? What follows deals with these questions in terms of the following subsections:

- (1) the setting of agendas by the state and international donors
- (2) the dominance of state feminism, professionalization and technocratization in leadership.
- (3) Alternative leadership towards sustainable and meaningful gender mainstreaming

(1) State And Donor Agendas

Describing the impact of gender mainstreaming, Amanda Gouws argues: "The aim of gender mainstreaming is to institutionalize women's equality but through the depoliticization of gender. Where the driving force around gender activism used to be women's experiences, mainstreaming turns it into a technocratic category for redress" (6). It has of course been extremely important for activists to engage the state, for pressure to be placed on the state to introduce resources and mechanisms for gender transformation. What has occurred in practice, however, is what Charmaine Pereira, dealing with the Nigerian context, describes as "the determination of the agenda by the relevant state agency, as opposed to engagement of state institutions by civil society organizations". In other words, the goals and agendas of many actual women and men are sidelined as government departments and specialists end up unilaterally deciding what particular communities' and nations' gender needs are, and how gender transformation needs to occur.



To a large extent, this is because of the dominance of the developmentalist WID model, reaching back to the UN decade of Women, which aimed at incorporating third world women into the global economic system. The impetus behind this was not so much third-world women's needs, as it was the needs of a global patriarchal system to make many women more efficient contributors to a global economy. Although the so-called GAD model has taken the place of women in development, GAD perpetuates the need to ensure that the investment in both women and men is profitable from the point of view of local and international ruling elites. Paradoxically, then, GAD approaches can end up reproducing dominant class and gender relations, and actively undermining sustainable gender transformation.

A second reason for the neglect of women's perceptions and needs is the dominance of donor agendas in gender mainstreaming.

Post-colonial governments, under pressure to democratize from donor agencies and an international community, have often been quick to embrace extremely impressive looking gender initiatives, evident for example, in many constitutions, in their ratification of CEDAW, the SADC Declaration on Gender, and the African Union's Protocol on Women's Rights, and the introduction of gender-sensitive legislation and policies. We would undermine our women's movements and feminist activism if we saw all this simply as window-dressing. At the same time it is necessary to take into account that many governments, and the South African government is a key example, have needed to demonstrate a commitment to good governance, to neoliberal economics, and to a very particular kind of approach to gender transformation to gain international recognition and financial support.

In contemporary South Africa, the vigorous promotion of gender equality is very much part of a neoliberal model of development. Increasingly, the nationalistic and socialist aspects of development set in place by the Freedom Charter, and fairly clearly evident in the RDP, were replaced by GEAR. Unlike the RDP, which placed some emphasis on the democratic distribution of resources, the GEAR strategy blatantly privileged productivity and insisted that social goals could be achieved only through higher economic growth rates.

In locating gender discourses within the current model of development, it is important to consider how the emphasis on modernization, rational productivity and a narrowly instrumental approach to rights has fed into languages about gender. And this of course explains the whole-sale embrace of WID and GAD mainstreaming models.

These mainstreaming models tend to reduce human beings to functional cyphers requiring efficient integration into the development process. The prominence of a very brittle sort of language about gender exemplifies this. Formulaic terms such as gender-aware, gender sensitive, gender issues, gender focal point, gender disaggregated data, and so on increasingly seem to be taking the place of a feminist language that suggests what is truly social, transformative and human.

A third reason for the marginalizing of many women's priorities in mainstreaming is that the overall system in which mainstreaming takes place is deeply patriarchal. The heavy emphasis on discourses of African authenticity and culture, as alive in South Africa as they are elsewhere on the continent, constantly undermines a meaningful commitment to gender transformation and justice. Clearly, patriarchal environments, relationships and mindsets are obstructions to gender transformation in all contexts. My main point here, though, is that patriarchy and patriarchal ideology acquire a particular valence and authority when they are supported, as they are in South Africa, by discourses of authenticity and Africanization, when the virulence of patriarchy is basically sanctioned by official and populist discourses in which masculine authority, paternalism, and very often, patriarchal violence, masquerade as tradition, the national interest, African culture or whatever.

To conclude this part of the discussion.....The prominence of the state in gender transformation can easily create the impression that it offers a flourishing site for meaningful gender transformation. In practice, however, we have a situation where South Africa is long on rhetoric and short on delivery and real change. I want to focus on two examples of the limitations of changes: gender budgeting and legislation on women's bodily integrity and reproductive rights.

Gender budgeting is of course a key example of effective mainstreaming. Inspired by the experience of women in Australia, South Africa was one of the first countries to take gender budgeting seriously. The Women's Budget Initiative (WBI), established during the 1990s, led to gender-responsive budgeting as

mechanisms by which the government, in dialogue with other sectors, integrated gender analysis into public expenditure policies and budgets. Gender budgeting involved factoring gender into macro-economic processes, with all programs being assessed in terms of their impact on women. Overall gender-budgeting had a profound and cross-cutting impact on the gender-blind allocation and management of national resources.

Today, however, the national emphasis on gender budgeting has drastically declined. Instead, emphasis has been placed on accelerating economic growth, with the implication being that a trickle-down effect will automatically improve the position of those most subordinated in society. In other words, the GEAR approach referred to earlier has sidelined gender budgeting which was largely in line with the RDP strategy of democratizing resources. The GEAR strategy as an overtly neoliberal strategy of appeasing international donor interests and sidelining local demands, has also sidelined gender budgeting – hence the resounding silence about gender budgeting in national debates in recent years.

Another area where mainstreaming has been compromised is in policy-making on women's bodily freedoms and security. When we take into account that the national machinery sets in place structures for monitoring policy and legislation, it is alarming how easily and quickly key legislation related to women's bodily rights and freedoms has been compromised and eroded. This does not necessarily indicate that those within the national machinery have not been paying attention. What it does indicate is that the national machinery is not really being taken into account. There is evidence of this in the case of the Sexual Offences Act .

Many activists in South Africa feel that the drawn-out process of enacting the Sexual Offences Act has led to its being severely watered down. Many believe that the current version of the bill is very different from the SA Law Commission draft based on extensive consultation with different sectors in South Africa. This draft recommended such measures as access to post-exposure prophylaxis for rape survivors. The original draft strongly emphasized the complainant's protection and access in a context where the justice system, public opinion, media reporting, the health care system were all weighted against her. What is built into the revised Bill seriously compromises the complainant's protection and access to health care and counselling. Evidence of the inadequacy of legislation was of course witnessed this year, when we saw how a woman who laid a charge of rape against a powerful man could be silenced, intimidated and, ultimately, stripped of her citizenship.

The de-radicalizing of the Bill is a disturbing echo of the open resistance to legislation like the Domestic Violence Bill and the Sexual Offences Bill in a number of other African countries. What we seem to be seeing in South Africa is what we can see elsewhere in Africa, namely that when women's demands are encoded as policies and taken up by government departments, they end up being seriously diluted and compromised.

The main point here, then, is that when gender is mainstreamed to the extent that government and international donors basically decide what should be done in the name of gender transformation, very little that is transformative for women, or in fact for men is in fact put in place. Instead, mainstreaming often becomes a process that serves the needs mainly of historically dominant groups and supports state rhetoric.

(2) Gender Expertise And Leadership

I have been broadly identifying the state and national machinery as the sources of gender mainstreaming. But who formulates policy and leads?

One reason why mainstreaming has proceeded along the top-down lines outlined is that the growing numbers of women who assume positions of power take up these positions in deeply patriarchal contexts. Gouws explains this in the following way: “ After the 1994 election, the National Machinery for Women was systematically set in place, during which the state came to be viewed as the site through which equality for women would be created. State feminism (government structures charged with promoting women's rights and status) and its accompanying ‘femocrat phenomenon’ (feminists who take up policy positions) became a reality in the South African context.”

The problem arises when mainstreaming does not involve critiquing the contexts into which growing numbers of women take up power and leadership . When patriarchal organizational contexts and mindsets are not taken into account, there is a naïve belief that simply increasing women's quantitative participation amounts to mainstreaming. What this does amount to, though, is what critics like Gouws have described as

“femocracy”, a situation where women in power end up implementing dominant patriarchal agendas, rather than being agents for change.

Another prominent group in leading mainstreaming comprises consultants and researchers who are increasingly forming a growing industry of intellectual work on gender. In fact it now seems meaningless to define gender work as beleaguered and difficult. There is a very strong emphasis - within government and many other sectors, on funding gender experts to address gender. The main question should of course be how this gender work is addressed and who does it.

At present, much is undertaken by consultants and gender experts under pressure to provide quick-fix solutions. Very often, this is simply in response to donor mandates, or funding opportunities. Research is often undertaken with massive constraints, or by experts with little understanding of contexts, or there may be requirements address a very particular problem in a very specific sector, without due recognition to the fact that gender concerns are always intersect-oral. In fact it should be noted here again that real mainstreaming implies a process, an awareness of how relationships and structures intersect, and of how gendered beings are located in intersecting processes. What's currently occurring more and more, is a disconnected attention to particular issues, or separated sectors.

(3) Re-envisioning Leadership

How can we think about leadership and notions of ethics and morality that guide meaningful gender transformation? At present dominant notions of ethics and morality seem to be becoming increasingly patriarchal. Our current environment is dominated by heavily gendered discourses of nation-building and citizenship. A clear example is the moral regeneration movement. Ostensibly an indigenous movement for instilling human, egalitarian and just principles by which to live and build the nation, the moral regeneration movement has steadily become extremely patriarchal, heavily concerned with policing gender and sexuality, and in particular, with policing the gendered behaviour, independence and sexuality of women.

The powerful emotional calls on women to play roles as mothers, caregivers, heterosexually moral beings, to be good women in order to be valued as citizens seems to hark back to a period way before the demands made by women's organizations from the late eighties. They are certainly at odds with the principles of democracy and a climate for women to claim rights and agency. Commenting on this bizarre throw back in other African countries, Pat McFadden notes the following:

A few years ago, it seemed as if the African women's movement was garnering the political courage to engage the state and the fundamentalist Christian church on issues of abortion and sexual pleasure. But these days one barely hears a squeak about the crucial element of choice as an issue that goes beyond reproduction and safe sex. Many potentially productive debates have been overtaken by the clamour, reflecting a powerful resurgence of patriarchal dominance generated by the HIV/AIDS pandemic. On one level, emotional calls are made on women to conform to traditional roles as caregivers and nurturers. On another, their struggles for individual freedoms, social autonomy and bodily integrity are - often in subtle and devious ways - invalidated or curbed by a cultural climate construing individual freedoms, choices and mobility as dangerous and irresponsible.

In the face of dominant and popularized notions of ethics and morality that are deeply patriarchal, how can we think about alternative notions of ethics and morality, and different kinds of leadership?

I want to conclude by summarizing what I believe these alternatives should involve. I am certainly not saying anything new; in many ways I am echoing the words of women's organizations and feminists who are refusing the terms of patriarchal nationalism and state feminism in their proposals for mainstreaming and gender transformation.

A first point is the need for leadership and meaningful mainstreaming to involve change. Transformation, a rather long and technical word, has become a somewhat empty buzzword in the South Africa context. It seems to be forgotten that the much more simple word for transformation, “change”, clearly implies what is unsettling and disruptive. Gender change, because it affects our most intimate and private spaces and aspects of identity, is particularly difficult and disruptive. Gender mainstreaming, if it is really to be called

transformative, cannot be made easy; it cannot be diluted to accommodate those who have traditionally enjoyed privileges.

It concerns me that much of the impetus behind “making men part of the solution” has very little to do with ensuring that men take responsibility for transforming themselves and their worlds, and much to do with women and women's organizations making men feel comfortable, with assuring them that nothing will be done to upset who they have always been, and what they have always had. Recent years have witnessed a rapid rise in South African men's movements, only some of which are conceptually and politically allied to feminist and women's movement goals. A report on the Masimanyane Women's Organization testifies to this. The report states:

“One of the core philosophies underlying the establishment of the Masimanyane Men's Program was the belief that projects aimed at working with men need to be closely linked with women's groups. The MMP believe that if this link is not present then there is a great risk that the realities of women's lives and experiences will be discounted and focus solely on men's lives and accounts”

(2003:1)

The report goes on to underscore that there is a need for men to give full support to women and women's groups, and to be accountable to them.

It seems to me that the call for the need for women to work with men fudges the issue of what men and women are working for, and who determines these goals. Simply shifting the focus of gender mainstreaming to the idea that men and women should work together obfuscates the fact that the involvement of men, if it is to be meaningful, must be conceptualized in terms outlined by, for example, organizations such as Masimanyane.

A second point is that there needs to be a reactivation of women's agencies and civil society as the driving forces behind gender transformation. What this means is recognizing that states can and must play the role of implementing the priorities of civil society and women's organizations, that civil society and not the state can and must play a pivotal role in determining agendas for mainstreaming.

This can be demonstrated in relation to our recent abortion rights debate. The National Council of Provinces, responding to pro-life lobbyists, amended the 1996 Choice on Termination of Pregnancy Act without necessary consultation with the public. The constitutional court has ruled that this amendment will be nullified if there is no consultation with the public in the next 18 months. But it is sobering that this is evidence of the fact that there will always be a need for vigilance from activists, from civil society, from women's organizations. We cannot afford to be complacent about any of the laws related to gender that are currently in place. We can never guarantee that women's hard fought for gains will remain in place.

Related to the need to reactivate the monitoring and activist role of civil society is the need to to reactivate the language and discourse of gender. I have referred to the way our current discourses have grown out of conservative developmental models, and how these turn people and social processes into instruments. Instead of this instrumentalist and technocratic language, a language that is really committed to change requires the vision, radicalism and the passion. And there is certainly no shortage of feminist theories and methodologies within Africa and beyond. In other words, we have many theoretical and methodological resources to turn to in working towards gender transformation; we do not have to rely on Carline Moser, or the Harvard Analytical Framework, or the other very tortuous models that our gender initiatives often rely on.

 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 5: Moral Transformation, Health And Sexuality (Reproductive Rights And HIV/AIDS)

6 Dumisani Rebombo:

Moral Transformation In And Through Health And Sexuality

Introduction

This chapter focuses on moral transformation within four main themes on health and sexuality. Firstly, we will discuss morality and the need for moral transformation both for the individual and the nation. Secondly, we will identify gaps and challenges facing the transformation process, for example dependency on the Law alone for moral transformation, the limitations thereof since the law does change people's attitudes and perceptions. Thirdly, we will explain how moral decay contributes negatively to the overall health and sexuality of all, and how this infringes on reproductive rights and other human rights. Fourthly, we will describe how a social movement without boundaries can help facilitate moral transformation processes that would bring about ethical leadership that all South Africans need.

Background

South Africa has made significant strides towards nation building since the birth of its democracy in 1994. Today most of us cherish the fact that we have one of the most progressive constitutions in the world. Notwithstanding the fact that the nation paid a heavy price to attain such a democracy. The progression we have made in the past thirteen years embodies the assumption that all South Africans can collectively respond to any social call. One of the calls we are confronted with today, is to examine our nation's decaying moral fibre. Our new democracy is being challenged by this phenomenon. This is attested to the fact that our country continues to face serious and ongoing problems in the aftermath of our young democracy, namely: crime, corruption, gender based violence, homophobia, HIV, etc. We believe that the masses of our people aspire for a new South Africa that is moral, humane, just and caring for all people, regardless of these challenges. In practice though, these aspirations remains to be just an deal for many. There is a general lack of respect for life (because of the decaying societal morality), and this chapter we argue that the decaying moral fibre of our society, is in fact the underlying factor for the challenges mentioned above.

We can define morality as human conduct in so far as it is freely subordinated to the ideal of what it is right and fitting. This ideal of governing our free actions is very common to the human race. We often default by assigning certain sectors (and not all sectors) as the custodians of morality, or the champions of moral transformation!

This notion can be very limiting and inadequate since it marginalizes certain positive and useful indigenous moral concepts, for an example, the concept: "UBUNTU". This term means I am because of you and others; it therefore centred on values of Love, Respect and sharing. Unfortunately, this term is mostly applied as a reactionary measure when everything else seems to be failing. We argue, however, that we should find new ways to incorporate the UBUNTU culture in our daily activities. The dialogue about the RDP of the soul is an indirect reference to the depth and meaning of UBUNTU. We all have so called 'bottom line' behaviours. In all our endeavours for moral transformation our personal actions and programs should not disregard morality



issues. Neither should we overlook our heritage values imbedded in the indigenous knowledge systems, that has worked well (with its obvious shortcomings, just like any other system in the world) for Africa for centuries.

Individual morality therefore refers to our personal interests and actions. Our interests and actions have an extended communal impact and can be accepted or rejected by the larger community. This area needs urgent attention, since the collective individual actions, whether negative or positive, would refer to and influence even the national problems. We must recognize that everyone is a product of the immediate environment, it is critical to focus on the environment where the individual is from.

There is, however, in some circles of our nation the tendency to blame all our problems to the apartheid past. Though we may not dismiss this argument entirely, we think that any literal acceptance of it without a deeper analysis of our current situation will only result in a nation that will be passive and reactive, instead of being proactive. We must confront our decaying morals with progressive intent. We cannot allow the sting of apartheid to hinder our collective transformation abilities to realise our ideals. A morally transformed society should be a national priority, and must include the collective individual and institutional actions and practices.

Although the laws of this country uphold and protect our overall moral values as a nation, we may not leave moral transformation to the law, since the law does not necessarily change our attitudes, and perceptions. We need to educate ourselves with the help of the law. The "Heart Lines" initiative is a good example of how we can educate both the individual and the nation on good values. The question we should ask ourselves is "what other avenues can we utilize to take the process forward? And how far are we willing to get involved individually and collectively, for the benefit of the nation?"

Low moral standards compromise our health and sexuality in different forms. We know that health is not just the absence of disease, but our complete, physically, socially, emotionally and economic well-being. We cannot ignore the fact that fewer men care for their own sexual and reproductive health in general. Healthy relational dynamics with women are being compromise, especially with reference to the reproductive and sexual health of women. The sexual health ignorance of such men is practically immoral. We should not ridicule any efforts to target and work with men. Gender mainstreaming needs to apply in our programs, and must not just feature as a theme or foot note. Unfortunately, we often experience a culture of silence around issues such as patriarchy, racism, tribalism, homophobia coupled with gender inequality, and sexism; yet these multifaceted injustices result in the exasperation of the sexual reproductive rights of women. Virginity testing, promotion of polygamy in some circles or the silent general acceptance that men can have multiple sexual partners, gender based violence and the feticide in our country, clearly indicate the extent to which women face these challenges.

There is a growing concern from some men who sight that their current response to gender issues is biased. It is anti men and un-African. This is obviously not true. This is just an expression of fear of losing power or refusal to embrace humanity as spelled out in our constitution. We need to listen and find ways to address these fearful and angry voices even if we may carry a different point of view. The ideal for a morally transformed society is our greatest priority. A call to men though, is:

It's time for those of us who are 'well-meaning men' to start acknowledging the role that male privilege and socialization plays in sexual assault, domestic violence as well as all forms of rights suppression on women. As well-meaning men, we must begin to acknowledge and own our responsibility to be part of the solution to ending violence against women.

Ted Bunch once said:

As men who are for the solutions to end violence against women and sexism, our success is dependent on seeking the leadership of women and allowing that leadership to guide us. If we do not listen to, invest in and believe the voice of women we are once again maintaining the imbalance of power and reinforcing our status while we continue to marginalize women and their experience. The dominating group cannot define the oppression for those who are oppressed.

We need a national response to transform morality, it is therefore fitting to start or encourage a social movement of all South Africans to speed up total transformation, we cannot wait for a moral transformation agenda from somewhere-else, but together we need to take the first steps.

With this in mind, it will be detrimental therefore to direct or assign a single public opinion or sector as the custodian of moral transformation. For an example: imagine if moral transformation was to be championed by the Marriage Alliance of South Africa (MASA) who define sexual orientation as only heterosexual, without doubt this definition will exclude people with a different sexual orientation.

The Ethical Leadership Project should not only focus on the empowerment of leaders, but could function as a social movement to augment all our current moral transformation efforts. Moral transformation needs more than one respected public opinion or voice. The terrain for nation building should be valued higher than any other ideals at all times and on all levels of society.

We could recommend the following as possible benchmarks for a morally transformed society:

◆ **Rights and value based education for the Youth.**

Children and the youth should receive parental and school education in morality. We can achieve this if we engage with all sectors and with families to instil the UBUNTU culture.

◆ **A sound public opinion (influenced by many good voices) not only from the press, is what is required now.**

This refers to any positive and uplifting public opinion that is harmless to our fellow citizens and promotes nation building. We believe that the press is the main voice behind most of the public's opinions. We need to create different spaces for the UBUNTU views of more voices.

◆ **Establishment of a social movement**

There is a Tsonga phrase that reads: "Rintiho rinwe a ri nusi hove!", meaning that a finger cannot lift food to the mouth. We would therefore, need to be a collective power for the moral transformation of our country. We need a functioning social movement with dept and strength to reach as many South Africans as possible.

 [To Contents Page](#)

📍 **Prof Tammy Shefer:**

Gender And Power In (Hetero) Sexual Relationships In Contemporary South African Contexts

This paper was previously published as Shefer, T. 2003. Heterosexuality in K. Ratele & N. Duncan (Eds), *Social Psychology: Identities and Relationships*. Lansdowne: UCT Press.

This chapter explores the practices of heterosexuality in contemporary South Africa as they emerge within current research and literature. The chapter highlights how heterosexuality has received little critical attention, particularly within psychology, as it has been assumed to be normal and natural. More recently however, due to the efforts of feminism, and the global imperative to address the HIV/AIDS epidemic, heterosexual practices have been put under scrutiny. The chapter discusses heterosexual sexuality (heterosex) within five main themes drawn from the literature: gender and power inequalities in sexual



relationships; male power and women's lack of negotiation in sexual relationships; coercive and violent practices in sexuality; the developmental and social context of masculinity and femininity in understanding heterosexual power relations; and the impact of HIV/AIDS on heterosex. The chapter also presents a critical discussion of some of the more negative implications of the current ways in which gender and heterosex are presented in the literature.

Heterosexuality Under Scrutiny

Heterosexuality has historically been a silent partner to its binary opposite homosexuality. Like 'whiteness' in respect of 'blackness', or 'man' in relation to 'woman', the normative identity is always assumed to be unproblematic. The institution of heterosexuality has been idealized, romanticized and naturalized, while homosexuality remains, in many cultures, a marginalized, apathologized and stigmatized sexual orientation. Thus, as many have pointed out, heterosexuality has been relatively untouched and un-theorized across most disciplines (Kitzinger & Wilkinson, 1993; Richardson, 1996). Yet, over the last few decades, heterosexual sexuality (heterosex) has been increasingly problematized. Feminist work since the 1960's, and the urgency of the HIV/AIDS pandemic since the 1980's has seen an increasing global focus on exploring sexuality between men and women. It has been widely argued and empirically illustrated that heterosexuality (as both institution and ideology) is a central site for the production and reproduction of gender power inequalities, with women having little power to assert their needs or negotiate for their safety or pleasure (for example, Holland et al., 1990, 1991; Jeffreys, 1990; Kitzinger and Wilkinson, 1993; MacKinnon, 1989; Rich, 1980; Richardson, 1996; Vance, 1984). Furthermore, it has now been well recognized that central to understanding the barriers to challenging HIV/AIDS through safe sex practices are the taken-for-granted sexual practices and sexual identities of the two genders.

Given the high rate of infection of HIV in sub-Saharan Africa and the fact that heterosexual relations are the primary mode of infection in these countries, research on (hetero) sexuality has accelerated over the last decade in South Africa. As a consequence we now know quite a lot about the gender power inequalities that manifest in heterosexual relationships in local South African contexts.

Psychology as a discipline has been fairly silent on the issue of heterosexuality, at least with respect to theorizing power inequalities in heterosexual practices. While sexual development has been theorized in psychology, from psychodynamic theory to social constructionism, much of the work has focused on the development of (heterosexual) identity or on topics such as interpersonal sexual attraction as in traditional social psychology. Much of this work has assumed heterosexuality as a normative outcome of sexual development and psychology has been criticised for pathologizing homosexuality (for example, Butler,

1990a, 1990b). There is a growing body of critical feminist psychological work that has begun exploring such dynamics, for example, Wilkinson and Kitzinger (1993).

This chapter draws out some of what we currently know, based on research findings, about heterosexual relationships in South Africa. It focuses particularly on how gender roles and gender power intersect with sexual practices. A number of key themes regarding contemporary heterosexual practices emerge as follows: gender and power inequalities in sexual relationships; male power and women's lack of negotiation in sexual relationships; coercive and violent practices in sexuality; the developmental and social context of masculinity and femininity in understanding heterosexual power relations; and the impact of HIV/AIDS on heterosex. These are explored in the chapter, followed by a critical evaluation of this research. The chapter discusses the negative outcomes of the research and ways in which we may begin to imagine alternative, more equitable forms of heterosexuality.

Gender And Power Inequalities In Sexuality

At an international level, there is a large body of work in disadvantaged countries that views gender inequality and women's sexual and economic subordination as central to HIV infection and women's reproductive health generally (for example, McFadden, 1992; Schoepf, 1988; Seidel, 1993; WHO, 1994). With the feminization of poverty, particularly evident in Africa, women, through the intersection of economic and gender power inequalities, are especially vulnerable to HIV infection.

Such dynamics clearly play a significant role in the South African context too. The economic context, cultural prescriptions and gender power inequalities all intersect to create barriers for women in the negotiation of heterosex, and the imperative for women to be involved in sexual relationships for economic gain has been illustrated (NPPHCN, 1995; Simbayi et al., 1999; Strebel, 1993). Furthermore, the colonial heritage of poverty, war and physical dislocation (such as migrant labour systems) have been found to further impact on women's ability to protect themselves from HIV infection. In South Africa as with the rest of Africa, the impact of the migrant labour system on the spread of HIV has been illustrated (for example, Hunt, 1989; Campbell, Mzaidume & Williams, 1998; Campbell, 2001).

The articulation of gender with age and class positions young, poor women as particularly vulnerable to HIV infection and sexual abuse. South African studies illustrate that young women frequently get involved with older men for access to money and/or status (NPPHCN, 1995; Varga & Makubalo, 1996). Similarly, there is some anecdotal evidence that men are seeking younger women to have sex with in order to avoid sexually transmitted illnesses, which may be contributing to coercive sexual practices (Simbayi et al., 1999). Another current example of the overlap between age and gender in South Africa and elsewhere in the region has been the rape of young girls and babies. It has been presented in the media as resulting from the apparently widely accepted belief that sex with virgins is a way of curing or protecting against HIV/AIDS (Love Life, 2000; Vetten & Bhana, 2001). [Also see the section entitled The impact of HIV/AIDS on heterosex for a critical comment on this perception]

Male Power And Women's Lack Of Negotiation In Sexual Relationships

In the search for understanding the vast barriers to 'safe' sexual practices, much research has highlighted the inequitable nature of 'normal' heterosexual relationships. It has been fairly widely reported that even if women have knowledge about HIV/AIDS or wish to protect themselves against pregnancy, they frequently are unable to successfully negotiate this (Strebel, 1992, 1993; Varga & Makubalo, 1996; Shefer, 1999). As discussed above, women's lack of negotiation has to be understood within the broader context of unequal gender relations and the way in which these intersect with other forms of power inequalities, such as class and 'race'.

On the other hand, traditional gender roles together with or outside of socioeconomic factors clearly play a significant role as barriers to safe sex practices. The central role that cultural practices of gender power inequality play in creating barriers to the negotiation of safe and equitable heterosex, has been increasingly theorized and researched in an international context. Similarly in South Africa, a number of key studies have highlighted the way in which gender power relations manifest in the negotiation of heterosex (see for example, Miles, 1992; Shefer, 1999; Strebel, 1993). Studies show how women's lack of negotiation is strongly associated with socialized sexual practices where it is expected of women to be passive, submissive partners, while men are expected to initiate, be active and lead women in the realm of sexuality (Shefer, 1999; Varga & Makubalo, 1996). Men are viewed as in control of relationships and sexuality. Much of this

relates to the cultural constructions of male and female sexuality. A number of qualitative studies highlight a popular construction of male sexuality as overwhelmingly strong, urgent and uncontrollable (Shefer & Ruiters, 1998; Strebel, 1993; Shefer & Foster, 2001). This has elsewhere been named the 'male sexual drive discourse' (Hollway, 1989) that seems to play an important role in women's lack of negotiation in heterosexual.

Emerging out of the assumption that men are highly sexual is the construction of the domain of sexuality as masculine and a male preserve. Women are viewed as 'asexual', and therefore 'strangers' to matters related to sexuality and waiting on men to 'show them the ropes'. Rather women are expected to be focused on relationships and 'love', and sexuality is only legitimized for them if attached to these. A number of authors, internationally and locally, emphasize the lack of a positive discourse on female sexuality – in other words, women do not appear to be able to express or view their sexuality or their sexual desires and pleasures as positive (Holland et al., 1991; Hollway, 1995, 1996; Lesch, 2000; Shefer & Foster, 2001; Shefer & Strebel, 2001). Thus, there is an increasing call for the development of women's voices in the realm of sexuality. It is asserted that if women cannot 'say yes' to sexuality, and 'own' their sexuality and sexual desires, then they certainly cannot assertively 'say no' and negotiate what they desire in their sexual relationships with men.

Linked to the above is the reported pervasiveness of the traditional double standard where men are encouraged to actively pursue sexuality and take multiple partners (NPPHCN, 1995; Wood & Foster, 1995). On the other hand, women are punished for being sexually active, constructed as 'loose' and promiscuous. Even having knowledge about sexuality, and admitting to having had sexual experience appears to be taboo for women (Shefer, 1999).

A focus on condom use, in particular, has highlighted the problematic dynamics of heterosexual negotiation. In South Africa, studies show how condoms are not viewed positively by either men or women, but are frequently seen as symbolizing a lack of trust or infidelity. The use of condoms are seen as 'unmacho' by men and unromantic by women and contrary to their traditional female role ('women who carry condoms are promiscuous') (for example, Abdool Karim, Abdool Karim, Preston-Whyte & Sankar, 1992a; Abdool Karim, Preston-Whyte & Abdool Karim, 1992b; Abdool Karim, Abdool Karim & Preston-Whyte, 1992c; Strebel, 1993; Varga & Makubalo, 1996; Wood & Foster, 1995; Lesch, 2000). It is also more than evident from empirical findings that men's sexuality is privileged in decisions regarding condoms. Women fearing the loss of their partners are anxious about their men not enjoying sex with a condom, and fearing that a request for condoms will be interpreted as a lack of trust in the men or as an admission of their own infidelity (Strebel, 1993; Wood & Foster, 1995; Campbell et al., 1998; Shefer, 1999; Bremridge, 2000). While there is a definite increase in calls for women-centred methods of protection against HIV infection (e.g. female condom, spermicides) in South Africa (for example, Rees, 1998), there is little research on the efficacy of such methods and there is much resistance to these methods (Richards, 1996; Strebel & Lindegger, 1998).

Discourse on condom use also highlights the traditional prescriptions for female sexuality within the whore-madonna dichotomy. Qualitative research in South Africa, mirroring international literature (for example, Waldby, Kippax & Crawford, 1993), shows how men distinguish between 'clean' and 'unclean' women (Wood & Foster, 1995; Shefer, 1999; Bremridge, 2000), in which 'unclean' women constitute those who step outside prescribed feminine sexuality ('promiscuous' women, prostitutes). Condom use is therefore constructed by both men and women as inappropriate in long-term relationships where faithfulness is assumed. Clearly, condoms are not neutral objects, but embody stigmas, which may differ from context to context and from one relationship to another, but nonetheless reflect dominant discourse on gendered power relations and serve to inhibit negotiations around 'safe sex'.

While cultural constructions are found to play a huge role in the reproduction of unequal sexual practices, some authors are more critical of the way in which 'culture' may be used as a way of excusing problematic male behaviour and male power in sexual relationships (Shefer, Potgieter & Strebel, 1999; Shefer & Foster, 2001; Shefer, 2002). These authors point out how notions of 'tradition' and 'culture' are frequently used to rationalize and legitimise such practices as the 'double standard' and male promiscuity (based on notions of historical polygamy), as well as male lack of responsibility for contraceptives and safe sex practices.

Coercive And Violent Practices

Given the high rate of violence against women in South Africa, much attention has been paid to this problem over the last decade. There has been a proliferation of research in South Africa on violence against women, and an increasing focus on the links between violence and heterosexuality and HIV/AIDS infection. Sexual

violence against women and girls, whether by known or unknown rapists, is widespread. Coercive sexual practices and abuse have been increasingly reported in studies exploring heterosexual negotiations and practices. In this respect, girls and women are clearly more vulnerable to HIV/AIDS and other infections, as well as unwanted pregnancies. It has become apparent that for South African communities, violence and heterosex are inextricably interwoven (Shefer, Strebel & Foster, 2000). A recent spate of research among adolescents and children has revealed that their sexual experiences are bound up with violence and coercion (Buga, Amoko & Ncayiyana, 1996; NPPHCN, 1995; Richter, 1996; Varga & Makubalo, 1996; Wood et al., 1996; Wood & Jewkes, 1998).

Everyday coercive practices in heterosex are also found to be common, particularly in interactions between older men, who are in more powerful social positions, and young women. Thus it is not only overt sexual violence that is commonplace, rather more subtle forms of coercion and pressure appear to be indigenous in heterosexual relationships. Discourses of love and romance play a significant role in sexual coercion. This appears to be particularly salient for girls/women who speak of 'giving in' to male pressure for sex because of 'love', commitment and fear of loss of the relationship (Varga & Makubalo, 1996; Wood, Maforah & Jewkes, 1996; Shefer, 1999). In these studies, it is evident that girls' sexuality is constructed as responsive to and in the service of male sexuality. Even when young women are aware of power inequalities and double standards within discourses of love and sexuality, there appears to be little space for resistance given peer pressure and male violence (Wood et al., 1996). A number of South African studies also highlight the widespread nature of coercive sexuality or unprotected sexuality linked to economic factors such as poverty, financial dependence, and job security (for example, Jewkes & Abrahams, 2000; Vetten & Dladla, 2000).

A growing body of research is beginning to establish a strong link between violence against women and HIV/AIDS (see Vetten & Bhana, 2001 for a review). One of the significant areas hinges around condom usage in safe sex practices. Violence plays a role in negotiations around condoms, with women speaking of the fear and actual experience of angry or violent responses if they insist on condom use (Strebel, 1992, 1993; Varga & Makubalo, 1996; Shefer, Strebel & Foster, 2000). The link between violence and HIV/AIDS also emerges around the disclosure of HIV status, and attempts to practice safe sex by HIV positive women. Although mostly anecdotal, there is evidence of male violence following women's disclosure of their HIV status in South African communities (Mthembu, 1998; Vetten & Bhana, 1991).

Developmental And Social Contexts Of Masculinity And Femininity In Understanding Heterosexual Power Relations

This is still a fairly poorly subscribed area of research (Shefer, 1998), but there is wide acknowledgement, as elaborated below, of the significance of early gender development to heterosexual behaviour. Social and sexual inequalities are promulgated during childhood and adolescence that are powerfully implicated in young people's constructions of sexuality, love and relationships.

With respect to girls, some of the salient issues are related to puberty and the beginnings of their menstruation. One central thread is the lack of knowledge and access to reliable and constructive information that young people, at all corners of the globe, have through the process of their development. Young women in particular appear to lack basic knowledge about their bodies, reproductivity and sexuality (Bassett & Sherman, 1994; Bhende, 1995; Uwakwe et al., 1994; Vasconcelos, Neto, Dantas, Simonetti & Garcia, 1995). This lack of knowledge appears to be reinforced by global moralizing and gendered discourses on female sexuality, where virginity and sexual naivety are prescribed for girls (Weiss et al., 1996). Thus, even if women have sexual knowledge, they face social pressure to maintain an image of innocence, particularly with men, who may interpret knowledge as past sexual activity (as mentioned earlier). Consequently, it is very difficult for women to protect themselves against sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and AIDS, given that such measures will imply 'the outward appearance of an active sexual life which is not congruent with traditional norms of conduct for adolescent girls' (Weiss et al., 1996, p. 9). In this way, dominant constructions of femininity act to decrease women's power in the negotiation of heterosex.

In the South African context, both historical and contemporary studies point to the protective construction of girls as sexually vulnerable to 'dangerous' male sexuality at the onset of menstruation (Mager, 1996; Shefer, 1998; Lesch, 2000). Practices of forced and immediate placement of girls on contraception, and warnings against boys and men are apparently common in many South African communities. In this way, young girls are taught of their passivity and vulnerability to men/boys and their menstruation is constructed as a negative, dangerous transition (Shefer, 1998; 1999). Young women, as a consequence, are often

unprepared for sexual relationships, lacking not only useful knowledge but also a positive sexual identity (Thomson & Scott, 1991).

Boys, on the other hand, appear to be socialized positively into their 'manhood', with puberty signifying a transition to active (hetero) sexuality. Nonetheless, manhood appears to be rigidly associated with heterosexuality and the ability to be sexual with multiple women. Thus, those who do not conform or are not successful in this realm may be punished or stigmatized. Alternative sexualities, either homosexual or those resistant to traditional macho masculinity, are still not well tolerated in South African communities. For men and boys, the feminist argument of the close ties between heterosexual and masculine identity are borne out by empirical studies. For example, when asked what it means to be a boy, a 12 year old boy replied '... to have sex with a woman' (NPPHCN, 1995, p. 35). The female answer from a 14 year old girl is similarly stereotyped and makes no mention of sex: 'To be a mother ... to have a husband and to look after children' (p. 36).

While masculinity studies have been fairly marginalized in South Africa, there is clearly a growing emphasis on understanding the role of masculinities in contemporary South Africa (see for example, Morrell, 2001), including a focus on the masculine in heterosexual relationships (for example, Shefer & Ruiters, 1998; Dunbar Moodie, 2001).

The Impact Of HIV/AIDS On Heterosex

Few studies specifically focus on this, yet through using such a lens to look at contemporary findings it is evident that more work is needed to explore the impact of HIV/AIDS on heterosex. One would expect that the increased focus on heterosex and the attempt to popularize information on HIV/AIDS and safe sex practices would facilitate a move to more equitable sexual practices. Earlier studies have however found that in spite of increased knowledge and awareness, there has been little evidence of a change in gender power relationships in heterosexual practices (for example, Perkel, Strebel & Joubert, 1991). On the other hand, more recent calls for the inclusion of issues of gender, relationship and specific skills of negotiation and assertiveness within educational and life-skills interventions, may lead to more concrete changes in this area. More research is required, in particular evaluation studies on interventions that are currently in process.

Some pointers of a more negative impact of HIV/AIDS on heterosex include the now widely publicized 'virgin rape' phenomenon, mentioned earlier. The widespread belief that having sex with a virgin or with a young woman may lead to a cure for HIV/AIDS appears to have particular salience in Southern Africa (loveLife, 2000). Although there is no proof that such a belief has led to an increase of child sexual abuse, a number of sensationalized media cases have certainly established such a link in the public eye. Furthermore, it stands to reason, as has been reported elsewhere, that the attempt to escape HIV/AIDS may lead to an increase in sexual practices between older men and younger women/girls. More research is clearly needed in this area to establish whether there is a more definitive relationship between HIV/AIDS and child sexual abuse.

Another area where HIV/AIDS may be impacting negatively on heterosex centres around the stigmatization of HIV/AIDS and other STIs (Simbayi et al., 1999; Ratele & Shefer, 2002). The continued silencing and stigmatization of STIs in South African communities is believed to perpetuate unsafe sex practices, with men and women afraid to reveal their status and rather risk infecting their partners. Some studies even report a vindictive promiscuity among those who are infected in order to 'punish' others (Simbayi et al, 1999). Also, given reports of violent retribution from male partners when women reveal their HIV status, mentioned above, it is expected that they may resist disclosure and avoid the insistence on safe sex out of fear of male violence.

Critical Evaluation Of Contemporary Findings On Heterosexuality

The proliferation of research and the educational emphasis on heterosexual relationships is extremely important. It may even be argued that, disastrous as it is, the HIV/AIDS epidemic has opened up a significant space for challenging gender inequality as it manifests in heterosexual relationships, as well as gender roles and inequality more broadly. On the other hand, there are also problems and potential concerns with the way in which heterosexual relationships are currently viewed.

In relation to women, it is arguable that while it is important to highlight women's lack of negotiation in heterosex, the dominant picture of women emerging is that of an inevitable victim of male power. Nobody would argue against the significance of acknowledging women's lack of power in heterosex, but it is also important that we do not inadvertently reproduce the dominant stereotype of women's passivity. Contemporary feminist writers have begun challenging the way in which feminist theories on heterosexuality have historically constructed power as the inherent preserve of (all) men, and women as inevitably disempowered victims of male power (Hollway, 1995; Jackson, 1996; Smart, 1996). Smart (1996), for example, speaks of a conflation of the penis with the phallus, in which she maintains all power is seen as male, and all males are seen as having access to power. She argues that both of these are problematic assumptions, given a post-modern understanding of the multiple, contextual and fluid nature of power. In this way, while most feminists distance themselves from biological determinism, she argues that power and gender are inadvertently essentialised, globalized and decontextualized.

What is probably most problematic about the continued emphasis on women's vulnerability, passivity and powerlessness, is that this emphasis serves to silence the many times that women do resist male power and do challenge men. Furthermore, the stereotyped image of women is ultimately reproduced, with no space given to alternative images and discourses of women as strong, assertive and powerful agents. Importantly, as mentioned, the predominant picture of woman remains one of asexual victim of male desires, and women's own sexual desires and a positive female sexuality is seldom represented in the literature.

The flip-side of women being constructed as inevitable victims is the reproduction of the stereotype of men as inevitably powerful and controlling in relation to women in heterosexual relationships. While some authors have pointed out the salience of the 'male sexual drive' discourse in talk on heterosex, the literature itself appears to reproduce this stereotype. Clearly there is a silence around alternative ways of being men. There is very little literature that highlights men's resistance to traditional masculinity, or speaks of men's vulnerability to women and their difficulties with hegemonic masculinity. In some research, fragments of male vulnerability and the pressure on men to conform to hegemonic masculinity, are beginning to emerge (see for example, Shefer & Ruiters, 1998. Also see Clowes' chapter in this volume). Nonetheless, there is still little work that gives a voice to the different ways of being men, and offers alternative and more nuanced versions of maleness in heterosexual relationships.

Finally, it is significant to note that while heterosexuality continues to be the normative sexual practice, idealized and romanticized in the public eye, the literature on heterosexuality overwhelmingly presents a picture of an oppressive, inequitable and often violent institution. While this has been an important step in the struggle towards gender equality, it is problematic that heterosexuality is presented as an homogenous, unitary and singular experience in the literature. The literature appears to assume only one way of being heterosexual and presents heterosexuality as an institution that inevitably reflects and reproduces power imbalance. Furthermore, most work seems to accept a construction of heterosex as centred around penetrative sexuality, again reproducing, rather than challenging, the social stereotypes of what heterosex is. As with masculinities, alternative pictures and experiences of heterosexuality and heterosex are silenced and/or marginalized. It could be argued that if we are not presented with alternative images and discourses on heterosex, there is no way in which we can challenge the current oppressive context of heterosexual relationships.

Conclusion

For the most part, the current picture of heterosex emerging from research in South Africa, as it is globally, is one imbued with much negativity. We have seen how heterosex is interwoven with gender power inequality, in which both men and women are engaged in reproducing their traditional roles of masculinity and femininity. It has become evident that such roles and power inequality between men and women mean that they do not negotiate sexuality very successfully or equitably. Given the dangers associated with heterosex, including unwanted pregnancies, STIs and HIV/AIDS, the opportunity for men and women to negotiate their sexual practices safely is an imperative. Yet, by all accounts there are major barriers, related to the power inequalities of gender, class and age that stand in the way of open and equitable sexual negotiation.

On the other hand, we need to be cautious about the way in which the current focus on heterosexuality may itself perpetuate this problematic pattern of behaviours. Given this negative picture of heterosex, it is evident we need to find ways to create new identities and ways of relating sexually as men and women. This means that we need to move beyond criticizing and highlighting the inequities of heterosex, to also exploring the

alternatives and resistances to this dominant mode of relationship. Thus, while we need to be cautious of denying the problematic reality of heterosexuality for many women (and men), and the way in which it currently facilitates women's vulnerability to HIV/AIDS, STIs and unwanted pregnancies, we also need to allow for the development of an alternative picture of men, women and heterosex. It is important to begin exposing different experiences of heterosex and developing new ways of thinking and talking about the sexual relationships between men and women. An important way of doing this involves highlighting the marginalized experiences and voices on sexuality, such as those of men who resist taking power and control in heterosex, and of women who resist passivity and have positive experiences of their sexuality with men. We need to begin documenting some of the experiences which contradict our 'normal' image of men and women – such as men who enjoy affection without sex, and examples of women's strength and agency in resisting male power in heterosex. Men need to be encouraged to admit to their vulnerability in sexual relationships, just as women need to begin to assert their sexual desires and own their sexuality. Finally, we need to be able to expose images of a positive heterosexuality as well. In order to challenge the current problematic context of heterosex, we need to be able to imagine a more equitable and mutually enjoyable experience.

The following learning exercises could be helpful:

- (1) Reflect on your own growing up as a girl or boy. What were the messages you received about your gender and sexual identity?
- (2) Think about your community and how they respond to a woman who initiates a sexual relationship? How does this differ for a man who does? Why is this so?
- (3) What are the barriers to safe sex practices in your community? What do you think would facilitate safe sex practices?
- (4) Do you agree with the statement: If woman could express their own desires for sexuality, they would be better equipped to 'say no' when they don't want sex? Please elaborate.
- (5) How do you think other forms of inequality impact on gender inequalities in sexual relationships? Think of some examples from your own community.

 [To Contents Page](#)

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 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 6: Perpetuation Of Gendered Crookedness In Higher Education

Prof Teresa Barnes

Before I begin to speak about the topic of higher education, I would like to say a few words about the Moral Regeneration Movement itself. As you know, the most glaring issue around contestations over the public and private meanings of gender equality in South Africa recently have been around the rape trial of Jacob Zuma. As we all know, Mr. Zuma is the former head of this Movement. To my knowledge, this organization did not make a public statement on the matter of his trial and acquittal. Perhaps my knowledge is incorrect. If not, I would assume that in



some way, the topic of this conference, “ethical leadership of women and men” is an organizational response to the awful public spectacle created by the behaviour of one of South Africa’s most senior and highly ranked public servants. The courts have decided that Mr. Zuma’s behaviour was not criminal. But, even if it was not criminal, it was surely unethical that a man with three wives should have unprotected sex with a woman who was not only much younger, but the daughter of an old friend and comrade. To claim otherwise, as did Mr. Zuma and his supporters, is to assert that it is all right for a man to do whatever he wants to do, subject only to the approval of other men, and social institutions such as the courts. The outcome of Zuma trial provides us with a working definition of patriarchy: a man can do what he wants.

This chapter focus on the topic “discrimination in the higher education workplace.” I would like to address this topic via a route that is slightly different than the normal, quantitative one. I do not conduct research on pay differentials between male and female academics, administrators or university workers, although that kind of research is very good and useful. The word discrimination too, itself implies a choice, an individual decision to favour this male person over that female person. While such decisions are constantly made, they have already been addressed via legislation and constitutional law: despite being widespread, such practices are illegal. But if we return to the working definition of patriarchy “a man can do what he wants,” does it apply in and to higher education institutions? Do universities undermine or support the idea that male practices of dominance should prevail?

My research interest has been on how universities as institutions, continue, in structured ways – not exactly subject to individual decision-making - to reproduce gendered regimes of knowledge production. Put more clearly, how do universities reproduce and transmit ideas about where power and authority should be located, and how power and authority should be exercised in the process of producing understanding, knowledge and information?

Feminist theories tell us that what gendered regimes do in society is to code power and authority as male attributes, as beliefs and practices that some people learn while they are in the process of learning to be men. Other people, who are learning to be women, learn that their lot in life is to be largely excluded from power and authority, or at least from that which is exercised in the public domain. This exclusion from power also extends into private life. If I can illustrate this with a little story: the man who nicked my car recently told me that I should go home and discuss with my husband whether I should call the insurance company or not. As far as the man was concerned, the power to make such a decision had to be referred to a man first – because it is the province of men to make decisions. He didn’t have to ask if I had knowledge or experience with panel-beating – that was irrelevant. Instead, because I am a woman, he assumed that I needed a man to make decisions for me.

How do these ideas about “proper inequality” translate in the institutional setting? Leaders in institutions like very rarely define their roles as transformational in the sense of reorienting and reallocating power and

authority according to gender. Instead, they generally define their working tasks as maintaining institutional integrity. This work is often coded as “maintaining standards.”

This idea of coded, structurally embedded regimes explains why having one woman at the top of an organization – in recent university history, Dr. Mamphela Ramphele at the University of Cape Town, or Prof. Neo Mathabe at the old Technikon SA – is in itself far from a sufficient change to have an effect on substantive re-gendering of masculinist regimes of knowledge production.

I would like to give a few examples of what I would call masculinist regimes of knowledge production. The first is the assessment of students. The western-style academy, a model which has shaped nearly all contemporary universities, in South Africa and elsewhere, puts a great deal of weight on a combative, punitive, sink or swim model of assessment. In the classic version of this model, students are given one chance to pass or fail. Often they cannot rewrite a failed paper or exam. Similarly, when research degrees are awarded, candidates for masters’ or doctoral degrees are subjected to intense scrutiny in which they must ward off attacks on their ideas from people who have already survived such an ordeal. If this sounds like initiation rites, that’s because that is exactly what it is. Those who do not argue (fight) correctly in their examinations will fail. Students often do not have the option of revising their masters’ dissertations or mini-thesis in the light of reviewer’s comments. Finally, at doctoral level, note the terminology: one “defends” a thesis. In short, this is a system in which successful male students become “real men” and successful female students become honorary men.

The second set of examples I would like to give has to do with current practices of differentiation of the Department of Education and the National Research Foundation – which by definition are in charge of producing knowledge. The first is the NRF’s ranking of people who have survived the initiation rites (academic staff). The NRF has chosen a hierarchical model in which the people at the top – the ones with power and authority – are the most likely to be funded and the people at the bottom less so. Secondly, the Department of Education rewards academics differently when they publish articles or books: a multi-authored work receives significantly less subsidy than a single author work. Why discriminate against cooperative scholarship? Why must scholarly work be structured as a “lone wolf” activity? Because of the existing, gendered regimes of knowledge production.

A researcher recently asked me if I, as a black woman, had been personally discriminated against in the academy. The answer was negative. I believe I am being paid properly according to my qualifications, and that I have not been passed over in a promotion competition in favour of a less qualified man.

However, I have often felt the chill air of structured gendered hierarchies in operation in higher education institutions. For example, I have regularly found myself in meetings or classes where only the men are speaking; worked in settings where male executives have the thinking jobs (such as finances and academic affairs) and women executives have the caring jobs (such as human resources and student development). I know that local universities repress the public production of statistics of rape and sexual assault on their campus because they do not want to be portrayed as being unable to protect “their women” despite the obvious fact that if women had better knowledge of what the patterns of assault were and where the dangers were they could both demand better protection and protect themselves more successfully. I have seen that men repeatedly fail to be penalized for sloppy management, misadministration and shoddy reporting, which few women would ever get away with. I know of postgraduate students who ask questions or protest when their supervisors repeatedly give them little or no feedback on their work, are cut out of scholarship allocations – which means they either go further into debt, or drop out of the system completely. I know that men can be appointed into unadvertised positions – thus excluding the possibility of any women applicants – but never the reverse. Out of more than 700 academic staff at the University of Cape Town, there is one black woman who is a full professor. These are all examples of the gendered reproduction of power and authority in action.

Institutional practices like these work together to consistently and non-coincidentally push the production of knowledge (the pursuit and publication of research, the education of students, the rewarding of scholarly excellence) in traditional, non-transformed directions. To return to our working definition of patriarchy “a man can do what he wants,” as suggested at the beginning of this talk, an abstract version clearly applies in higher education institutions. Universities rarely undermine the idea that masculinist practices of dominance, power and authority should prevail.

Thus a vital role of ethical leadership in higher education is to relentlessly interrogate and examine the educational and academic structures of institutions in order to reveal how gendered crookedness is being perpetuated. The playing field itself is so skewed that despite their predominance at undergraduate level, women have slid out of contention by the time the postgraduate degrees are awarded. Leaders must work with local actors and national players to develop strategies to challenge and change the perpetuation of masculinist bias in the practices such as those described above. To challenge and change means to work towards accountable, fair, supportive and equitable practices in assessment, research, appointments and promotion at all institutional levels.

I would suggest that to the extent that we fail to grapple with these tasks, we are working against the historic mission of the post-colonial academy: to theorize, celebrate and honour how far we have come; to develop new sources of knowledge about old problems and to retool what is already known to deal with new problems.

 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 7: Gender, Globalization And Poverty

© **Dr Maretha De Waal:**

The Feminization Of Poverty As A Significant Problem

Background

More than a billion people in the world today, the greatest majority of whom are women, live in unacceptable conditions of poverty. This trend of poverty is evident and prevalent in mostly developing countries. In the past decade or more, the number of women living in abject poverty has increased disproportionately to the number of men, especially in developing countries, including the Southern African region.

Poverty has various causes, including structural ones. Poverty is a complex multi-dimensional problem with its origins in both national and international domains. The globalization of the world's economy and the growing interdependence among different nations present challenges as well as opportunities for sustainability in economic growth and development. However, risks and uncertainties in the future regarding globalization are a threat to the economic development of women due to the uncertain global climate accompanied by economic restructuring as well as unmanageable levels of external debt and structural adjustment programs lead to women especially becoming impoverished. This is mainly due to gender disparities in economic power-sharing.

The feminization of poverty were recognized as a significant problem in the countries with transitional economies, such as those in Southern Africa, as a short- term consequence of the process of political, economic and social transformation in countries. The failure to mainstream a gender perspective in economic analysis and planning and addressing the structural causes of poverty is a contributing factor. In addition to economic factors, the rigidity of socially ascribed gender roles as well as women's limited access to power, education and productive resources lead to insecurities in women.

Governance is a universal phenomenon comprising of mechanisms and processes through which society articulates its interests, mediate its differences and exercises its legislative obligations. Governance has the potential to lead to human development and sustainability.

Recent feminist scholarship on the state has highlighted the lack of neutrality of state institutions and political processes with respect to gender. Women globally are under-represented in formal politics at all levels. Because of entrenched gender biases, women working in state bureaucracies to promote gender interests find themselves in an ambivalent position working both 'within and against' the state. Most importantly the public- private divide implicit in state institutions, whereby women's needs are construed as a matter of private provision, has proved a barrier to establishing more equitable practices.

Theoretical Framework

The basic premise of the argument in this chapter is that although society appears to be unchanging, "stable" and guided by "natural facts", society does indeed change over time. Sociological knowledge shows us how societies change, and that change is not only possible but inevitable. Indeed, transformation is part of human life. Simple as this may sound, the process of social change is all, but simple. Social forces form distinct frameworks and structures that shape individual's identities and socially regulate their behaviour, and these are clearly not manipulable at will. The socio-historically and culturally constructed frameworks and patterns of organization serve to constrain and to direct human behaviour. A range of formal and informal



mechanisms exist to generate compliance. These mechanisms, of course, include legislation with formal social sanctions attached to them in the form of graded punishments and retributions, and agencies to ensure its construction, interpretation and enforcement. Laws, however, do not have a completely binding capacity. Most of the social rules that we follow do not have laws to back them up, they nevertheless persuade us to conform. We are guided by ideas, beliefs, principles – we do not respond in an automatic, programmed manner. Agency, the capacity to behave independently of the defining constraints of society, is the defining characteristic of “modern times”.

Modernity And The Evolution Of A World Society

The modernity project encapsulated a belief in the possibilities opened up by modernity, involving a commitment to social progress. In sociological theory, modernity involves four key aspects of change namely industrial capitalism (geared towards the calculated, systematic pursuit of profit), increasing rationality (including the rise of science and academia, codified law, representing the rational organization of justice), the rise of the nation-state (including state government) and major changes in people’s sense of self (including the differentiation of public and private spheres).

Modernity unleashed processes of global proportion and accelerated social change. Sociologists use the term “globalization of modernity” to refer to the process whereby political, economic and cultural relations increasingly take on a global scale, and which has profound consequences for individual’s experiences and everyday lives. While globalization is encouraging the integration and convergence of social and economic relations, at the local / individual level, diversity and inequality remain. Social divisions are a key feature of social relations and modern society in the era of globalization. Social divisions mark the broad patterns and processes that produce forms of social inequality and disadvantage.

In broad terms, the concept of social divisions refers to the ways in which social differences is constructed among people and among peoples of this world. These social divisions are about material differences among people as well as cultural differences between them. Social divisions are powerful mechanisms to reproduce social hierarchies over time, which reflect differences in power, economic advantage, status and so on. In modern social systems, the pattern of social division and how it is expressed is or complex, dynamic and changes more rapidly. Social class differences existed before industrial society. Economic hierarchies in pre-industrial societies reflected political, religious and hereditary forms of domination. Wealth and poverty have remained key socioeconomic divisions since the advent of industrialized societies, but unlike earlier times. Today, the individual’s relationship to the system of production is more likely to shape the pattern of social inequality. Massive inequality in the distribution of wealth is one of the most important and perhaps most obvious forms of social division.

Wealth And Poverty

Massive disparities of wealth persist within and between countries, and changes to the pattern of how wealth reflects changes at the national and global levels. National changes have occurred during the last half of the century, while global changes are the result of more recent processes. With regard to the first, a propertied upper class is still apparent in all mature capitalist countries, but there have been two key changes.

- ⑥ First, at the national level, wealth holding of the rich has been, to a limited extent, redistributed downwards to the next 5-10 percent of wealth holders, while the management of private capital, be this of landed property or corporations – is in the hands of powerful managers or the service class. This means there has been a separation of the ownership of capital from its control, though this does not necessarily mean that the managers of capital are working against the interests of owners and dominant shareholders: indeed, most senior managers are major shareholders on the companies they manage.
- ⑥ Second, at the global level, the stability and reproduction of a specifically national upper class – in the US, UK, Canada, France, Italy and elsewhere, is being eclipsed by the emergence of a transnational capitalist class, based on the control of transnational corporations. These are particularly associated with the ownership and management of finance capital – the wealth associated with international banks, major currency dealers, insurance conglomerates and the like. Today, finance is the most important form of global wealth and is shaping the fortunes of both rich and poor in all capitalist countries.

Taken together, these two processes have led to the gradual dissociation of the holding of wealth from specific individuals and families. Increasingly, the basis on which the rich enjoy and increase their fortunes depends on the dynamics of global capital investment and the profitability of money markets. The world economic system simultaneously creates extreme wealth and extreme poverty.

Many social theorists argue that poverty is not simply the absence of at least some form of wealth, it is also a direct result of the economic system that produces the wealthy. Hence, poverty prevails in affluent societies that enjoy high levels of consumption. The proportion of the population earning much less than the average income is a valuable measure of the overall income distribution patterns in society, and it allows us to make comparisons over time. But in itself it says nothing about other aspects of everyday life that worsen the plight of those in poverty, such as unequal income distribution within a household, insecurity of work, access to healthcare, public goods and services etcetera. Understanding the key role of gender inequalities enables a more sophisticated analysis of the relative vulnerability of individuals and households. Poverty has to be understood as multi-dimensional.

Vulnerability

The phenomena marginality and violence have greatly deepened by recent processes of globalization, compounded by the failure to exert measures of global control:

- ◆ The unemployed are among the most vulnerable, and people in low-paid, insecure work, constitute the bulk of those below the poverty line;
- ◆ The second group consists of the elderly. Because life expectancy has increased, earlier retirement has become more common and state pensions have reduced in real terms. Consequently, the elderly comprise an ever-larger section of the poor. Unequal life chances continue through old age;
- ◆ Also likely to experience poverty are lone-parent families. Irrespective of whether lone parenthood is the result of choice, death, desertion or divorce, such families make up a growing proportion of the poor;
- ◆ Large families too, vulnerable to poverty;
- ◆ Those who are sick or disabled often experience chronic deprivation and isolation;
- ◆ Rural people – the rural world has been disrupted in a profound way by urbanization, commercialization and the relentless globalization of the market place; and
- ◆ Refugees and displaced people.

Various writers argue that women have come to figure particularly prominently among the new poor. While the absolute figures do suggest an increase, it is evident from earlier data that women have always been most susceptible to poverty because of their weakness in the labour market, their domestic burden, the distribution of resources within households, and so on. This illustrates how social divisions can stack up in particular ways – in this case, gender and economic disadvantage are at play.

Analyzing social divisions by concentrating on patterns of social exclusion draws attention to the complex, multidimensional aspects of inequality. Social exclusion refers to the way in which people are marginalized from society by having limited or no access to public services, education, political processes and to sources of information and communication. Social exclusion therefore refers to processes that intentionally or unintentionally serve to exclude individuals, social groups and whole communities from the benefits and rights, considered universally. An interesting notion is that of “network poverty”, which in the case of poor people, refers to a lack of access to networks of support and information that help people into education, homes, jobs, services and appropriate benefits.

Gender Inequality

Structured inequalities operate along the main axes of gender, race/ethnicity and class. Each of these in turn generates its own structure of unequal practices giving rise to institutionalized sexism, racism or class division and conflict. The linkages between gender inequality and poverty, are indicated above. If this is so clear, why then is it so difficult to change? Various theorists offered insightful explanations, notably that of Walby (on patriarchy) and Connell (on gender arrangements and the gender order). Other studies on the role of the ideology of domesticity, the horizontal and vertical gender segregation of women and men into

qualitatively different types of work, and many others convincingly describe the linkages between gender (in) equality and development.

Increasingly, women have realised that they face common problems. The rapid economic globalization has been a global concern for women and gender activists, who share a concern for:

- ◆ fragmented production operations between sites located in different countries, and in so doing, transnational companies remain relatively unencumbered by global or state regulation;
- ◆ the rise and spread of neo-liberal economic policies and structural adjustment programs, which prioritizes government spending and tax cuts, the privatization of industry, the de-regulation of markets, including the reduced protection of local industries and jobs, and “flexible” labour markets;
- ◆ casualizing of the labour force, which involve weakened bargaining power of organized labour and increased economic insecurity; and
- ◆ increased trafficking in women and children.

Constraints to women’s leadership for transformation are:

- ◆ Women’s socioeconomic disadvantage and restricted access to financial resources, education vis-à-vis their customary obligations and domestic and productive services;
- ◆ Patriarchal social relations, which reduce women’s capacity for autonomy and render them vulnerable and dependent;
- ◆ Restrictions on women’s mobility, including lack of transport in rural areas;
- ◆ Women’s struggles remain intertwined with wider struggles against oppression and violence; and
- ◆ Divisions among women

Conclusion

Flowing from the lack of gender analysis in economic policy is a failure to analyse the likely impacts on poor women of changes in public expenditure, a key component of economic reform. Recent emphasis by the World Bank and other agencies on the protection of social expenditures and their reallocation to basic services holds potential benefits for poor women. It is, however, unclear to what extent these gains have actually been realised in the face of downward pressures on total budgets and the collapse of free public service delivery in many countries. Until the budgetary process is subject to public scrutiny ex ante as well as ex post, government accountability for actual as opposed to planned expenditures is strengthened, and existing tools for impact analysis of public expenditure are more widely used, such gains may be elusive.

 [To Contents Page](#)

6 Dr Clint Le Bruyns:

Moral Transformation And Public Life

There is and have always been a lot of discussions on moral renewal, moral regeneration, and moral transformation, but the manner in which we discuss morality does at times give no assistance in our stride to move forward. Our perception of morality is sometimes quite narrow, as though it is only in relation with things such as; pornography or abortion, although these issues might have importance, there are bigger issues to which we should pay attention to.



One of the important life issues of gender, globalization and poverty is how one can discuss moral transformation and public life. When one thinks on globalization, various terms come to mind, namely the four characteristics in terms of what is meant by globalization: stretched social relations, i.e., we have become aware of our increased interconnection in society and the world at large. This is evident in our culture, economics, and the political realm; we experience an intensification of flows. There is a lot of interaction that takes place; increasing interpenetration, how the global impacts and effects the local (“globalization”). What is experienced in the local sphere is influenced by what takes place in the globally, in terms of global market, global shifts, and global changes; and lastly, global infrastructure. Our lives and well-being is not just influenced by the nation’s state, but global institutions, multi-national corporations, that have a say in what happens in our context and in our well-being and futures. Lastly, one should not only refer to globalization, but globalizations, there are different globalizations, and realms of this phenomena; there is the cultural realm, where one regards the influence of global events on culture; the political realm, where it is not government that plays a role in our lives, but also what takes place in global politics, and the economic factor and markets which impact our lives.

On to the issue of globalization and poverty, an important question rose in reference to globalization and poverty; to what extent, if any, is economic globalization contributing to material prosperity? Is it contributing to greater poverty? This question is still being explored in research, in academic circles, in governments, and organizations around the world. When one looks at the impact of globalization on life and the economic realm, one cannot limit it to a solely positive or negative phenomenon, but one can recognize that it has been an ambiguous impact. Globalization appears to be more positive in some places, while negative in others, than positive. In South Africa and broader Africa, for example, it seems that the latter is the case, where globalization’s impact seems to be experienced more in its negative dimension than the positive. It seems that those who benefit from it are those who know how to position themselves, but many are excluded from meaningful participation in this global activity. Globalization thus becomes a very critical factor in the ongoing and increasing poverty that is experience in South Africa and the rest of the continent. Various sociologists have questioned the type of society we live in, which is actually a liquid society as apposed to living in what was a solid society. Solid society being one where things are stable, predictable; and one can meaningfully guess the outcome of events and situations; and one is able to do scenario planning for the future; there is security and stability. In today’s globalization period, however, we have moved from a society of solidity to one that is liquid, where everything is fluid, uncontrollable, and unpredictable. In the world of work globalization sets us up for poverty or prosperity.

There is a new sense of domination under globalization, a new form of colonization, “a survival of the richest”. Poverty affects everyone, but it is gendered. There is a growing body of evidence illustrating the ways in which substantial numbers of women have been adversely affected by globalization. Globalization impacts women in a particularly, distinctively negative, compromising way.

Ethical leadership in relation to gender, globalization and poverty, regarding moral transformation entails a fulfilled life. Morality can be defined as actualizing potential, potential that materializes. This is a challenge in the world of work. The mission of empowering a critical number of leaders at all levels, in every domain, is the activation of a kind of leadership that will contribute to moral transformation and a better life for all. Through knowledge, skills and values in the fostering of moral transformation, the ethical leadership program is able to empower leaders. Fostering moral transformation in the world of work, etc, implies change and transformation. One of the most profound points is self critique, when we offer ourselves as leaders, we offer ourselves as servants. Meaning we have to question ourselves personally and professionally and all the work that we do, asking to what extent we are contributing to moral transformation or moral deformation in society, especially around issues of gender.

We can be defensive about our cultural and religious traditions, but why are there issues of gender violence, inequality and social divisions? This indicates a lack of perfection, and therefore as leaders, we open ourselves to critique, because these are values, knowledge and skills which we want to embody in our personal lives and contribution to society. Without critique, we contribute to an ongoing immobility around gender and all spheres of life, including the world of work.

In conclusion, by adding the issue of globalization in the discussion, underlines the importance of context, that ethical leadership, gender justice, gender equality are issues which play themselves out in a concrete reality, and context. Globalization is a description of the context in which we live today. We need to grapple with what it means to do ethical leadership in that context or the discussion of equality and freedom and human dignity will be one that is too simplistic. We must question how we grapple with the complexity of life in those respective worlds of work where gender inequality and injustice often come to the fore. Through conferences, consultations and readings one will learn about this context of globalization. There are different attitudes towards globalization: the globalist perspective, the traditionalist perspective and thirdly, the transformational perspective, which recognizes that globalization as a phenomenon, as complex as it is, is not cast in stone. As long as there is involvement behind policies that affect people negatively, behind global decisions which compromise people's dignity and human rights, there is always the possibility of change, and the possibility of influencing movements in a way that could contribute to a better well-being for society. If one talks about the moral basis in society, there are ethical principles in place, within our constitution and our understanding of society, such as human dignity and human rights, which need to be taken more seriously.

 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 8: Ethical Leadership In And Through Gender Workshops

UWC Gender Workshop

The Gender Workshop was held on Saturday, 21 October 2006, at the University of the Western Cape. Mrs. Ulanda Jacobs (Mosaic facilitator & trainer) facilitated the gender workshop for community leaders from the following areas, Belhar, Bishop Lavis, Delft, Elsie's River and Ravensmead. Approximately, 71 leaders participated in the workshop.



The workshop taught an important aspect regarding gender in that society and socioeconomic conditions influence gender. Hence, if these aspects change;

gender roles can change too. Gender roles include specific roles and responsibilities, social norms, values, and practices for women and men which are described by society. Furthermore, the concept of gender stereotyping was also highlighted and explained, with reference to males and females. Gender stereotyping relates to all kinds of behaviour and values that are taught and learned from a very young age. Participants were challenged to think how they as leaders within their respective communities and homes stereotype other men and women, daughters, sons, etc. Gender relations in general refer to the social relations of

women and men which are strongly related to the power relationship between men and women. This inevitably defines the 'roles' and 'positions' of men and women in society and within the workplace. In this regard participants raised the fact that gender roles are constantly changing and therefore the argument is that perhaps more and more women are being "attacked" due to these changes. A common definition of GBV means injury or threat to hurt, deprivation of food, freedoms or other basic human rights, use of physical, financial or social power to control and abuse. GBV, although it is most common that men physically (and or otherwise) abuse women; men are



also exposed to abuse by some women (perhaps in ways and means that are not as apparent as in the case of GBV).

The abuse of substances also featured high on the agenda as most participants agreed that substance abuse in most cases leads to domestic violence. The workshop ended with the explanation of the "Cycle of Violence" which remains a constant challenge regarding GBV and that as community leaders they are tasked to assist in continuously breaking the silence and cycle of violence within their homes, communities and society in a holistic manner at all times.

Ethical Leadership And DCS Gender Staff Workshop

The ELP Gender Workshop for the Department of Correctional Services was held on the 19 October 2006 in Goodwood, at the DCSWC Head Office. The Gender Equity Unit at the University of the Western Cape, facilitated the workshop for personnel of DCS.

Ms Vanessa Ludwig (Gender Equity Unit, UWC) conducted the plenary session, outlining the principles of ethical leadership and gender (including gender-based violence). The workshop focused on the factors that are taken into account when judging behaviour as ethical or unethical.



The influence these factors have on one's ability to define and understand ethical leadership was emphasised. Leadership is about conduct, and that conduct is determined by the person's values and principles. Values and principles are cornerstones by which we judge ourselves and others - they determine our attitudes and behaviour. The workshop highlighted the importance of socialization in the formation of these values and principles (family, community, culture, religion, the state and the media were identified as agents of socialization). Therefore, values and principles are not inherent, but learnt. The example of a child growing up explains the process of socialization.

Correctional Services was shown to have its own set of values and principles which were not necessarily the same as those of all its personnel. This creates conflict. Where 'official' and 'personal' values clash, individuals have to make a decision on how to act. People tend to follow their individual beliefs and values. For example, many people speak about equality and respect for all because it is the politically correct thing to do, but their actions show that they do not value equality. The workshop emphasised that it is important for those in leadership positions to practice what they preach. This is ethical leadership.

Key influences determining values and principles in the DCS emerged. Some of these are: social background; politics – the transition in the country and within DCS; DCS's militant history; a still-patriarchal structure; the prevalence of Bible Law in DCS; abuse of power and the resulting negativity; and a lack of gender sensitivity.

The values and principles that underline the concept of rehabilitation were discussed. Participants, in general, showed a commendable level of compassion and commitment regarding the rehabilitation of the offenders in their charge.



The topic Human Sexuality, Gender-Based Violence (GBV) and Ethical Leadership highlighted the necessity to understand (GBV) gender roles, men and women are socialized to adopt and how those roles impact on power-relations between men and women. Participants responded by stating that: DCS personnel are mostly men who have been socialized, both by society and the culture in the DCS, to behave in a very macho way. As a result there is a lot of sexual harassment. There is also a belief in DCS that women are suited for leadership and jobs that require it and should “stick to things like administration and social work”. It was felt that women should not allowed to work in certain sections as they were at risk of violence, particularly sexual assault, by inmates. The motivation that only 2.5% of inmates are women and that the majority of the personnel should be male, may point to male domination. The argument that male warders were also at risk of violence was raised.



The gender divide and sexist attitudes of the majority of the male personnel came to the fore with comments such as: “It is better to separate men and women in prisons because ladies use their sexual powers to attract men”, It is a matter of love. The male wardens fall in love with female inmates and vice versa”. It was also raised that in Pollsmoor there have been instances where female officers have had relationships with inmates. The women participants were silenced and contradicted by male participants.



Even though the facilitator encouraged women to speak, in the face of continuous sexist remarks, the women remained silent. This is a problem that needs serious attention.

 [To Contents Page](#)

Department Of Correctional Services Management Workshop

The ELP was requested to conduct a workshop for Senior Management Staff of the Dept. of Correctional Services (DCS) – Western Cape on Thursday 16 November 2006 at the Protea Hotel in Saldanha Bay.

The theme Ethical Leadership in the Public Service was introduced by the facilitator, Dr Clint Le Bruyns (ELP Board Member). The background and motivation of the Moral Regeneration Movement in South Africa was outlined. Dr Le Bruyns explained that the ethos of the ELP is based on its vision and commitment to a morally transformed society. Participants reflected on how DCS was doing in terms of ethical leadership and public service.

Ethical challenges within DCS were not unique but part and parcel of the complex and difficult experiences of human life encountered in all spheres of society. Participants then defined their respective positions, contexts where they found themselves. The underlying dynamics of ethical or unethical behaviour – specifically the motivations that inform one's actions, were discussed.

The facilitator explained how values underline one's motivations and that an understanding thereof paves the way for more constructive solutions and strategies to tackle unethical behaviour in the DCS. Participants were engaged in a story wall exercise which was perceived as a success and a very helpful experience that helped them to contextualize their experiences. The workshop addressed the following concepts: value centres, the hierarchy of values, the hierarchy of needs, socialization, leadership, philosophy and agency. These concepts were applied to demonstrate real-life scenarios within DCS with six case studies exercises (to discuss around the framework of stakeholders, issues, resources and options) in small groups. Besides the ordinary difficulties inherent in any ethical case study, it became increasingly clear that the participants had been conditioned/ accustomed to 'managing' situations, drawing on policies and regulations to determine standard practices, rather than 'thinking outside the box' (transactional versus transformational leadership). The workshop challenged them to adopt the transformational leadership paradigm and to be personal rather than positional leaders.

The workshop detailed the underlying dynamics within the case study scenarios and the implications it could have for DCS. The workshop then addressed ethical leadership, and the roles that responsibility, social solidarity, the concept of the 'common good' and a hierarchy of values play in being and ethical leader.



The workshop called participants to personal action and reflection and to model with clay a symbol of their personal vision of ethical leadership in the DCS and to share and discuss these with their groups.

 [To Contents Page](#)

Section 5:



Ethical Leadership In & Through The Labour

 [To Contents Page](#)

Background And Introduction

The Ethical leadership in and through Labour Conference was held at the Kramer Law Building, University of Cape Town (UCT) on 3 and 4 April 2007. The objective of the conference was to explore ethical best practices amongst the leadership in the labour movement. The conference explored what these practices were, raised awareness of the same and motivated the further development thereof. The outcome of the conference was: to (1) develop an awareness of the ethical responsibility of workers and leaders in the labour movement; (2) create a space for mutual dialogue; and (3) facilitate a platform for future reflection and action.

The conference was attended by approximately 200 representatives from various trade unions, some from faith based communities (FBOs), community based organization (CBOs), educational institutions, state departments and advocacy groups.



Chapter Outlines

Chapter 1

Describes **Dr. Vanguard Mkosana's** (Director General of the Department of Labour) views on the role of ethical leadership within the broad context of moral decay in South Africa. He maintains that an ethical debate should highlight philosophical phenomena and concepts such as patriotism and nationalism. Dr Mkosana argues that ubuntu is the African equivalent of the Greek derivatives of "ethics" and "morals". He calls for renewed research of the origin and content of ubuntu, and for the development of concrete programs to address moral decay and motivation of active involvement of the citizenry

Chapter 2

Focuses on **Professor Nico Koopman's** theoretical orientation of ethical leadership in and through labour. Koopman describes ethical life or leadership within the framework of habitat (as society), habitus (as habits), as choices, in and through various environments. He emphasizes the importance of our need of ethical good people, instead of only the acclamation of ethical ideals and theories.

Chapter 3

Deals with ethical challenges and opportunities of globalization – with specific reference to NEPAD, unemployment, gender and the in-formalization and casualization of labour – and its impact on workers in South Africa. The following reflective practitioners; **Mr. Randall Howard** (SATAWU, General Secretary); **Mummy Jafta** (COSATU) and **Dr. Clint Le Bruyns** (ELP, University of Stellenbosch) provides their insights on the subject.

Howard argues that the moral regeneration of our society should be emphasized and located within our progressive Constitution and Bill of human rights. His argument focuses on corruption and the gap between the poor and rich within the South African contemporary context. He emphasizes the challenge of a new value system to enhance and advance a culture of human rights in all spheres of political, economic and social life. Howard calls for the promotion of ethical leadership inside and outside the labour movement.

Mummy Jafta focuses on the place and role of women in the world of work, with reference the impact of globalization, its challenges and opportunities in the South African context. She spells out the impact of NEPAD and declares that women are still used as cheap labour. She argues that "Globalization makes Democratic National Government to loose their power to determine their own macro and micro economic systems and if not vigilant they may be seen to be worse off than the previous illegitimate Government".

Dr. Clint Le Bruyns focuses on moral renewal and ethical leadership in a global world of work. He calls for the utilization of all available resources and for a morally transformed society and the ethical empowerment of a critical number of leaders. He defines ethical leadership as responsibility for the vision, embodiment and realization of the common good in all of life with and for others through just and fitting means towards a morally transforming society.

Chapter 4

Focuses on the views of **Zizamele Cebekhulu** on crime, poverty and unemployment in the South African context. The debates around poverty, crime and unemployment are two-pronged in approach. There is a position that supports the relationship between crime, poverty and unemployment on the grounds that jobless people will fall into the poverty trap and subsequently commit crime to survive. He rejects this view on the grounds that it stigmatizes poverty and that not all poor people commit crime. There are business executives and government officials who are involved in white collar crime and corruption.

Chapter 5

Describes the views of **Tony Ehrenreich** (Secretary General of COSATU in the Western Cape) and **Archie Palane** (Siyakhule Sonke Empowerment Corporation) on the theme: “Labour Leadership: Responsibility, Accountability and Best Practices in workplace transformation and the restoration of human dignity and human rights”.

Archie Palane focuses on globalization and its impact on the labour market in South Africa. He argues that globalization has brought meaning to economic integration within the world of work. Palane holds that capital continues to lack the human touch. Palane believes that it is imperative that workplace transformation must include cultural diversity and cross border management. The workplace has moved away from labour intensive towards more skilled labour as a result of global competitiveness and technology.

Tony Ehrenreich focuses on the importance of the development of social capital and the ethical responsibility of leadership to facilitate this development. He maintains that every leader has a personal and a communal responsibility. Leaders ought to take their individual and private roles serious because their individual private roles may impact either negatively or positively on society and leadership positions in organizations. Leaders’ responsibility should always and fore mostly be the interests of society’s vulnerable people.

Chapter 6

Deals with perspectives on the ethical rationale and practices underlying collective bargaining and wage negotiations by **Trenton Elsley** (Researcher at the Labour Research Services), **Mike Louw** (secretary general of NUMSA); and **Jerome Fortune** (secretary general of SATAWU).

Elsley explores the relationship between collective bargaining processes and notions of morality and ethical behaviour with a focus on the role of the state, employers and organized labour. He reflects on key questions of practical experiences of collective bargaining and a common understanding of morality and ethics.

Fortune calls labour’s and management’s attention to their obligation towards the stakeholders. He argues for special training to ensure awareness and optimal implementation of good values and practices for collective bargaining and wage negotiations. He states that the potential for labour and management to be exposed to corruption and bribery, is a very real probability, especially if leadership are unethical in bargaining or negotiation processes.

Chapter 7

Describes the views of a reflective practitioners on the opportunities and restraints of ASGISA and JIPSA and the implications for skilled and unskilled workers (**Mafole Mokalobe**, Chief Director in the Premier’s Office).

Mokalobe describes the opportunities and restraints of ASGISA and JIPSA. He argues that the implication of AsgiSA and PGDS indicates that the interventions proposed in these programs would favour skilled workers. Unskilled workers will find it increasingly difficult to survive with the overarching consequences of aggravating social and economic woes. Mokalobe states that JipSA and CHEC present interventions to encourage and support initiatives to change the South African labour market’s landscape by encouraging and supporting skills development opportunities across a wide spectrum.

Chapter 8

Describes views of **Professor Jan Du Toit** (Africa Centre for HIV/AIDS Management; University of Stellenbosch) and **Myrtle Witbooi** (Domestic Workers Union, COSATU) on HIV/AIDS and the workplace.

Myrtle Witbooi focuses on approaches to HIV/AIDS in the domestic sector. She argues that an understanding of how AIDS affects domestic workers is only possible if one can realise how isolated these workers are. Witbooi argues that the situation of the HIV positive Domestic worker is totally different to other workplaces. Myrtle calls for greater intervention by the Government to protect the rights of workers and to help to educate both workers and employers on HIV/ AIDS.

Prof Du Toit focuses on the importance of policy, leadership and interventions regarding the management of HIV/AIDS in the workplace. He argues for a policy analysis which looks specifically at the promotion of human and legal rights; and that all relevant policies should address the HIV/AIDS stigma. Prof Du Toit calls for the direct involvement of leadership at all levels; the provision of HIV/AIDS training for leadership; and that leaders should affirm and be role models in terms of a process of reducing the stigma.

Chapter 9

Flip Buys

 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 1: The Challenge Of Moral Renewal In Labour

⑥ Dr Vanguard Mkosana

If we are agreed that we live in an ever changing environment and that change tends to repeat itself, it is therefore logically sound to partly refer to the original thinkers of the past as we try to understand the current phenomena in an attempt to unlock the yet-to-be tapped treasures hidden in the future

(Mkosana 2006)

Mkosana attempts to reflect on ethical leadership in the broad context of moral decay that befell the South African “nation.” The focus of a debate of this nature cannot escape reference to such philosophical phenomena and concepts as ethics, morals, patriotism, and nationalism. There is no ready solution to the problem, however the interrelationships of the unfolding phenomena and the promotion of an active debate towards a solution is of paramount importance.

The then Deputy President, Thabo Mbeki addressing the Anti-corruption Summit in Cape Town in November 1998 and made the following remark:

...in the macro-context of world values where the private accumulation of material wealth has unleashed a total onslaught on every other determining value possible, mental conditioning remains captive to the triumph of the stronger glow of success measured as personal prosperity. ... and thus has it come about that many of us accept that our common natural instinct to escape poverty is but the other side of the same coin on whose reverse side are written the words at all cost, get rich!



President Mbeki once depicts a society whose moral campus is missing. The question thus, is where does our search begin? The first response would be to say, back to the basics.

“...we are compelled in philosophy as in so many spheres to return again and again to the achievements of that small people whose universal talents and activity assured it a place in the history of human development that no other people can ever claim...”

(Engels, 1974:1)

Lamenting what he saw as unbearable situation around seventh century BC Hesiod wrote:

And I wish that I were not any part of the fifth generation of men, but had died before it came, or been born afterward. For here now is the age of iron. Never by daytime will there be an end to hard work and pain, nor in the night to weariness, when the gods will send

anxieties to trouble us... ..when the father no longer agrees with the children, nor children with their father, when guest is no longer at one with host, nor companion to companion, when your brother is no longer your friend, as he was in the old days. Men will deprive their parents of all rights, as they grow old, and people will mock them too, babbling bitter words against them ... Strong of hand, one man shall seek the city of another. There will be no favour for the man who keeps his oath, for the righteous and the good man, rather men shall give praise to violence and the doer of evil. Right will be in the arm. Shame will not be. The vile man will crowd his better out, and attack him with twisted accusations and swear an oath to his story ...

(Nersesyants,1986:2)

Hesiod is pronouncing on ethical and morality issues of his day during the seventh century BC. He frowned at that which he regarded as morally deplorable and praised the good. He used poetry, the most powerful medium of communication of his time to make his views public.

Ethics and morality cannot be divorced from the interaction of people living together. Human beings by virtue of their high level of consciousness enjoy the privilege of knowing what is morally bad or good and have a duty to make their choice. Equally true is that these choices are made in the context of the environment in which people live. With reference to the theme "Ethics in politics and public administration" Wessels states:

Without resorting to an in-depth analysis of the concept here, it is perhaps appropriate to simply point out that ethics is used in this context as referring to moral standards. One can, moreover, argue that maintaining high moral standards in the relationships between the various role-players in the public sphere will sustain the well-being and freedom of each of them.

(Wessels 2002:3)

Quoting a study by Clapper, de Jager and Fourie, notes "... in the opinion of public officials it is difficult to behave ethically due, among other factors, to the public's attempts at bribing them. It is clear that the moral standard of the relationship between public officials and the public is at stake." He concludes "The Political office-bearers, legislators, public officials and the public in general are in a never-ending, non-divorce-able relationship in order to sustain their collective well-being and freedom. A lack of moral quality in these relationships may undermine or even destroy their well-being and freedom". (Wessels 2002:4)

Here Wessels refers to a fundamental fact that we cannot talk ethics and morals in a vacuum divorced from the day to day lives of the people living together. Similarly leaders emerge and function in the interaction of people engaged in human activity. It is here that the working people must distinguish themselves by consistent discipline and unwavering commitment to the most humane values. Out of this engagement coupled with ongoing learning, ethical leaders can be formed.

Homer and Hesiod are known to have heavily influenced ethical and legal views of the law makers of their time through the application of their poems. The word "ethics" is from the Greek word "ethos" which was first used by Homer in his book Iliad. In its original meaning it referred to a place where people live together. It was later that Aristotle coined the adjective "ethicos" or ethical. He thus designated certain human virtues like praiseworthy character traits. He eventually coined the word "ethica" denoting the discipline of ethical virtues. In Latin an equivalent word for ethos is "mos". It was Cicero who coined the adjective "moralis" with reference to character and customs. It was later in the fourth century AD that the Romans coined the term "moralitas" as an equivalent of the Greek "ethica". Pains taking scholarly debates were pursued during this time to lay the basis for the regulation of relationships of people living together. Modern societies are thus heirs of the discipline called ethics due to the work of the aforementioned philosophers. Volkov and others (1989:5) conclude that ethics is in essence a scientific discipline, while morality is its object. Ethics is therefore a scientific discipline which studies morality.

The South African equivalent of the Greek "ethica" and the Latin "moralitas" is "ubuntu." However it must be stated that this is an arbitrary declaration given the limited information available regarding philosophical basis and the evolution of the term "ubuntu" in South Africa. Like the Greek term "ethos" ubuntu observes certain human virtues in people living together (ubuntu eabantwini ekuhlaleni). Like many phenomena and concepts in the African context and language ubuntu's philosophical riches have not been properly explored

for the common good of 'abantu'. The challenge lies with the intelligentsia of South Africa to take up this as a national duty and investigate the origin and content of ubuntu. One of the obscure treasures to explore in the search for the content of ubuntu would be to study those communities we often refer to as "backward" communities of South Africa. The virtue of their obscurity is in that here some of our societal values are still in their original form. Majority of these people are the working people and the poor of our communities.

Without getting into any detail it is helpful to reflect on the "small people of universal talent" – the Greeks – and borrow words of wisdom from their early writings and see how they relate to our situation today. The Seven Sages, also known as the Seven Wise Men of Greece (Bias of Priene, Chilon of Sparta, Cleobulus of Lindus, Periander of Corinth, Pittacus of Mitylene, Solon of Athens and Thales of Miletus), are known to have enriched human history by developing moral maxims and political precepts of which we are partly beneficiaries.

Thales is credited for the maxim of moral and righteous conduct: "Refrain from doing what you blame in others" was his famous motto. An important lesson from Thales' maxim for South Africans is: stop fighting among yourselves and focus on what makes you one solid nation, able to compete and occupy a place of honour among the nations of the world. South Africa has gone via the agony of tribe against tribe; one nationality against another, race against race in its worst form - apartheid - and class against class. Both the world and South African experience show that there is a point of convergence where the opposing parties ultimately meet. It is those leaders who have the vision and the art of marshalling energies of the opposing parties to uncover and embrace that which makes them coexist. What can be more ethical! With this maxim internalized by the trade union leadership and membership I cannot but see more united organizations able to address their mission as a united force.

Bias, who is known to have advocated fear of law by the citizens as they would a tyrant is credited for the opinion that the death by law is the worse. Law has played an important role in enhancing certain moral standards. However, it is equally true to say that left unchecked those who have it in their hands can use it to limit the freedoms of others. There are leaders who rely on authority they have, often given by law, while there are those who, besides authority rely on persuasion and co-operation of the team. The three distinct stages of the development of leaders are: dependent; independent and interdependent leaders. Interdependent leaders are at the highest stage of leadership development. They recognize that they are the best when the best is put into use from all the members of the team. In the philosophy of UBUNTU they recognize that umntu ngumntu ngabantu. In a democratic environment laws are a making of those who must obey them. Thus laws are a very important tool in the hands of an ethical leader who must lead an equally ethical following.

In the broader context of things here we may ask the question whether South Africans have no moral duty to subject judiciary to the scrutiny that other institutions are subjected to, especially when it comes to embracing the vision of a transformed South Africa.

Pittacus came up with the apophthegm "Obey the law which you would make for yourself." He also authored the aphorism "Learn to obey before you command." Lately South Africa has a new crop of "leaders" not only in the labour movement but in all spheres of life. These leaders have not gone through any process of leadership development but are quick to declare themselves as leaders. Often such instantly brewed leaders have no interest of the people they claim to lead. They take no mandate from the led. They spend their time on self enrichment by any means. The danger of having people who have price tags on their morals occupying offices of responsibility in the labour movement as well as in the private and public sectors is in that they have a huge contribution in the moral decay we are all worried about. South Africa has a duty to develop leadership in both politics and other spheres of life. The South African labour movement, more than any other leadership formation institution, has developed in the past a cadre of leadership who became the reservoir for the new dispensation after 1994. Like sea waves when one layer of leadership wanes away a new one should be advancing with renewed energy. The gap can as a result be narrowed for invasion by iinjoli ezingaziwayo. South Africa is not incapable of developing leadership along these lines. There is no short cut and acting otherwise is too ghastly. Failure to develop ethical leadership has not only left us poorer but has also left us exposed to the dangers of the worst forms of opportunism and greed. Genuine leaders who have been tried and tested in the battles in defence of the deepest interests of their people have a duty to reproduce themselves and ensure continuation of good leadership.

Oliver Tambo, the then President of the African National Congress in 1981 releasing Moses Mabida from other leadership responsibilities in the ANC and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) to become the General Secretary of the SACP said:

“Perhaps in the fullness of time we may count him among the giants of our struggle.”

In a sentence of fifteen words there are two conditions embedded. Those who know Mabida from the 1950s onwards know the giant he already was. Tambo himself when asked to assume leadership as the President of the ANC when Chief Albert Luthuli died he repeatedly asked how would he fit into Luthuli's shoes. Moses Kotane, JB Marks and others insisted “Lead us chief.” Here we see the humility of leaders of a rare calibre nowadays.

Pittacus' aphorism also challenges our electoral system to allow enough space for representatives to obey the public they represent before commanding. A stranger who is assigned a constituency far from where they reside, sometimes unable to communicate in the local language is bound to be received with suspicion. Because they are not organic they can only mechanically address matters of concern for their constituency and dash back to their areas of residence. It is therefore proper to ask the question; is it morally justifiable for a person who has no constituency to be in politics and lead up to being a Member of Parliament?

Periander concerned himself with crime prevention and he introduced the precept “Correct not only the offenders but also those who are on the point of offending.” Crime is one of South Africa's biggest challenges currently and it calls for urgent solution. The criminal justice system is doing what can be done to reduce crime. Given the persistence of criminality in our society it is not necessary to explore different avenues and get to the route cause and find lasting remedy. The people of South Africa have been subjected to brutality for centuries and this is recorded in the history books. The brutality unleashed by the colonialists left indelible scares in our society. These include beheading the African kings and send their heads to their countries of origin to be displayed as proof of success in the campaign to tame the barbaric Africans. The colonizers' moral fabric embraced these as acts of heroism, thus further demonstrating, how situational morality can be. Most brutalities came with apartheid which was more sophisticated, more systematic and thorough. The advent of democracy in 1994 marked only a beginning towards healing the South African society. A massive societal therapy is necessary to avert more horrors. The question must be asked whether media has effectively played its role in the transformation process in South Africa. That which you say repeatedly in media is bound to settle in the minds of your audiences. The negative stories that dominate our media should be replaced with positive stories which at the end will reproduce themselves in the positive social psychology of the South African citizenry.

Lastly let us refer to Solon who was elected an archon (ruler and leader). The first step in his political revolutions was promulgation of the “disburdening ordinance” which cancelled all private and state debts and this relieved those who were unable to pay their debt. He banned enslavement for debt. He introduced constitutional reforms which divided the population into classes according to their property ownership. Among the laws he introduced is one “enacting that any one who, in a time of civil factions, did not take up arms with either party, should lose his rights as a citizen and cease to have any part in the state.”

Any leader who goes out of their way to disburden the burden-bearing people who are listed in the credit bureau, ravaged by poverty, unemployment and illiteracy is acting ethically. Solon's challenge of neutrality in the face of civil factions puts into question the practice often found in our free South Africa where those who remained neutral or played no role in the elimination or propping up of apartheid become the first choice when it comes to choosing candidates for high public office. The moral justification for this choice is questionable. (It will be wrong to perceive the aforementioned candidates as heroes and to allow them to earn a profitable living. If the opposite modus operandi is allowed it will sow the seeds for the destruction of the new democratic values which is based on a clear distinction between right and wrong) I suggest we retain the original text).

Pythagorus was not one of the seven sages, but was known for the number-doctrine. “Pythagoreans put forward the following ten pairs i.e. (limit and unlimited, odd and even, one and plurality, right and left, male and female, at rest and moving, straight and crooked, light and darkness, good and bad, square and oblong) and held that their combination and unity account for the harmony of our world and the universe as a

whole...The nature of number and harmony are averse to falsehood which is their antithesis; conversely, truth is akin to number and linked to it from the very beginning."

Aristotle challenged the absolute methodology of numbers by Pythagoreans. Pythagoreans mathematical formulations have however helped to build a foundation towards solving some of the world's social problems. The methodology of figure-absolute is helpful to construct and rationalize actions and practices within society. It is a well established international practice that democracy finds its moral justification in figures. Those who get majority votes from the electorate justifiably take power and govern or lead. The extent to which societies should be dictated by figures in determining the content and direction of their democracy is an important question. This is however not to support the notion of a "dangerous majority" advocated by some opposition parties in South Africa. Africa has a new crop of young, energetic and brilliant political leaders who have given Africa a new ray of hope. These leaders represent a rare species within the continent. The progressive intellectuals of Africa are mostly located in the developed and economic world of the North. The methodology of reliance on figures in practising democracy regulates the democratic process according to acceptable societal principles and values. The number of terms one can serve is limited by the predetermined period to serve irrespective of the prevailing circumstances at the end of the term. The electorate should not manipulate, but act consciously in exercising their right to retain their chosen leaders. The electorate should have the freedom to change their leadership without fear of being perceived as an undemocratic society. There is moral justification for Africa to employ this new generation of political leaders to their fullest potential irrespective of their term of office. The approval of the electorate however should serve as a prerequisite (Nersesyants,1986:5).

Volkov et al (1989:7) call for sound socio-moral practices. The danger of selfish interests over against communal interests should be avoided at all costs.

"Throughout the long and controversial history of morality each class has tried to make it serve its own interests, to use it to vindicate a certain way of life ... Moreover, as a spiritual phenomenon, morality does not lend itself easily to scientific analysis ..."

(Volkov et al.,1989:7).

The discourse on ethics and morality should provide for appropriate interpretation of, and the promotion of better living conditions and the creation of a safe environment. Solon's Disburdening Ordinance may serve as a helpful ethical lens for South Africa which has a large section of its population being blacklisted by the credit bureau. The practice of blacklisting is morally detrimental. The credit bureau is instrumental in 'ruining the unbearable lives' of the poor. Solon's classification of the population according to property ownership uncovers a fundamental relation between morality and ownership. Solon argues that equality in society is sacrificed at the 'tower of ownership of assets'. Here human dignity is not an obvious inheritance by virtue of being born human. Equality is an important moral principle and ideal in the South African constitution but the collective experience of the majority of its citizens testifies to a different reality. The aforementioned scenario challenges the status quo to examine the relationship between morality and existing law principles as a regulatory practice. The exaggerated accumulation of wealth by a minority of people at the expense of the majority of the South African population is not morally justifiable. Mutual suspicion will prevail as long as a small number of the population are exponentially rich while the poor and the poorest must sleep on empty stomachs. The crime related incidents of "violent grabbing from those who have, is often ascribed to greed and inborn instinct to be violent". This is a false interpretation of the nature of the human being. Societies that have attempted to distribute wealth evenly have equally reaped the benefits of peaceful society with reduced crime. South Africans in general should embrace the government's initiatives to eradicate inequality and unequal practices. The Employment Equity and Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE) initiatives are important example to engage constructively with the historical injustices of apartheid. Some of the beneficiaries of apartheid however do not support BBBEE initiatives, although it would be the ideal and appropriate thing to do.

The role of ethical leadership in all the different organizations of South Africa should be to engage actively and constructively with issues which may impact negatively on the morality of society and its people. Leaders in South Africa should even act on immoral practices in order to change these into good ethical practices.

The spiritual and material environment of society has a direct and formative effect on its morality. Even the conscience of persons – that smaller voice which talks directly to you as an individual is influenced by, for instance, the moral education you have received. Karl Marx (1977:8) rightly declared:

The conscience of a republican is different from that of a royalist, that of a property owner is different from that of one who owns no property, that of a thinking person is different from that of a person who is incapable of thought ... The conscience of the privileged is precisely a privileged conscience.

The morality of the worker leaders should therefore also correlate to the working class. Those however who are not schooled in the ideology of the working class may easily be influenced by their circumstances.

The ethical principles of Nationalism and Patriotism should therefore come into play. Nationalism and Patriotism deserve focused attention with reference to ethical leadership in the current South African process of national democracy building. Any nation should be characterised by a stable community. A stable community should consist of people living together with shared interests of an acceptable economic life, a common language, safe territory, a specific culture, a healthy conscience and psychology. The sustainability of a nation that consists of diverse tribes and nationalities depends on the measure in which these tribes and nationalities can exist in equilibrium. Patriotism however signifies the communal or societal identity of a country. Every nation has a basic and inherent right to self determination. When national sentiments however operate in their narrow and exclusivist forms, they have no moral justification. The result of selfish national sentiments can sow seeds of destruction of that which is good and just. History has witnessed examples of this in Fascism, Nazism and Apartheid. Ethical leadership should therefore also concern itself with averting tendencies of narrow nationalism. Nationalism does however have moral justification when it is an expression of the views of the oppressed nations, in their attempts to seek their own freedom from their oppressors.

The appropriate management of patriotism may serve to build a middle road for different societal classes to pursue common goals for the interest of their common fatherland. In a class divided society this tends not to be a sustainable feature, as common national interests wane away, class contradictions deepen. The responsibility of leaders is to weigh the options, based on the prevailing conditions to ensure that the best is extracted for their constituencies. Good leadership knows when to create alliances, when to compromise what, and how to avoid dysfunctional systems and communities. Ethical leadership's responsibility should ultimately and at all times be to uphold the interests of the majority of its constituency.

Conclusion

The development of concrete ethical programs to address moral decay and the promotion of active involvement of all the citizenry is of paramount importance. Ethical leaders may consequently be developed and nurtured through focused moral programs. Equitable distribution of wealth should be the starting point towards the elimination of moral decay, in the South African context. A study of Ubuntu should be conducted and its principles be codified and, the results should be implemented by families, schools, trade unions, religious organizations and many other institutions to develop a morally transformed society.

The value of collaboration and partnerships within all the various institutions of society should focus on the building of a morally transformed society. The different institutions will necessarily have to work within their distinctive and unique disciplines. The following can serve as examples to achieve this end:

The moral formation of children and the guidance of adults in their daily lives is a prerequisite for a morally transformed society. The Charter of Positive Values is an important initiative in this regard. The supportive role of media can have an enhanced impact on society as a whole. The South African media has an inherent ethical responsibility towards society. The media's objective and role should be developed and defined within the ubuntu philosophy. The media should play the role of a mass organizer, informer and educator of our society. Intellectuals also have a special role as generators of new ideas, analyzers of unfolding phenomena springing from the engagements of the people living together. The working people and the poor form the majority of our population and should play the role of the custodian of the interests of the majority.

The Ethical Leadership Project's Conference on Labour is a very good initiative. These are the kinds of reflective exercises which will contribute in the development of a morally transformed society. David Hume's advice is:

"Be a philosopher; but amidst all your philosophy, be still a man"

(Hutchins Robert M. et al. 1963:9).



[To Contents Page](#)

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[To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 2: Theoretical Orientation: Ethical Leadership - In And Through Labour?

Prof Nico Koopman

This part will provide some theoretical framework for the subject “ethical leadership in and through labour”. Our framework focuses on ethical life as “habitat”. We will reflect on our society as habitat. Ethical life will also be defined as “habitus” or habits; ethical life as choices that we make; and lastly, ethical leadership in and through various environments.

The first issue when discussing ethics is habitats, the word ethos literally means habitat.

What type of habitats are we dreaming of? In ethical leadership, the first question posed is: what type of societies are we dreaming of? From universal moral principles in different religions and different secular orientations. We can argue that if we want a good society, it should be one where there is respect for life, truth, the other, as well as, the body of the other. In light of the aforementioned, let us reflect on the South African society and those within labour. How much of this habitat is a reality in places of work and in the broader South Africa?

We will describe the habitat, by drawing on The Bill of Rights. The Bill of Rights states that we want a society of dignity. Dignity meaning that the needs of people are met; primary needs such as food, water, shelter, medical care, education; and secondary needs such as: inclusion into the economic world, in the social life, cultural life, and tertiary needs: having the opportunity to actualize all one’s potentialities.

We want a habitat where there is dignity, justice, equality. Although we are not uniform we should still be equal in worth and dignity. Freedom from all forms of oppression and slavery, and freedom for actualizing who one is and what one can be. It is important that we realise that we are a country with the biggest gap between the rich and poor. This is why we want equity. Equity meaning that equilibrium is brought back into our society, and that all South Africans are able to flourish.

Secondly, when discussing the type of habitats we want, we want to move beyond poverty, Aids and other diseases, classifications, consumerism and greed, racism, sexism, xenophobia; as hospitality should be shown to the world; beyond disability, ageism, homophobia, violence and crime.

There is also a certain type of habitus, desired habits have to do with people and character. Ethical leadership has a specific type of people in mind. In labour, people with good habits, character and virtue. We must note that virtue is not only private, but public as well as civic. Political scientists throughout the world have expressed that democracy will not work if citizens do not have public virtue. Virtues are the embodiment of values. They mean that one has specific pre-dispositions, tendencies, intuitions to act in a specific human rights way; and that one has public character and integrity; there is consistency in what one promises and in what one delivers; one is reliable; there is trustworthiness. These are the type of citizens desired in society. Aristotle said that the four cardinal virtues are: wisdom to discern, courage to act in terms of one’s choices, temperance and self control.



The type of choices needed must adhere to our habitat when we decide privately or publicly: at work, parliament when laws, policies, decisions, choices must be made. The question as to whether these choices serve our habitat, enhance the realization of the type of habitat desired, and whether these choices adhere to the type of citizens that we need to be.

The de-ontological approach is used to acknowledge guidelines; the word: “deon” meaning obligation, these obligations are what we will follow. Teleological choices refer to specific ends and purposes society would like to reach; where all can flourish. Our choices should serve this end and should reflect the good and the wise. It is important that we listen to the stories of the people and evaluate, judge and act concretely in our choices.

In conclusion, we would like to see that leadership develops in and through different environments. Every citizen is a leader and is responsible for this good habitat, habitus and choices for the common good. Therefore, when discussing leadership we discuss it in an inclusive manner. Leadership is formed in and through different environments, in families, religion, the youth, in gender relationships, in business and politics. We ask: how can labour help materialize the desired habitat and habitus and help make good public and private decisions?

Let us be leaders in an ethical life of vision, let us be leaders in an ethical life of public virtue, let us be leaders in an ethical life of concrete action

(Koopman, 2007)



[To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 3: Ethical Challenges And Opportunities Of Globalization - With Specific Reference To NEPAD, Unemployment, Gender And The Informalization And Casualization Of Labour - And Its Impact On Workers In South Africa

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Democratic Foundation For Moral Regeneration

Introduction

The theme is a challenging matter in our society today. This is a challenge for the labour movement as well as for government, business, non-governmental organizations and individual citizens.

The moral regeneration of our society should be located within the South African progressive Constitution and Bill of Rights. The Constitution and Bill of Rights advances a new value system given the democratic breakthrough. A new value system came into being with the 1994 democratic breakthrough. The pursuance of the values of a non-racist, non-sexist and “prosperous” society characterizes the new democratic South African society.



This new value system should advance and enhance a culture of human rights in all spheres of political, economic and social life as a primary objective.

This process requires deliberate strategies and programs in order to provide ordinary citizens with effective access to user-friendly information on how to exercise these rights to redress both injustices in political and economic practices and issues. This remains a huge challenge as those with power and resources get quick access and action (make the headlines) and those who remain poor (working and unemployed) do not – real political and economic marginalization and undignified lives! We have seen concrete examples with regard to the justice criminal system, education and employment.

The mainstream labour movement led by COSATU adopted at its launch congress in 1985 the following values and vision based on the important slogan “an injury to one is an injury to all”:

- ◆ 1. A Democratic society based on human and Trade Union Rights and Equality, particularly for women;
- ◆ 2. A Society free of all forms of discrimination – race, gender, culture, homophobia, xenophobia and economic;
- ◆ 3. Building a socialist society – end economic exploitation of one person by another, unemployment and poverty; and
- ◆ 4. The struggle for solidarity and dignity by organized workers and the working class through progressive economic policies to redress the apartheid legacy of underdevelopment, poverty and exploitation.

The struggle for a socialist society continues as the value system of capitalism for example profit made through exploitation - an injury to one is an opportunity for another is not sustainable. It cannot provide solidarity, dignity through employment, equality and access to the rights enshrined in the Constitution and Bill of Rights.

Since the democratic breakthrough of 1994 many progressive changes have been brought about by our government in many areas including in the labour market to redress the legacies of apartheid. These progressive changes has had severe limitations given the choice of neo liberal macro economic policy choices (GEAR) to manage our transition since 1996 which has not benefited the working class majority.

The Absence Of Economic Dignity Will Render The Mission Of Moral Regeneration Impossible.

South Africa, after 13 years of democracy, is confronted with a reality of paradoxes. South Africa has a growing economy, but have to deal with major joblessness, backlogs in housing, education, basic services, land redistribution, rising unemployment and undermining of permanent quality employment – labour broking, casualization and fixed or temporary contract work.

The lack of absorption of matriculants into the labour market and universities is another major concern. The intake of matriculants remains very low notwithstanding learnerships and the fund to facilitate the intake of poor students.

The South African society is at risk, because the youth are growing more desperate and helpless and may become anti-establishment due to the lack of hope and direction in their lives. Protests in North West, Northern Cape and Free State during the past and most recently signifies that society are growing impatient regarding basic service delivery and border disputes. These situations may be an indication that certain communities apart from not being consulted properly, being viewed as being relocated into a further abject poverty and marginalization project. Young people were at the forefront of these small uprisings.

The fundamental issue is that one of the values of South Africa's young democracy, the vision of a "prosperous" society have not been achieved. Moral generation without economic dignity is therefore very unlikely to be successful in our national democratic revolution.

The alternative economic policy COSATU has been promoted have 'largely been fallen on deaf ears'. COSATU's economic policy calls for a greater developmental growth path and an expansionary policy to create employment and fast tract delivery in the abovementioned areas.

The Plague Of Corruption Due To Personal Greed

Corruption in the public and private sectors remains at unacceptable levels. The disconcerting factor is, that it is the same people who have employment and earn decent salary packages compared to the majority of workers in our country. These people abuse their positions of trust.

Political parties have continuously been inconsistent in disciplinary measures and to effect sanctions actions perpetrators. The public perception may be that the criminal justice system has being modified to make sentences easier for 'high flying politicians'.

Certain politicians at all levels have successfully being tempted to accept bribes through discounts. The arms deal among others, serve as such an example. Individuals such as these are not worthy of public office once these crimes are committed and should be removed from public office. This is where plea bargains should not apply as we saw in the case of the Travelgate saga.

The views that public servants and parliamentarians should earn higher salaries to be less prone to corruption is unacceptable and 'even more pathetic'. Situations like these set by those in public and governmental leadership and trusting positions are not good examples for the majority of the population who remain marginalized and lives in desperate and hopeless situations due to poverty.

The acceptance of the above-mentioned practices could de facto encourage those less fortunate than parliamentarians and public servants to become corrupt in eking a living for themselves. Political

inconsistencies with regard to selective disciplinary actions based on familiarity and not objectivity and neutrality, may present itself.

Another aspect should receive due attention. We should regulate the relationship between business and politicians and or their political parties, because unspoken and undue influence may be exercised. This is against a background of other working class organization's not having the same access to influence policy. Mass action, protest memoranda and other forms of influence and lobbying becomes the only negotiable tool to change policy.

Government with respect to funding by big business should be obliged to declare their funding publicly. Business normally gains greater access to and influence on policy which the less fortunate working class organizations.

Public servants at all the government departments, should not be allowed to have any business interests while serving in public office. (The cooling-off called for by COSATU to avoid the Javelin effect.)

Moral Leadership Required By The Labour Movement

The labour movement must ensure that it provides moral leadership on the issue of corruption inside and outside the movement. Labour should implement codes of conduct that can serve as early warning systems, disciplinary measures and sound financial systems to combat corruption. This is important as it relates to accountability of leadership, especially when administering the subs received from members, retirement funds and union investment companies.

Fundamentally, we must not allow any labour leaders (workers and officials) at all levels to engage in business while representing the interests of workers and the values of the working class movement. This is a conflict of interest of workers similar to public servants as described above.

A further challenge is for COSATU to exercise much greater political control over our investment companies and retirement fund trustees given the FIDENTIA debacle.

As COSATU, we have provided decisive leadership on corruption including on the Jacob Zuma question notwithstanding those forces who wants to position us as supporting corruption on the issue. We can and must do more to comply internally to create more clout in broader society.

Escalating Income Inequalities Between Rich And Poor

The rich getting richer and the poor getting poorer continues. In the middle sits the new black middle class acting as a buffer between the two in protecting their own advances. The creation of wealth in a sea of poverty continues. The wage gap between workers and executive management continues to rise to unacceptable levels.

We have strikes increasing and becoming more violent there is an underlying frustration by the working poor when the conditions at work are unimproved at a faster rate and by extension cannot manage their economic and social activities at home.

On another front, we have witnessed a series of xenophobic attacks against other Africans from across our borders as the size of the cake fails to grow quickly enough to accommodate unemployed South Africans and other Africans coming from situations civil strife or lack of economic opportunities. While these attacks are unjustified, they are indicative of the frustrations building up and likely to rise.

The Role Of NEPAD And Globalization

South Africa both in political and economic terms have been instrumental in initiating the African turnaround since our democratic break in 1994 with regard to creating peace and stability, which is necessary for economic development. South African private and public sector have and continue to expand into Africa assisting with infrastructure delivery, management and skills development and transfer.

There is an expectation from the West and Europe that we provide political and moral leadership (we should be giving it on the same basis as the USA).

By extension, our role in NEPAD as government, business and labour is to influence politically and economically without being prescriptive.

COSATU certainly has an important role to play in the African Trade Union Movement, as it is often fraught with problems of unaccountability and corruption by union leaders. COSATU can certainly provide support in a limited manner to ensure proper administration systems and sound financial management only if called upon to do so.

The challenge is to build an African Trade Union Movement, which provides moral leadership on the issue of corruption within its own ranks in order to put pressure on business and government while it continues to execute its core tasks of advancing worker's interests and transforming African societies.

The challenge of avoiding social dumping to ensure that employer or company can run away from a country with good labour laws and minimum standards to one that has none.

In as far as globalization is concerned particularly in regard to the continuing inequitable global trade regimes where the powerful countries of the North wanting to squeeze poor and developing countries of the South to liberalize while they protect industries like in agriculture. The labour movement in Africa and globally must continue to make decisive interventions through their governments, alliance with NGO's. Economic imperialism is immoral and cannot continue to remain the foundation for globalization while recognizing the role of our government and alliances developed through G20 and G77 to bring about change to multi lateral trade and political institutions like the UN security council.

Conclusion

We content that labour can provide moral leadership nationally, continentally and globally to tackle corruption. Public and private funds cannot be misused particularly when meant to deliver to the needs of the people.

It is further our contention that moral regeneration must be informed and measured by the value of qualitative economic change to the lives of the majority of people still on the fringes of society, marginalized and poor, otherwise it shall not succeed. The socioeconomic rights in favour of the poor enshrined must find concrete expression in order to sustain the democratic project.

We cannot persuade citizens who are poor and living in poverty to accept moral regeneration when they have no dignity in their daily lives.

We need to be consistent in dealing with corruption at all levels.

Similarly, we cannot expect to arrest crime unless there is a fundamental review of macro economic policy away from neo liberalism, which does not benefit the poor i.e. if the poor people who turn to crime after searching for the age of hope and not finding it.

We must intensify the struggle to build a society based on a new value system of solidarity, social justice and economic equality underpinned by the real advancement of the culture of human rights to which economic rights is central – Socialism!

 [To Contents Page](#)

6 Mummy Jafta:

NEPAD, Unemployment, Gender, In-formalization And Casualization Of Labour

This chapter aims to share our (COSATU's) position and experience with regard to challenges and opportunities that comes with globalization and its disproportional impact on men and women. Jafta is not an economist but represents the voice of the workers and the working class broadly.

This chapter seeks to reflect on our (the labour movement in particular COSATU 's perspective) understanding and experience of the impact of globalization; its challenges, and potential opportunities with specific reference to gender in the South African Context and NEPAD; and on some ethical questions regarding globalization.

Background

An understanding of the links between Capitalism, Colonialism, Apartheid, Patriarchy and globalization is of importance:

It is generally agreed that race, class and gender, and in our historical context, apartheid capitalism and patriarchy are inextricably linked. Few would dispute the fact that each form of oppression has its own specific features that articulate with each other to form a system.

The colonial system based on capitalism in South Africa, as throughout the continent and the world, intensified the gender oppression found in pre-colonial systems. It used the customary and patriarchal nature of our society to intensify and justify exploitation, in particular gender oppression. The notion of men as head and breadwinner of the family was exploited to divide the labour market along gender lines and to entrench a cheap labour system. It is therefore important to understand the extent to which class, race and gender intersected to form an intricate system of oppression, which benefits a minority.

The combination of colonial and customary oppression denied women basic social and economic rights in the family and the community. Many women were barred from living in cities, owning land, family planning, inheriting, borrowing money or participating in political and social struggles. The system led to widespread abuse of women, both inside and outside the family. African women were confronted by triple oppression – oppression on based on their race, gender and class.

Class, race and gender oppression were combined to form an intricate system of oppression under colonialism and apartheid. The racial and gender form of colonial domination covers its underlying economic logic – the exploitation of the black working class, using mechanisms such as extracting surplus through black working class and the women's unpaid reproductive labour. The class race and gender oppression are not merely about prejudice, but ultimately about using power and control in the interest of capital.

The Sexual Division Of Labour

Women's work is an outcome of the sexual division of labour, which means that women have two distinct spheres of work. One is reproductive work, which is largely unpaid and unrecognized, and the other is productive which has a market value. Capitalist economists ignore the contribution that women make to the economy and society because they only consider the market value of work performed by individuals in an economy.

A materialist analysis recognizes how women's work contributes to capital accumulation because it reproduces the workforce at no cost to capitalists. Thus, women are made responsible for performing unpaid



reproductive labour, through the daily renewal of workers, through clothing, feeding and raising children. This labour is essential to the survival of the society and to the reproduction of the working class however, it is invisible, unpaid, undervalued and unrecognized.

With the feminization of labour where women entered the labour market, however this has not resulted in fair competition for occupational opportunities between men and women. Women still does cheap labour occupying low paying jobs and positions and dominate the vulnerable sectors as domestic and casual workers.

The New Democratic Dispensation

The 1994 democratic breakthrough represented a qualitative shift in the struggle against apartheid colonialism. It ushered in a new dispensation that redefined gender relations, market relations and opened our economy to global trade competition. We now realised and experience the realities associated with globalization as we become vulnerable to foreign multinationals disguised as investment opportunities and developmental support.

We can define globalization generally as:

A process of economic integration characterised by rapid technological advances in information and communication which have enabled movement of power of capital led by capital and economic institutions ...

It is a process which the superpower uses to conquer countries' economic productivity.

“The opening up of economies (beyond borders) to access world markets”, leads, in our experience, to the marginalization and impoverishment of people and is associated with a slow down in economic growth and the continued unequal distribution of economic resources based (as reflected above) on class, race and gender.

Our Concrete Experience And Challenges

Globalization in the public sector manifests itself with the down sizing of the labour force in terms of the division of the public sector into “core function and non core function which led to the privatization of the “non core function”; economic restructuring which result in casualization; sub-contracting and outsourcing of work, which encompasses the in-formalization of the formal sector; and the unconscious and unstructured development of the informal economy. All these aspects result in job losses through retrenchments.

In the private sector (the formal sector of service provision, agriculture and textile industry) is dominated by privatization. The casualization of work is a direct impact privatization has on workers, who are predominantly women and who are not unionized. This leads to the erosion of gains achieved under the labour laws. Most (casual) workers, consequently, find themselves outside the legislative framework that cover them in terms of the basic conditions of employment, fair labour practices and job security including basic benefits. The direct results of casualization are increasing job insecurity. The gains achieved through labour struggles and collective agreements erode because they benefit a few permanent staff.

The above discussion challenges us with the following ethical issue:

“Globalization has developed in an ethical vacuum based on a capitalist economic system, where the market success and failure have tended to become the ultimate standard of behaviour and where the attitude of the winner takes all weakens the fibre of communities and societies”.

The capitalist economic system therefore is where:

- ◆ the market is more important than the human capital;
- ◆ surplus value is more important than the provision of service based on the needs and demands of people; and

- ◆ an accumulation of private property is more important than preserving the basic economic means of production to serve the needs of the people.

The free market system is perceived to be the best and efficient regulator in a free economic market world. This economic system pushes for Neo liberal models as prescribed by IMF and influenced by the USA. The result is a free flow of trade and the subjection of our currency and economy to economic instability. This economic system pressurize government to relax their trade laws.

Global companies invest in countries only when the environment is conducive for them and would not hesitate to leave after their exploitative objectives have been achieved. They would sell cheap goods and utilized the cheapest labour, particularly the most vulnerable that are women, child labour and migrant labourers, but pay less wages with no job security and benefits. This is the impact of multinational companies such as the WTO, IMF, and WB who have considerable power over developing countries.

The linking of trade to core labour standards could foster cross-border unity. The governance of globalization should be based on universally shared values and respect for human rights and dignity (enshrined in the charter of the United Nations and the ILO Declarations for fair globalization creating opportunities for all).

There are more calls for ethical globalization, which reaffirms basic ethical values in the private and public life ranging from the abolition of child labour the banning of land-mines, etc.

We believe that global opportunities should be extended to more people and can be better shared within and between countries. The priority is the development and benefit of local people as a fundamental principle. We envisage a global economic system that is preoccupied with serving the basic needs of people. This vision would enable states and governments to live up to its constitutional obligations with regard to people's basic rights such as the right to decent work, housing, health, education, economic participation and fair distribution of the economic resources, meeting their demands to cultural identity, empowerment of local communities and sustainable development.

Sustainable development should be about meeting the needs of the present people without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own, needs. It also entail the ability of local people to continue development programs even after external and organizational support has been withdrawn with the aim of improving the quality of human life while avoiding damage to the ecological systems and resources.

We agree and believe that opportunities of globalization should be based on:

- ◆ Productive and equitable markets with decent and protected employment;
- ◆ Fair rules for cross boarder movement of people;
- ◆ Cross border an international solidarity;
- ◆ Respect for local systems and economic options which support any macro-micro economic policies without imposition nor suctions;
- ◆ Greater sustainability and good political governance based on democratic political systems; and
- ◆ A vibrant civil society empowered by freedom of association and expression with a strong representative organization of workers and employers for essential and fruitful social dialogue based on the principles of gender equality and fair distribution of economic resources and ecological sustainability, considerations for future generations, transparency and cultural diversity:
 - ⑥ It must therefore have room for local and regional economic frameworks; and
 - ⑥ It should be able to address and respond to the needs of people and threats such as poverty and disease and it should develop a fair and effective strategy to close the gaps between the rich and the poor.

A Gender Critique Of NEPAD

African governments have gracefully accepted most aspects of globalization and technological advancement without due regard to their effects on human and trade union rights. Neo-liberal policies in the name of SAPS, PRSPS, AGOA and the NEPAD do not take into account the impact of the gender dimension. African

heads of states call for increased investments, especially under the WTO agreements that have brought a lot of untold suffering for women in Africa. This is done by cutting of public expenditure on basic social amenities and retrenchments that have mostly affected women due to their occupation of low key jobs in both public and private sector; commonly referred to as the dirty, demeaning and dangerous jobs.

Moreover, even though 40% of the female population in Africa are in the working population, however many are in the informal economy and the growing EPZ which largely remain unorganized with no security benefits.

The NEPAD document argues that it is 'based on the agenda set by African people's through their own initiatives and of their own volition, to shape their own destiny' (page 14, para 59).

It challenges us to articulate progressive perspectives on democracy and accountable governance; the development path we envisage for Africa; how we understand the causes of poverty and underdevelopment in Africa; and identifying the driving forces of development in Africa. It explicitly equates development with a capitalist growth path. NEPAD embraces the market uncritically, ignoring the social and gender relations underpinning market economies – where gender, race and class inequalities are entrenched.

However, the economic paradigm underpinning NEPAD is incompatible with sustainable people-centred development. The capitalist growth system, however, has impoverished and exploited African workers and women in particular.

The gender-blindness in NEPAD is confirmed by the fact that it ignores the devastating impact of SAPs and policies imposed on women and gender relations. NEPAD's analysis of SAPs is extremely limited but clearly endorses the view that Africa's impoverishment attributes to causes internal to African economies and governance, rather than externally imposed policies and global economic dynamics.

The document argues that it is because of a weak entrepreneurial class and retarded accumulation process. It also calls for the need for integration of Africa in the world economy, implying that the problem is that Africa needs to 'catch up' – whereas the basis of poverty is the very terms on which our continent is already integrated into the global economy. The proposals in NEPAD do not challenge the unequal nature of the global economic system.

NEPAD commits African leaders to:

Promoting the role of women in social and economic development by reinforcing their capacity in the domains of education and training; by the development of revenue-generating activities through facilitating access to credit; and by assuring their participation in the political and economic life of African countries

(page 11, para 49).

The above paragraph is the most extensive elaboration on gender issues and it reveals the problematic conceptual framework through which gender is viewed. It reinforces the very problem of gender-blindness and a patriarchal interpretation of women's reality.

Firstly, the role of women in social and economic development is reduced to "reinforcing their capacity through education" - promoting the assumption that women are firstly, not part of development (when they are in fact the invisible backbone) and secondly, that they are 'not playing a role' because they lack capacity.

It then refers to "assuring their participation in the political and economic life of African countries" - the implication of this is that women are outside of the economy and outside of political life waiting to be invited in. In fact, they participate in the economy but not in the productive economy as narrowly defined as that which produces commodities - the care economy, services, domestic labour are dominated by women and keep families alive while the 'market economy' has failed them.

This is the same misconception that is common about Africa and the global economy - which it is left out and needs to be brought on board - in fact, it is part of the global system - but on fundamentally unequal and

exploitative terms. It is the terms and basis of relationships within the global economy that need to be changed and made equitable.

Thus, NEPAD is blind to the fact that the macro-economic framework itself perpetuates women's oppression, and therefore NEPAD does not challenge the structural subordination of women.

The following quote highlights the fundamental weaknesses in the gender analysis (or lack of it) in NEPAD:

[There are] major limitations in the NEPAD's approach to gender equality issues and women's economic empowerment: not only does the analysis of issues stop short at the micro level, it has no connection to the macro-economic framework which shapes women's lives. In addition, it is assumed that women's empowerment, which would really require specific action targeted at the gender-based constraints that are intrinsically linked to women's subordination, will be achieved by addressing instrumental issues related to women's income generating measures, education, training, and access to credit. In other words, NEPAD sees gender equality to be achieved by micro women' specific projects, as opposed to tackling the fundamental structural causes of women's poverty and inequality such as discriminating laws, cultural norms, male-biased development priorities, land reform, or public expenditures, and macro-economic policies, just to name a few

(Randriamaro, 2002:8).

Privatization has clear gender implications, since women mostly perform unpaid reproduction labour. Where access to basic services is commercialized, this usually results in disconnections for the poor, and a majority of women, whose labour and health is affected. Water privatization met with huge resistance on the continent and clearly affects poor women, yet NEPAD promotes privatization.

There are no proposals for the reversal of outflows of resources from African countries (through profits repatriation, debt servicing, etc), with regard to resource mobilization, which is central to NEPAD. NEPAD's failure to call for debt cancellation and the removal of structural adjustment means that African women will continue to carry a disproportionate burden. This creates further obstacles to income generation as a result of the debt crisis and reduced public expenditure in social services.

NEPAD does not acknowledge the impact of trade liberalization on women and gender relations, although trade is a significant source of resources. It does not attend to the linkages between trade and the development of the agricultural sector, where women often predominate.

Conclusion

Globalization makes our Democratic National Government to lose their power to determine their own macro and micro economic systems and if not vigilant, they may be worse off than the previous illegitimate Government.

 [To Contents Page](#)

Dr Clint Le Bruyns:

Poverty, Unemployment And Wage Inequality And Its Impact On Crime

The ethical challenges and opportunities of globalization, with special reference to the aforementioned issues will be discussed in this chapter.

How do moral renewal and ethical leadership renewal relate to the globalizing world of work? Looking at the Ethical Leadership Project, we have the vision of a morally transformed society through ethical leadership; we have a mission where we believe that we should work with leaders on all levels of society in order to empower and enable them with knowledge, skills and values to foster moral transformation. Leaders, not only positional, but personal leaders; people who by virtue with influence in different spheres and levels of society; in relationship with various people and stakeholders, are all defined as leaders.

What does moral and ethical renewal mean in the context of the world of work, which is part of the globalization enterprise? One thing that can be said about the world of work in South Africa is that the work order in South Africa is being restructured under the impact of a complex, diverse, and often contradictory range of pressures that we describe as a triple transition; with political, economic and social dimensions. The economic dimension of this complex work order being the most critical in this discussion. This is the issue of economic globalization.



(FT of London, 26/27.08.00)

What does it mean to talk about ethical leadership within the globalizing world of work? When we talk about the issue of globalization, there are many statements made about it. To what extent, however, do we understand the globalization context within the South African realm? What is its impact on the South African world of work? Another task is what resources can we draw upon as leaders in the world of work in wanting to transform this context in which globalization is showing its face? A third task is a question of content, what does ethical leadership really mean? Fourthly, what does this have to say to our existing practices, our institutions, modes of engagement, and relationships within the world of work?

To answer the question on context, in order to understand what globalization entails the world of work; must be looked at. Globalization has many forms within

the economic dimension which informs us; to a great extent, what it entails. It is important to note that globalization has an ambiguous reception; some in the world of work are positive about it, in South Africa however, the response to economic globalization has been negative; based on its impact on South African workers and their futures. There are various driving forces which drive the globalization enterprise, one being rationalism.

There is an ideology that informs this system, which makes it complex and allows us to talk about globalization as negative in its impact. This is also consoling, because as long as human beings are informing this complex globalization enterprise, there is always room for change. Meaning, that as complex as this economic system is, can always be managed and influenced





as long as human beings are behind it. Economic globalization has raised questions about the sovereignty of the state, civil society, but an important factor is the transformation of paid work. This is where one can refer to the increasing informalization, externalization, casualization of labour; being a core and critical problem about globalization's impact in the world of work in South Africa. It leads to a challenge to our social democratic values that we have been informed about. We can discuss the lack of protection and rights of our constitution that are not experienced by an increasing number of people in the world of work; these mean nothing to those that are unemployed and in the informal working sector.

One thing that is clear about the globalization project in the world of work is how life has become economized. The worth and dignity of a human being in bound with economic value; one's worth has rests with how much economic worth one has to the nation. This is what nation building and societal contribution has become about.

As leaders in today's world of work we need to take various resources that assist in the understanding of the context and the working towards a morally renewed society and the engagement to that end seriously. The narratives and personal experiences of workers is something that we should never lose touch of as even as positional leaders. Theoretical discourse, Emmanuel Kant: "there is nothing as practical as a good theory". Good theories are theories that serve and improve our society and the agenda that we have in the world of work. It matters what people in the broader public thinks of labour. When looking at the ideals of the labour movement in South Africa, one can say that it is the most ethical intensions and goals that a community of people could be pursuing, and yet at the same time when the average person thinks about labours and unions the idea is opposite.

Responsibility and the ability to respond to confronting issues that are of concern in society; the ability to respond rather than to ignore or withdraw from it, the ability to respond understanding what lies behind these realities, the abilities to respond understanding that how one responds is important because it has consequences, what are the consequences of our actions as labour leaders? What are the consequences of our actions for workers, broader society, for the future and for various role players in society are what ethical leadership entails. There should be responsibility for the vision, embodiment and the realization of the common good in all of life, especially in the world of work. This responsibility should be carried for others, not ourselves and the responsibility with others. One of the problems with the NEPAD process within South Africa, was the lack of consultation, labour was not actively involved in the process. This responsibility should be practised through just and modest means; that in some concrete and constructive way will contribute to morally transforming society. Lastly one needs to think to what practises deserve attention in the light of globalization. Concerning our labour leadership practises and mode of engagement, we are in a very complex world of work in society; how does one discuss constructively engaging in processes that contribute to moral renewal? To what extent are those in the informal working sector represented and protected by the resources within the labour movement? This is an increasing dimension within the world of work.



 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 4: The Impact Of Unemployment, Poverty And Income Inequalities On Crime - The Labour Perspective

Zizamele Cebekhulu

Introduction

The impact of unemployment, poverty and income inequalities on crime has followed many trends and has also been influenced by many perspectives and paradigms. The Afro-barometer survey of January and February 2006 revealed that South Africans rated Unemployment, Housing, Crime, Poverty and HIV/AIDS as their top five priorities for government action. Crime, however, is not a unique South African problem; instead, it is a global phenomenon.

Historically, the increasing levels of crime in South Africa were attributed to structural deprivation, unemployment and poverty. However, poor people are not solely responsible to commit crimes. The magnitude of white-collar crime and corruption committed by senior members of the business community and government has also become a dominant feature in our society. Against this background, this chapter seeks to establish a casual link between these variables and flag a challenge for crime prevention and job creation.



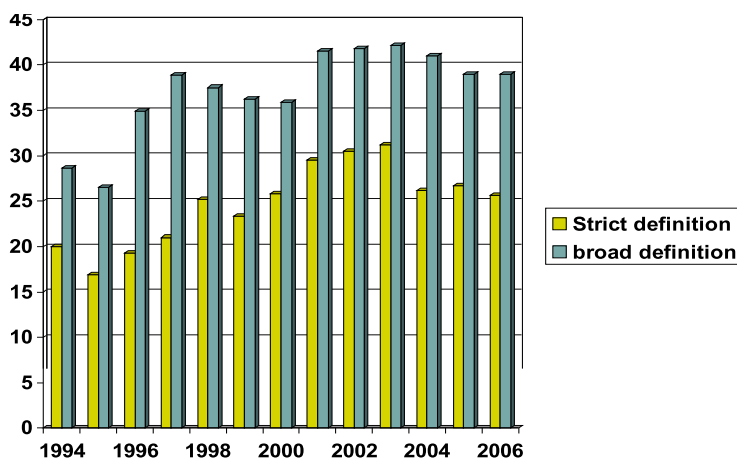
Unemployment

South Africa faces mass unemployment that has gone through the following phases:

- ◆ Official unemployment increased from 16% in 1994 to around 30% in early 2000. Expanded unemployment, which includes people who have given up searching for jobs, also increased from 28% in 1994 to peak at 41% in 2001 (according to an official definition).
- ◆ Both the official and expanded unemployment began to fall slightly since 2003. Official unemployment dropped from 30% in 2003 to around 25% in 2006. Expanded or structural unemployment decelerated from 43% to 39%.

Unemployment remains stubbornly high, even though it has begun to decrease. However, the decrease is not fast enough to reduce, substantially the level of unemployment. The graph below tracks changes in unemployment rates (both official and expanded) between 1994 and 2006. It illustrates the phases of unemployment discussed in the bullet points above.

Figure 1: Unemployment rate between 1994 to 2006



The figures (in Figure 1) for 1994-1999 represent the results of the October Household Survey. The aforementioned survey discontinued and was replaced by the Labour Force Survey. The figures from 2000 to 2006 represent the results of the Labour Force Survey (October Household Survey & Labour Force Survey; www.statssa.gov.za).

Unemployment has gender, racial, age and geographic dimensions. Women, especially African women faces higher unemployment rates compared to men. Black people, in particular Africans have high unemployment rates compared to white people. Over 75% or two thirds of

unemployed people are under the age of 35 years. A high proportion of young unemployed people never

had a job before and therefore do not have a working experience. The Limpopo, Kwa-Zulu Natal and North West province have by far the highest unemployment rate, respectively 35%, 30% and 32%.

The question therefore, is why did unemployment accelerated in the post 1994 period? In the period immediately after 1994, the mining, agriculture and manufacturing sub-sectors like clothing and textile and the public service sector shed over a million jobs. The South African economy has been shedding employment consistently since the mid-1980s and this accelerated even faster after democratization. This situation reflects long-term structural shifts that began in the 1970s. First, the economy shifted from a demand for unskilled labour to become more skill intensive in certain sectors. Secondly, sectors like mining and agriculture became increasingly mechanized which has led to high capital intensity in the South African economy. Thirdly, trade liberalization led to retrenchment in some sectors. The impact, however, remains a disputed fact. South African companies were forced to become globally competitive as tariff levels were reduced. Some industries could not compete with cheap subsidized imports from the EU and Asia. Dairy and clothing are but a few examples of the industries that could not face global competition. The strong rand has also undermined exports particularly manufacturing exports.

The rationale that skills are an explanation for unemployment does not suffice. Evidence show that South Africa faces a critical shortage of artisans and high level skills. Industries do not only require higher-level skills. The average unemployed person in South Africa has at least 10 years of education. Collapse of labour demand and low labour absorption is the main cause of the unemployment problem in South Africa.

For example, 1 million jobs were created between 1998 and 2002 against 4.3 million new entrants in the labour market. This reflects both the high level of unemployment plus the low labour absorption rate in the South African economy. The fact that South Africa has a small informal sector (which employs 20% of workers) means that many people look to the formal sector for employment. In this regard, the informal sector is not an alternative to formal employment and evidence shows that the bulk of the informal sector is survivalist in nature.

Poverty

Defining poverty levels in South Africa is an inexact science, with furious methodological disputes. What then are the trends in poverty since 1994? First, there is a consensus that between 1994 and 2000 poverty has decreased, and that since 2000 poverty has decreased, although the scale of this decrease is disputed. Table 1 shows the estimates for poverty head-count from the Income and Expenditure Survey. The table is representative of the trend that most researchers have found in the period until 2000.

Table 1 : Poverty head-count (1995 and 2000)

Poverty Line	October 1995	September 2000
R322 per month	52.3	58
R174 per month	30.6	37.9

(DPRU Data Corner, based on Income and Expenditure Surveys, 1995 & 2000)

Since 2000, two different estimation exercises suggest that poverty has decreased. Using the poverty line of R 250 per month per household, Meth (2006) and van der Berg and others (2005) both indicate that poverty has decreased. However, the estimates are significantly different.

Income Inequality

Less controversial is the rise in income inequality in South Africa. It is vital as the Human Development Report 2003 reminds us that income inequality is very different from wealth inequality (which would include other assets, in addition to income). Without adequate measures of wealth inequality indicator, income is only measure. The results of many studies show that the inequality of income has increased. This catalyzed in a rise in the share of within-group inequality.

There is a significant dispute as to the exact number of the Gini Coefficient for South Africa. The dispute between numbers derived from the World Bank, and those from several South African institutions might explain whether the results are base on income or consumption data. Table 3 shows the different estimates for the Gini Coefficient.

Table 2: Gini Coefficient Estimates

Mid 1990's	Early 2000's	Increase/Decrease	Source
0.68 (1996)	0.73 (2001)	↑	SALDRU
0.593 (1995)	0.578 (2006)	↓	World Bank *
0.58 (1995)	0.62 (2001)	↑	Fedderke et. al (2003)
0.56 (1995)	0,57 (2001)	↑	Stats SA (2002)
0.66	0.69	↑	Fedderke et. al (2003)
0,639	0.682	↑	Powell (2004) *
0.565 (1995)	0..578 (2006)	↑	Ozler
			* Expenditure

(Finweek, 26 September 2006 (56-57), Development Bank of Southern Africa, 2005)

There is a wide range of estimates that are partly explained by whether income or expenditure estimates, or whether household or individual incomes are used. However, the trend across all the studies – with the exception of the World Bank Development Indicators – shows an increase in inequality levels. Even the World Bank estimates would show an increase in inequality if the same set of research were used to compare 1995 and 2006. The 1995 estimates are probably based on SALDRU work, whilst the 2006 estimates are based on work conducted by Ozler, who in fact concludes that inequality has increased.

Dimension Of Crime And Its Causes

The Scale And Nature Of Crime In South Africa

Admittedly, crime rate is very high in South Africa compared to most countries in the region and beyond. We, however, also need to acknowledge that different people in the country experience crime differently. Public perceptions and the media also influence the way in which we think about crime. While the media may want to project a view that the business and farming communities are affected more by crime, the reality is that, the working class is mostly affected. We have recently seen business being very vocal about the crime situation whilst the poor and the working class have remained almost silent. This is, sometimes construed as conniving with the criminal elements or silent approval. At the same time, the view that business confidence in South Africa has dropped recently, apparently due to crime and political uncertainty is over generalized. We must state without fear of contradiction that the media only focuses on the interests of those who have access and means to influence public opinion.

In the decade before the democratic breakthrough of 1994, the devastating impact of the apartheid, social and economic policies and the use of the state security elements as instruments of repression, gave rise to a dramatic growth in the levels of crime and violence in our society. The latest crime statistics identify the following crimes as priority crimes: armed robbery; cash in transit; house breaking; assault; rape; and murder.

This scourge has continued to bedevil our young democracy. Though we progressed in reducing the levels of most categories of serious crime, crime continues to impact severely on the quality of life of the working class. This trend could undermine the realization of the country's social and economic development goals if decisive crime prevention measures are not taken. The response to crime should have on a clear understanding of the causes of crime and the various forms that it takes across the society. The response needs thorough consideration, effective coordination and comprehensiveness.

Causes And Links To Poverty, Inequality And Unemployment

The identification of causes and phenomena associated with crime is a primary objective of this chapter, especially in view of its practical value and the belief that such identifications can be useful when seeking an explanation for correcting or controlling criminal behaviour. The analysis of official and unofficial sources indicates that social development is closely linked to crime. The occurrence of crime is worse because of low living standards fueled by extreme income inequality.

The traditional belief is that a more equitable distribution of economic wealth and technological progress will reduce crime and social conflict, because socioeconomic conditions feed into crime and violence. While this view is usually unchallenged, we have also noticed a sporadic increase of white-collar crime wherein greed would drive people to commit fraud and underhand tactics to get more money.

The causal factors relating inequality and criminal activity has been the subject of much research that covers a wide theoretical spectrum. An important causal mechanism underlying this relationship is relative deprivation - how an individual (or group) perceives, as fair or unfair, the inequities in the distribution of income. Relative deprivation is based upon the pervasive need for comparison between individuals or groups within a society. Comparison of one's position relative to that of others (or one's past) is a way of assessing how satisfied one is. For example, Easterlin's study (1974) examines the empirical relationship between reported happiness and income and concludes that individual happiness is not determined by absolute income levels, but by income relative to what they think they ought to have.

This type of behaviour highlights the relationship between relative deprivation and subjective-well-being which is best summarized by Karl Marx:

“A house may be large or small; as long as the surrounding houses are equally small, it satisfies all social demands for a dwelling. But if a palace rises beside the little house, the little house shrinks into a hut”

(Marx, 1933:268,269).

Whether or not individuals assess a given distribution of income as inequitable is a function of their sociocultural environment. Relative deprivation may not be a significant characteristic in societies, which view economic inequality as an acceptable outcome based on cultural and religious values.

Two structural factors necessary for inequality to give rise to relative deprivation are: (i) how the culture defines the “ends,” which are used to measure success of individuals in society; and (ii) the economic opportunities (legitimate or not) which provide the “means” for obtaining the prescribed “ends.” In fact, this is the economic structure experienced by the majority of South African workers since the late 1990's. During this period, both the absolute and relative monetary rewards for legitimate economic activities among lower skilled workers deteriorated. This has occurred in conjunction with a stress on material gains over this same period. Thus, the economic and social structure of the past decade may impose the sufficient conditions that link economic inequality with relative deprivation. The reasons why individuals would pursue criminal activities in response to feelings of deprivation, must be considered.

It is however, not all individuals who perceive the distribution of economic resources as unfair, who would resort to criminal activities. Other avenues exist for addressing these grievances such as taking part in legitimate economic opportunities (for example, augmenting human capital) or political activities (for example, voting on tax proposals). Individuals may also direct feelings of anger and frustration towards themselves. In extreme cases, these latent feelings may manifest themselves as violent criminal activities. Other individuals may resort to property crimes, violent or not, as methods to redistribute economic resources and satisfy their sense of injustice.

The Impact On The Economy And Society

The effects of globalization have also a negative impact in the fight against crime. We have seen new trends and new modus operandi of crime. Crime patterns globalize as economies globalize. Global criminals cooperate and unite criminally, while countries cooperate and unite economically. This development gives birth to sophisticated crime trends.

Control of crime combating agencies - as we are all concerned with crime prevention in the country, criminal elements are swelling the ranks of CPF's as well as business against crime to control and redirect the agenda of these agencies. Some of these criminals have invested in private security to safeguard their interests and compete with law enforcement agencies.

Control of the police by donors and business - this is shifting control and focus of the police on policing every body in preference of selected business grouping.

Capacity of corrections to rehabilitate - rehabilitation and moral regeneration go hand in hand. Our system is at present not geared towards providing meaningful rehabilitation. Our prisons are a breeding ground for crime.

Economic inactivity of Africa - this is flat tyre towards attaining objectives of African Renaissance. This is a problem which drives people to South Africa in the search for jobs and a better life. Political turmoil in the rest of Africa is also driving foreign people to seek political refugee status. The result of the above reasons is the birth of a new culture and new crime trends. That is why we experience unique and strange crime modus operandi in our country.

Causality – in all fairness, how do we preach morality and ethical behaviour to hungry and poor people?

Impact On The Public Service And Criminal Justice System

The current clustering of departments at the strategic apex has not filtered down to the operational and tactical levels. There is cooperation between ministers but the constable and the magistrate on the ground have since not understood this concept. The impact of crime on the criminal justice system has brought about the following challenges:

- ◆ Re-prioritization of socioeconomic objectives - crime was initially not our main priority. The country had prioritized poverty eradication and job creation.
- ◆ We have cut the strength of the police compared to the general size of the public service.
- ◆ The country has experienced budget cuts on policing and the number of police colleges in the country.
- ◆ Outnumbering of the police by criminal elements is another issue at hand.

Crime Prevention Strategy

The strategy needs to move from the premise that the police service and government agencies cannot fight crime alone. The fight against crime requires the involvement and active participation of all communities and all the sections of the society:

- ⑥ Workers should swell the ranks of the Community Police Forums and also participate actively in policing issues. They can also enlist as reservists in the police service and other crime prevention initiatives of government. Our communities need to refrain from harbouring criminals. People who are committing crime in our communities are not aliens. These are people that we know and protect, and mostly by the working class. There is a need for paradigm shifts in our thinking as the working class. Criminal elements need to be rooted out of our communities and, working closely with law enforcement agencies is the right thing to do.
- ⑥ Discussions at the criminal cluster level should seek to be accommodative, inclusive of all the stakeholders. Calling back retired police officers will never be a solution as we face new crime trends.
- ⑥ There is an urgent need for the regulation of the private security industry. We cannot allow a situation where the security of the country is placed in private hands driven by private and sectarian agendas.
- ⑥ We have a number of highly trained people outside without jobs. Failure to create jobs and accommodate this grouping could easily plunge the country into chaos.

Conclusion

Regardless whether poverty, unemployment and inequality are emphasised as causes of crime, the South African crime situation presents interesting trends, especially with the drastic rise of violent crime. It suggests therefore that any crime combating initiative needs to be well coordinated and inclusive. It would be a futile exercise to attempt developing a crime prevention strategy without addressing the root causes of crime.

Chapter 5: Critical Introspection And Audit On Labour Leadership: Responsibility, Accountability And Best Practices In Workplace Transformation And The Restoration Of Human Dignity And Human Rights

📍 Tony Ehrenreich:

Transformative Leadership Changing The World

As always it is an incredible honour and pleasure to talk to those members of Cosatu and the many others. We want to pay special tribute to the shop stewards because the topics concern leadership, ethics and values that should drive our conduct and the ambitions of others entrusted to us.

The fact that we are shop stewards and leaders in our union means that we have come to that position because of how other people see us. Labour leadership involves leadership through service and we can only become a labour leader or shop steward if others see in us the commitment to serve their cause.

We can not run for that position, we can not advertise or promote ourselves in order to attain that position. Only if others see in us the same values that they hold dear will we be elected.

Addressing shop stewards is always the most honourable of occasions because others have seen those leadership qualities in them. Our plea to them is, others have seen the leadership potential in you, your only task is to believe in yourself and to be that leader. To make sure that we as leaders come together and share ideas that empower us to achieve those objectives we have set for ourselves.

Leadership is much more than a task they do from time to time. It is a way of being and it has to reflect the values that are inside of us. Ultimately comrades, leadership is about making sure we are able to change the world for the better. It is about that choice to serve. It is about making sure that we call people to a higher purpose and a higher reason. It is about doing things differently.

Many great struggles have borne many great leaders. The greatest son of the soil of Africa, Nelson Mandela, comes out of the struggle against apartheid. Many of us were involved in that struggle in different ways and whilst not having the same role that he occupied, our role was as important in bringing about the changes that is happened in our country. But it is in reflecting those changes that we must take time out to understand what it is that we have done. To be able to do that we must look at the best values that people respond to. People have to believe us as leaders that we share their pain. They have to understand that we have made the choice to serve them as a shop steward despite harassment and intimidation by the employers.

The most important thing about leadership if it is to endure is to make sure that what we do in our role as leaders is to realise the best in other people. Make sure that they can be the best that they can be. That means that we need to have certain tools to respond to that. The best kinds of leaders are those who build a commitment amongst people for their shared values. It is not always important to get people to do the things that we want. It is more important to make sure people want the same things that we want, a leaders, and what our organizations wants. In that way we are able to share both the ambitions and the desires that the organization needs to be able to take it forward.



We have to distinguish between the different features of leadership. How do we make sure that we not only present a plan but that it provides hope to people and inspires them to action? Ultimately the only way to change the world is through civic action. Our job is both to present the plan and to inspire action. In order for that to take place people have to believe in the cause that we stand for. So we both have to manage the attention of those whom we serve and make sure that the message we communicate resonates amongst people. One that people both understand and respond to.

Nobody is going to respond to a leader that they don't trust. We have to be reliable and trustworthy. We have to make sure that people see in us the embodiment of the causes that they will strive for and that they will march with us in pursuit of those demands. In order to do that we have to appreciate that the role of the leader is often a lonely one. We will struggle with self-doubt, situations might appear to be overwhelming and responsibilities challenging.

In that context we really need to know ourselves. We need to know both our strengths and weaknesses. A good leader provides people with the opportunity to express their own ambitions but also complement his. We can not be the best at all things. We need to make sure that we promote a team spirit and others will fill the gaps where we are weak and vice versa.

The job of a union leader is to make sure they build a team and a sense of solidarity. We have to make sure that the public values the kind of society that we want to see, one that promotes social justice.

Comrades, that must be born out of what it is that we stand for. What are our private virtues? What are the things that we are about that build our character and that represent who we are in the world? Those things must be related to what public values are and the kind of society that we want to build. In many respects the society that we build today and the challenges that we continue to have as working people are born out of the fact that we've not necessarily built the institutional mechanisms in our society to defend the changes and to defend the ambitions that we fought for.

What we struggled for in our country was not to have the vote every five years. We struggled for the liberation of all African people both black and white from the bondage of apartheid but also the consequences of apartheid. Those consequences have marginalized and disenfranchised our people. So the vote is not enough we have to put in place the steps that undo the legacy of apartheid. But what we have at the moment is the vote every five years.

We still have the colonialists who stole our gold, diamonds and our land. Who still possess all of that wealth. So, we are unable to respond to the challenges that are reflected in the fact that many of our children go starving or the educational opportunities of our children are not the same as those who go to school in the shadows of Table Mountain and in suburbs such as Claremont and Constantia. That is what we struggled for, to make sure that our children can be the best that they can be and that the system will provide them with those opportunities.

It becomes an ethical question when we make a promise in respect of what it is we are going to deliver. We have an ethical obligation to make sure we provide that. In South Africa we made a shift from the Reconstruction and Development Program which mobilized our people for the 1994 elections and was based on the values of the Freedom Charter to the adoption of GEAR and what it stands for.

The RDP is about growth through redistribution meaning we must share what is in our country. GEAR is about trickle down economics. It means that as the wealthy get wealthier some of that wealth may trickle down to the poor and disenfranchised mainly black masses in South Africa.

Now if we were mobilized and promised the RDP how is it that GEAR could unfold? So there is an ethical question. There is a question about both the values that leaders stood for but also the promises that leaders have made.

Unfortunately it is not only an academic discussion. There is a difference between the policies that we accept and the honour that our leadership paid to our commitments. We know what ten years of GEAR has done. A million people have lost their jobs. People who have jobs in the public service and elsewhere now have

contracted or outsourced jobs. No medical aid, no benefits and probably half of the wages they earned before.

The level of unemployment in our country has risen from 16% in 1996 to close to 40% now. The social problems that arise from that poverty whether its gangsters ruling our townships or our children being exposed to drugs everyday tears apart the social fabric of our society. Prospects for the future that's supposed to provide hope to a nation is diminished by the policy choices that we have made. So it's not only an academic question between the RDP and GEAR. It's a question about trust and reliability. It is a question about whether we will honour what it is we promised. That is an important lesson in leadership because a leader has to be reliable and trustworthy and he has to feel the pain of those who he serves.

There is no doubt that we have achieved many things in South Africa. The democratic breakthrough was an amazing advance for our struggle but unless new leaders rise up with new values and sustain the momentum to realise the ambitions of the Freedom Charter we too would have presented a disservice to our people.

Many of our leaders today, after having assumed positions of leadership in business or in government, forget about our people. They move into the suburbs and they take on the values of people who live there. Values that do not foster solidarity or concern for one another and that do not promote the African concept of Ubuntu. It is about individualism, about getting as much as we can regardless of the cost. That is not the African way of doing things and that is not what our ethics as based on.

Our leaders forget about what it is that brought them into power and they take on those values because they are seduced by that lifestyle. Comrades, those choices are as a direct result of what happens at the policy level. Trevor Manuel and government will give R80 billion in tax cuts to wealthy earners, mainly white communities and big corporations every year. R80 billion as part of their attempt to restructure the economy but they won't make available R30 billion for a basic income grant for the unemployed because we are unable to put the economy on the kind of footing that will provide employment.

So we dabble and we experiment with economic policies and the people who have to bear the hardships of that are poor people who loose their jobs and have no support. Who is this government serving? More importantly who is this government meant to serve? What was their promise and what is their ethical obligation in respect of the election processes?

Our government has created the system that has brought about the environment for that. So don't blame the players for the game which you put in place. The game has to promote the systems and the values that people fought for.

That comrades is about promises, ethics, and morality and about the kind of value based society we want to build. As worker leaders you have the same kinds of challenges in the leadership role that you play in the workplace.

There is no doubt that apartheid is still alive and well in many workplaces. The apartheid wage gap still exists. Workers who earned 20% of what the manager earns still earn that today. Some of the managers may be black but the apartheid wage gap is still in place. How could a feature of apartheid still exist 13 years into democracy? Other countries don't have the wage gaps that we have between higher and lower graded workers. How can that still exist in South Africa?

The architecture, the brand of capitalism still allows that to continue. We have to make sure that in the push for the transformation of the workplace we push to close the wage gap. We have got to ensure that the workplace becomes a more democratic environment where managers don't ride rough shod over workers interests.

The job of a shop steward, the job of a leader in the workplace is to make sure that they stop unilateral action on the part of the employer. The workplace should be a more democratic environment and workers interests should be a part of the considerations.

Do not let employers tell us that it is as a result of global pressures so they must exploit us as best they can, because workers in China are worse off. We are not China. Worker rights are an important human right in

South Africa. That is a reflection of the values that we stand for. These are the changes that we must ensure in the workplace.

The way the economy is being transformed has been driven by specific choices.

In 1994 when Cyril Ramaphosa was leading the negotiations around constitutional reform in Kempton Park. Thabo Mbeki was involved in negotiations of his own at the Development Bank in Pretoria with the big owners of capital. It more and more seems that what they agreed to was that those who stole the diamonds, the gold and our land could hold onto that in the democratic South Africa. They could retain ownership. All they had to do, all Anglo-American or De Beers had to do, was to commit to giving 25% to BEE partners after the 1994 elections.

What do we see today? Many of our members who are in parliament and have gone into the private sector have become millionaires overnight as a result of that 25%.

This is the choices that government makes. On one hand they had to decide are we going to give 25% to politically well connected people or are we going to say as a government that what Anglo American and De Beers should do is add at least two stages of production onto the raw materials that they send off to China and elsewhere.

If they added two stages of production there would be a lot of employment opportunities for our people but it seems that the choice that our government made, and this is an ethical choice, was to enrich a small elite instead of the majority of our people. This is a challenge that will no doubt confront any leader in any environment.

This is about our truth, our values and what it is we stand for.

As leaders in the union movement we have come to leadership for very different reasons. We have to make sure that we remain true to those values in pursuit of our ideals no matter how noble they are. We must make sure that our modes of struggle reflect the values that we stand for.

There can not ever be a situation where one worker kills another because he thinks he is undermining the possibility of winning a strike as happened in the SATAWU strike. We would be losing our own way. We would have lost touch with the sense of values and sense of ethics that brings us to leadership and makes our organization much more principled than many others.

We stand by our slogan of "an injury to one is an injury to all". How can we ever respond to anyone else in the way we sometimes do. That must be a challenge for our organization. We are not saying that there will not be scuffles during strikes. Strikes are violent, difficult times but as leaders we must make sure that we honour the values and commitments we stand for. This is what must drive us in going forward.

We want to comment very briefly on what we think are very important elements of leadership. The first and most important is to make sure that we disperse power. Make sure that other people feel included and don't ever create the impression that we are the only show in town or that we are the person who drives the agenda at our workplace. Our organization is about solidarity, collective power and civic action. People must feel part of the organization and they must feel that they are driving it. Always elevate and encourage people. Make people feel that they should be the best that they can be. Make them believe in themselves and undo the legacy of apartheid. People will respond to us in a completely different way.

Use soft power that will persuade them rather than hard power to tell them by virtue of our positions. Make sure that we build consensus about what it is we try and do. Make sure that even in the battles we are engaged in we respect the humanity of our enemy or opponent no matter how difficult that is. When we forget the humanity of others we will soon forget our own. We are about building a better society not about replacing capitalism or capitalist practices.

It is about a new way of doing business. That is the task that lies ahead of us.

The question that arises in respect of social capital and what we do to promote networks amongst ourselves has to be born on values and principles. It is also a profoundly ideological question. Many times government

would say that people must establish networks and make sure that they are looking out for one another. We can do that but that can not happen outside of the state taking responsibility for key public services within society.

Policing is something that the state has to drive. Community policing forums are in response to the difficulties that we face but that can not be the only way in which we make our communities safer. There must be more resources for the police and more officers should be employed as our country goes through a difficult time of increased criminality. Not only an increase but the types of crimes that are being committed must scare all of us.

We do so much to promote social capital. Workers share their income with other workers who are unemployed, their brothers and sisters. If someone has no job there is no money going into that home. The only reason they do not starve is that they get assistance from elsewhere. Not from people who live in Constantia and not from government through a basic income grant, so they must be getting it from other workers. Now that is an important social network or connection.

Comrades what it means if we buy into that without being critical of what government is doing is that we take responsibility for unemployment because caring for the unemployed is equivalent to an additional tax on workers whose salaries are already low. There are so many unemployed people in our country. There must be a tax to assist them while we try and create job opportunities. That tax must come from all of our pockets but mainly from the pockets of the wealthy. We should demand that it be put in place.

Conclusion

Leadership must contribute to defining a new plan, a new way of doing things. People need to have hope, we must be able to lead them in a collective way and a way that inspires them to civic action.

We must be able to advance an agenda because our responsibility as leaders must be to ensure that we involve people in the process of change and that we build a better life for all of our people.

 [To Contents Page](#)

⑥ Archie Palane:

Strategic And Visionary Leadership: Integrating Regional And Global Coordination

Global Environment Scan

The firms that recognize, embrace and assimilate global manifest destiny as part of or the very fabric of their organization will undoubtedly be the leaders in the respective industries and will be the best positioned to exploit global business opportunities

(Global Manifest Destiny).

Companies that can adapt their corporate culture and processes to the global competitive environment could achieve the above ideal. In doing so they would be able to leverage global manifest destiny and take advantage of the inevitable economic integration of humankind.

In the same vein, our leadership should have a strategic and visionary mindset that has the ability to integrate regional and global coordination in order to prosper and survive the new global competitive environment.

Globalization has brought meaning to economic integration within the world of work, even though it continues to reflect that capital lack the human touch. Karl Marx had the foresight when he orchestrated and campaigned for workers of the world to unite. The ideological differences between business and labour continue to determine the turf and nature of the workplace relationship between employers and labour.

The workplace transformation processes is informed by issues that impact on global competitiveness. However, it is imperative to argue that workplace transformation must include cultural diversity and cross border management. The workplace has moved away from intensive labour towards more skilled labour due to global competitiveness and technology.

Legislative Implication To Workplace Transformation

The recruitment and employment of skilled employees, expertise from other countries departs from a traditional collective employment contract that was a subject of collective bargaining. The individual contract with the employer poses a new challenge for organized labour and threatens the principle of collective bargaining and the right to withdraw labour. The majority of such employees are young and skilled who see long service as brain stagnation thus opting for greener pastures every six months.

The retention of such skills on the one hand and sustainability of union membership on the other hand becomes core to the workplace transformation and membership growth respectively. In order to effect skills development and employment equity you do need a stable workforce. In order to wage your struggle at the workplace you need sustainable and militant membership.

It is imperative to unpack the readiness of organized labour in confronting current workplace challenges that the global environment informs. Union members aspire for a living wage with the hope that it could be enough to address their social needs to better their living standards. The country's economic policy, with particular focus on inflation targeting, has made collective bargaining a hard nut to crack as employers argue that they find no justification to offer wage increases that are above inflation.

We are back to the era of distributive bargaining with no alternatives through mutual gains. We are back to hostile bargaining, protracted disputes and with months of strike actions. The longer it takes to resolve



disputes the more agitated workers are and the more they feel that their job security is threatened and their lives are lost.

Giving Social Rights To Workers

It is therefore imperative to focus on Social Benefits to relieve workers of this hardship. Many workers fall into the wilderness of tyranny where the only saviour is a micro lender and or suicide hence hardened attitudes. High wage increases, on the other hand, are difficult to justify to shareholders. It is social issues and benefits, healthcare, housing and retirements and other conditions of employment that should be of focus.

The world of work has changed in line with the global economic environment. It was not long when companies embarked upon productivity improvements through re-engineering programs to transform workplaces to be more competitive. It was unfortunate that such strategies led to massive job losses and loss of skills. The process followed by long-term wage agreements intended to bring stability and address process issues during the period in time. Stability has been achieved to some extent, but the issues remained unresolved.

The process has also made it difficult for labour to operate through mandatory processes as they got locked into workshops, research teams and subcommittees that made them fail to shuttle between members and the respective forums. The leadership has also failed to address new issues and or provide quality service to members thus opening an opportunity for discomfort, which led to emerging militant leadership to take over.

The failure to positively deliver on process issues, lack of mandate and regular feedback, has costs many workplaces in terms of relationship and led to losing leadership leading to the ushering in of new and inexperienced leaders. The same is true on the business side, which is beginning to redefine and give content to the role of Human Resources. Although professional, many have never had the opportunity to practice their theory.

On the table and within labour forums complex issues such as Employee Ownership Schemes, Profit sharing based on productivity as incentives for workers on the one hand, and maximizing productivity on the other hand in order to be competitive, preoccupy the minds of both business and labour leaders. The issues are not only complex, they are at the core of challenging the ideological principles.

Leadership That Fears The Unknown

The Labour leadership fears that workers' militancy would be compromised as workers become shareholders. As said earlier, the ideological differences between business and labour instil fear in them, believing that their socialist's ideology would be compromised as they would be seen to be accepting and endorsing a capitalist system.

However, on the other hand workers see the enhancement of their monetary value through this means as the best option than to outrightly reject what is on the table. The majority of workers have already tasted cash in the form of applicable production bonuses and or declared company profits. The orchestra of unions at workplaces who may engage employers and agree on such incentives poses a major threat to those who reject such incentives and risk losing members to rival unions.

The key is whether leadership agrees and accepts that the workplace has changed and needs a new approach in dealing with issues on the table that threatens company competitiveness within the global market. On the other hand, do employers accept that strategies of the past of union bashing and seeing labour as troublemakers are over. The parties need each other more in meeting shareholders' goals and workers' expectations to better their lives.

It is depressing to see and hear workers tell how they are exploited, and continue to earn peanuts with no social benefits. We all acknowledge that climate change is with us and communities that used to survive on subsistence farming no longer do, as a direct result.

The cost of basic foods is high and beyond reach of many workers and South African in general. The fundamental right to life and proper health care does not exist. It therefore calls upon our leadership to act responsibly when dealing with issues at the workplace. The future would judge us in what we do today.

We all know that leadership is about influence and following. However, it is imperative as to how do we lead on issues that are central to the future of the working class and the country as a whole.

It is crucial that we take along workers to the future and educate them about the global challenges we face. The business community could play a critical role in providing information that enables leadership to share with their constituencies. You are better off around the bargaining table when representing member's interests if you are well informed and able to interpret such information to arrive at a mutual gain.

Conclusion

We need talented leaders than those who claim to be knowledgeable. Talented leaders break the rules and or traditions, they create, take initiatives, invent and are proactive while those who are knowledgeable simply take orders and are traditionalists. They fear to enter the unknown because they fear the unknown outcomes.

The workplace must bury bureaucracy and rigid hierarchy in order to create a conducive environment for talent to be exposed. It must continue to be a learning environment in order to improve performance and reward such initiatives. The workplace must be a fearless home without any discriminatory obstacles, based on gender, race or colour.

It is a myth to think that workers would become competitive overnight due to global competition without investing back in them. If workers are to add value in the company, it is the responsibility of shareholders to reciprocate such efforts and entice these workers to stay. The workforce is as enthusiastic over profit and competition as are the shareholders and directors. In the same vain, membership expect union leadership to be visionary and deliver quality service without using them as career path.

 [To Contents Page](#)

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 [To Contents Page](#)

Pulane Lucas Mthiane:

Collective Bargaining And The Mineworkers Of South Africa

This chapter will focus on some of the difficulties the mineworkers experience in that sector and provide us with their own description of collective bargaining.

Collective bargaining is central to the defence and advancement of workers' interests in relationship with their employers. We want to argue that in this process to advance our own interests against the interests of capital, there is always the possibility of confrontation.

Trade unions are accused of being violent when they deal with issues of wage negotiations. One of the problems that we are faced with in our country is the fact that those who are working, and on whose behalf we negotiate have to care not only for their own families, but for their extended families as well. People who are not working rely on our members to fulfil their needs.

A few months ago we had a strike by the security guards. Those comrades had absolutely nothing to lose and going to jail was not a deterrent when one takes into account the meagre salaries they earn. They cannot be blamed for the situation that got out of hand. How do we as oppressed and exploited employees accept a situation where our employer makes millions out of our services but when we demand what is due to us, it takes the employer more than 11 weeks to agree to a reasonable increase?

Mike Anstey in one of his books says: "Managing change is about challenging conflicting views and competing interests". Trading partners seek protectionism even as they demand a levelling of the playing fields under tariff agreements.

Consumers want quality goods at a cheaper price while shareholders seek better returns on their investment. Nations want to expand their territories while reclaiming historical losses or achieving greater regional security. People living under authoritarian regimes want their human rights and an end to oppression.

Everywhere there are pushes to realign relationships within and between nations, communities and organizations. Everywhere there are associated tensions. What we demand as employees and members of different trade unions is to be paid a living wage.

We will be accused of being selfish, of not thinking of the unemployed because by demanding more, they argue, we are closing the door for those who are not working. People are saying we must accept our low wages so that we open opportunities for the rest of the people who are not employed, to come and accept lower wages and oppression. Under those circumstances, there will always be tension.

We felt that when we were negotiating this year. One of the things that we said to the employers comrades, is that if we demand 11% and you give us 15% we will go on strike.



 [To Contents Page](#)




Chapter 6: Ethical Rationale And Practices Underlying Collective Bargaining And Wage Negotiations

Trenton Elsley

When considering the topic we must look at the basic legislative framework that contextualizes collective bargaining.

It starts perhaps with the Constitution, primarily section 23 relating to labour rights. This is amplified in the Labour Relations Act and finds a very concrete form in the Basic Conditions of Employment Act which seeks to regulate actual conditions of work. We also have the Occupational Health and Safety Act, the Skills Development Act and the Employment Equity Act.

Most of us will be very familiar with those pieces of legislation. If we consider that framework we can distil three central rights.

-  The right to freedom of association.
-  A notion of fairness comes through in a lot of the legislation.
-  Perhaps safety as a separate right if not contained in the notion of fairness.



Collective bargaining is of course a forum where employers and trade unions come together to negotiate wages and a range of issues around conditions of employment. So it seems prudent to consider for a moment what each of these parties do in the general course of things. What can we observe about them that gives a sense of what they bring to collective bargaining?

Employers very simply put, are about the production of goods and services for consumption and maximizing profits. The more sophisticated business person will suggest that business is about more than that, but we do not believe they can admit that it can ever be anything less than about making profit. Business is also about growth, a basic law is that you either grow or you die.

These are the primary concerns in a very condensed way.

If we look at trade unions and observe their actions they seek to raise the quality of employment, wages and conditions of employment. There is evidence of attempts to raise the social wage not only with employers but also through other forums such as Nedlac and directly with government.

They seek to standardize industrial relations to some extent to remove some of the arbitrariness from those relations and to minimize practices of discrimination, favouritism, nepotism and a number of other negative practices.

They seek to address broad inequalities but more particularly wage inequality.

They do this to varying degrees and with varying degrees of success.

Trade unions are also very much about voice or representation. By definition they seek to represent a collection of workers and they give a voice to that collective. They are also very much about participation and democracy in the way they are structured and operate. They are perhaps the most democratic of all organizations of civil society.

So we have a sense then of these two parties who take part in collective bargaining. What can we observe about what they wish to achieve? It does suggest that there is a basic opposition or conflicting interests.

We must consider for a moment the historical context of collective bargaining in South Africa; is a highly politicized one especially the history of the progressive trade union movement. Trade unions through the 70's and 80's were one of the coherent vehicles of broader political aspirations.

To engage in the workplace was to engage politically. This also meant broader terms of reference when coming to collective bargaining. It was not limited to issues around the workplace. Trade unions sought to reach out because the workplace was intimately linked with conditions in society at large.

Historically a profound sense of 'otherness' has permeated collective bargaining along racial lines but also in more subtle ways. Parties would literally be of different race groups, communities and cultural backgrounds. They were geographically and socially removed from each other, so there was a great deal of distance between the parties involved.

Collective bargaining in South Africa has always been of a more confrontational nature. This is not necessarily a negative characteristic. The process is confrontational and we need to hold on to the tension instead of trying to eradicate it.

The confrontational nature of the process is supported by the language of trade union bargaining. Trade unions make demands not requests and employers reject demands. The language used is strong. It hints at the various positions and the conceptualization of what the players are doing at the forum.

Let us examine the economic context in which collective bargaining is set in South Africa.

Previous exponents have alluded to the very high levels of unemployment which has a negative impact on collective bargaining.

Economic growth is perhaps one of the few positives. We have witnessed consistent economic growth in recent years and this perhaps at least intimates at more positive outcomes of collective bargaining than would be possible under a failing economy.

Global competition also has a negative impact. Companies are competing both domestically and abroad with other companies and global processes.

The fragmentation and integration of production in the sense that production processes are broken down and dispersed around the globe allowing business to exploit value opportunities along parts of the production process in other countries.

At the same time we see an integration of production characterised by increasingly complex patterns of ownership, vast holding companies and the vertical integration of supply chains in order to control the market.

Newer modes of employment also continue to emerge. Some would argue that atypical work has become the norm. We see moves such as outsourcing and subcontracting to casual work and flexible employees. This gives a great deal of context because new modes of employment are transparent in that they seek to devolve responsibility for the upkeep of employees away from the employer. This is done so that the primary employer can avoid some of the traditional norms of employment.

Taking all that together and this is a great generalization but broadly speaking when we look at the outcomes of collective bargaining there is limited variation of the basic conditions of employment. It seems the basic conditions set some kind of ethical floor and exerts a great deal of influence on what we see in collective agreements that come out of collective bargaining.

Of course there are exceptions but they run both up and down of the basic conditions. We see low floors and high ceilings. It's very concerning that when we looked at several hundred collective agreements we found that two thirds of them did not represent a wage to the lowest paid worker in a particular bargaining unit.

It did not represent a wage that met the estimates of what the average family would need to meet its most basic material needs. So in other words the lowest paid in the economy are not earning enough to support their households and constitute the working poor.

On the other hand, directors are remunerated in line with global corporations and businesses. We see a ratio of about 150 – 250 between the average minimum wage of the lowest paid workers and the average remuneration of a director. In other words even at a ratio of 150:1 a worker would have to work about three lifetimes to earn what a director earns in one year. That doesn't strike one as being even remotely equitable or just.

We see muted responses to social issues even on skills development which is really more of a supply side incentive to employers to engage in skills development.

We see limited concrete proposals and plans around skills development in collective agreements. We see very limited responses to HIV/AIDS in the workplace.

So clearly there are some very strong limitations on what can be achieved through collective bargaining.

On a more positive note representation is a continuous outcome of collective bargaining processes. It strikes us as an incredibly valuable one. The same for participation, these are almost to some extent ends in themselves, intangible but extremely important.

It is viewed by some as negative, the strike action and some of the atrocities that accompany strikes, but we would argue that is a critical social process and one that has a great deal of value. It has very important outcomes in the form of representation and participation.

On a slightly optimistic note perhaps over time there is a building of trust and there seems to be some evidence that this is the case. One sees it between parties that have been negotiating for a long time; a certain kind of trust seems to develop. It's not the general rule though and we would suggest that a lot of collective bargaining is still characterised by a massive lack of trust rather than the building of it.

And so we come to the question then of what place ethics has in collective bargaining?

Even at a micro level there are certain tensions because simple behaviour can be employed as a strategy. Gestures such as being polite or respectful can be used as part of a strategy. Which is perhaps first to anger your opponent and then to adopt a more conciliatory tone in order to move to a position where they may be more likely to accept your proposition. Clearly that introduces tension.

When we refer to the BCEA seeming to exert a great deal of influence in what we see in collective agreements it suggests that there is a kind of legislated ethics at work. That we displace our own idea of what is ethical and rather refer to the BCEA and say anything that remotely resembles that is ethical. The BCEA cannot possibly capture the richness and the possibilities of interaction in the workplace.

We perceive it as dangerous and in a similar way a kind of contractual ethics has emerged. If we can get it into a contract it is ethical because it has some legal reality.

There is a certain market pressure on ethics. Let us for example take the employer or the representative of the employer; because very often the person in the negotiations is not the owner or the principal of that business. They are representatives and there is a great deal of pressure on them to perform. The question is how is their performance measured? It is not measured by the fact that they allowed for decent remuneration, but rather by percentages. We think 4%, 8% - these are used as primary measures.

So for an individual to try and stand up and take a course of action or even for a single business is difficult. There is a degree of hesitation that they will be marginalizing themselves by making ethical decisions.

There is also the question of approaches to bargaining. If one looks at collective bargaining in this country there is a sense that it is viewed as a zero sum game by the parties. One party loses out if another gains. So it is always a win/lose situation.

Some would argue that it would be helpful to move to a more integrated mutual gains approach to collective bargaining. We believe that it could be an important paradigm shift. It could create a different atmosphere and perhaps different outcomes.

Representation, participation and democratic practices are ethically sound and they require a great deal of ethical leadership at many levels from shop stewards to office bearers and employers. By representing, leading and making decisions on behalf of and through others we must demonstrate or utilize an ethical framework of some kind.

On the issue of socioeconomic transformation, if the setting in this country was different and there were higher levels of service delivery, better education, less crime and so on. It would take a certain sting out of collective bargaining. There is often a sense of desperation associated with bargaining as the material conditions of people are so dire. For many South Africans this is one of the few places where some gains can be made. It is crucial that there is a transformation of the basic conditions in society to ease the burden on collective bargaining.

Conclusion

When everything is stripped away what does it mean to be a leader and a human being?

I was quite fortunate in 2002 to participate in an international human rights exchange program based at UCT. I was the media officer.

It engaged undergraduate students from Africa and America around issues of human rights and the building of leadership.

One of the activities was a trip to Robben Island. Students were taken around by Sunnyven Katrathnam who was heading up the School of Governance at the University of Durban Westville. He spent some time on the island during the 70's and 80's and told a lovely story.

Essentially, during his time there, Sunny had managed to hang on to a book which masqueraded as a Bible but was in fact the 'Complete Works of William Shakespeare'.

Also during his time there he got several people to choose a phrase from the book. A lot of those people are well known to you.

I will end off with the choice of three people.

Nelson Mandela's choice, from 'Julius Caesar':

"Towards die many times before their death, the valiant never taste of death but once. Of all the wonders that I yet have heard it seems to me most strange that men should fear seeing that death a necessary end will come when it will come".

Joe Ngabi, I think he was assassinated in 1981 outside of the country and was an ANC representative. His choice from 'King Richard II' is a little darker:

"We see the very wreck that we must suffer and unavoids is the danger now, for suffering so the cause of our wreck. Not so even through the hollow eyes of death I spy life peering but dare not say how near the tidings of our comfort is".

Lastly, the choice of Ahmed Kathrada from Henry V:

"Once more into the breach dear friends once more".

 [To Contents Page](#)

Mike Louw:

Conflict Of Interests Versus Collective Bargaining

Leaders should elaborate on those areas that we take for granted as trade unions because they perform those tasks regularly. Those underlying practices through collective bargaining are ethical practices that we must identify and pursue in order to make sure that we emerge ethically and with organizational value.

Start with what previous representatives have also touched on, the conflict of interests when it comes to collective bargaining.

Firstly, believe in collective bargaining because it gives us more power. Individually we are not going to be able to make any inroads, but collectively we are able to pool resources and power.

The fact is that management wants workers to work as hard as possible for as little as possible in order to make as much profit as possible. All that workers want is to work at a comfortable pace in comfortable conditions for as much as possible in order to live comfortably.

This inherent struggle takes place at various levels.

It could be at the company, branch or factory level. It more than likely takes place at a national and regional level, and to a greater extent we have international connections with all sorts of conglomerates that we work for.

In the case of the federation, it takes place in social dialogue institutions such as the Provincial Development Council in the Western Cape. Social transformation should be dealt with within that framework.

There is also a National cooperation with the National Economic Development and Labour Council. There are various levels in which to play a concrete and vigorous role in order to make sure that not only the members, but the class as a whole.

Those are not the only reasons we engage in collective bargaining. There are certain principles and practices that as progressive trade unions we exercise during collective bargaining. One of those is democracy, comrade Trenton (2007) has touched on it, decisions and demands are based on the majority view. An effort has to be made to find out what our members experience and what their demands are. National unions (due to structure) have an opportunity to engage at all levels in order to emerge with a set of demands that are inclusive of membership and to ensure that mandates are adhered to. This mandate can only be changed if the majority agrees and if there is a belief that there can be compromise, but only through a process of engagement and report backs to members. If that is not done the consequences could be quite significant.

The question of accountability is important both for members being accountable and loyal to the union, but also for leadership to exercise and show that accountability. They should follow the necessary routes in order to make sure that a mandate is either entrenched or whether there will be compromise.

Trenton (2007) has alluded to the fact that there is participation and representation. Through these processes, the question of empowerment for both members being informed, and for shop stewards and organisers to engage in the process is addressed. They should be empowered and adequately skilled through these processes.



Solidarity is sometimes questionable during periods of strife but it is a principle that we should be continuing to pursue and we need to be critical of the fact that it is not as entrenched as it may have been in the past. It is present at the plant level and if we look at industry level negotiations. Even between various grades of workers, there can sometimes be tension, but if managed correctly solidarity will prevail. We are able to work together. We are a union and we are united in order to make sure that everyone emerges with benefits.

Even none members share the benefits of our efforts as negotiators. Solidarity extends beyond the union as others benefits through the efforts of our collective engagement.

We should very importantly, be well prepared for accountability to the process itself as leaders and negotiators. Know the strengths of the opposition but also know your own strengths and weaknesses, personally and collectively. If you are not accountable in that way, you will not be able to reach good agreements.

During apartheid and with Wian (?) making certain recommendations that black unions should be allowed to emerge and be covered by the then apartheid LRA posed certain dilemmas. We had conflicting experiences about being involved in apartheid institutions such as the industrial councils. There was a huge debate at the time. Those who eventually went into those industrial councils can rightly argue that through collective bargaining they were able to improve not only wages but also conditions of service whether at company or industry level. Among these were parastatals such as Iscor and other big companies.

Today the challenge we have and that many have alluded to is the wage disparity between the highest and lowest paid workers. This is a big challenge for us. The gap even exists between the various categories for example between an artisan and an operator.

Poor corporate governance is another obstacle of which the Fidentia saga is an example. We suppose the biggest challenge for us is protection and improved conditions for vulnerable workers. Most of these workers are young temporary and contract workers because we certainly have not been able to ensure through our organization that we are able to make the necessary changes.

The collective bargaining arena must be used to deal with some if not all of these challenges, but as unions we need to evaluate, change, amend and adapt or discard our strategies in order to make sure that we are able to advance.

The Constitution, Chapter 2, Section 23, Sub-section 5 provides the right to collective bargaining. The Labour Relations Act, Chapter 3 regulates that right.

We need to use it correctly and diligently to derive the correct benefits for our members and for the working class as a whole.

There are three things we need to do. Three very simple things. Organize. Organize. Organize.

 [To Contents Page](#)

Jerome Fortune:

The Implementation Of A Code Of Ethics

A Code of Ethics is a leadership tool to establish and articulate values, responsibilities to have an ethical stance in an organization and with its members. The purpose of the code is to promote ethical practices and standards when negotiating for workers and it must be applicable to all members and other stakeholders in the process.



As labour and management, we have an obligation towards the stakeholders where collective bargaining and wage negotiations are concerned. Address any contravention of the code on both sides. Ideally, a checklist for ethical behaviour, for frequently asked questions and a pledge form for those involved in the bargaining and negotiation process, should be invented.

Special ethical training will ensure awareness and the optimal implementation of the ethics code by all participants. Leaders should clearly understand their roles and the reasons why workers put their trust in them. Leadership mandates should go hand in hand with special planning and initiation phases.

A leader with Ethics, Principles and Values (EPV) will always push for the implementation of the mandate given. The two key branches of moral ethics are:

- ◆ Descriptive Ethics – describing, characterizing and studying the morals of people.
- ◆ Normative Ethics – supplying and justifying a coherent moral system of thinking and judging.

Ethical leadership is about being an Ethics Officer who guides labour and management with an implementation plan for proper collective bargaining and wage negotiation.

Labour has the potential to influence any bargaining and negotiation process positively and or negatively, depending on how we approach the different stakeholders in the process. The unethical behaviour of labour workers and management can easily lead to corruption and bribery, in any bargaining or negotiation process. Leadership should undertake that we would always push for the EPV process, to promote the mandate of workers and other stakeholders in all collective bargaining and wage negotiations.

Leadership has to give guidance on day-to-day decisions and acceptable behaviour as a benchmark. Evaluate and establish a framework for our responsibilities and attitudes towards management and other stakeholders. A good code will have an effect on fostering a climate that will encourage, adherence to a constitution and other values of any organization. Our ethical conduct will assist everyone involved in bargaining and negotiations to act with good faith and integrity in all discussions and to promote the organization's mandates and not your own agenda.

The fundamental issues in being an ethical leader are to have respect, be honest, communicate and be a team player. EPV forms the basis for all the responsibilities of good leadership.

Members have to accept their responsibilities for knowing, understanding and complying with policies and guidelines of the proposed EPV project. Any conflict of interest amongst leadership should not suffice.

Stop corruption at all costs. Ethical leadership is the only way forward.

 [To Contents Page](#)

📌 Mafole Mokalobe:

Opportunities And Restraints Of ASGISA And JIPSA - The Implications For Skilled And Unskilled Workers

The opportunities and restraints of ASGISA and JIPSA and its implications for skilled and unskilled workers, for the Western Cape, will be outlined in this chapter. This section will follow a threefold path:

- 📌 Firstly, a description of the opportunities and restraints of ASGISA and JIPSA.
- 📌 Secondly, an outline of the Provincial Growth and Development Strategy.
- 📌 Thirdly, a description of the impact of ASGISA, JIPSA and the PGDS on skilled and unskilled labour.

South Africa has done an in-depth examination of its progress after ten years of democracy. This exercise highlighted the country's success and challenges, and culminated in the "Ten Year Review Report" compiled by the Presidency.

According to the report, the first decade of democracy was characterized by impressive developments which supersede the weaknesses. However, the report cautioned that if all indicators were to continue along the same trajectory, the country could soon reach a point where the negatives overwhelm the positives.

Given this observation, the report argued for a new growth and development trajectory to decisively alter the country's socioeconomic landscape. Profound emphasis was to be on accelerated shared growth and job creation to enhance the quality of life of all South Africans. As part for this desire, government devised a new trajectory to further redefine the country's development landscape.

In February 2006, Deputy-President Pumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka launched ASGISA as a far-reaching framework to set the country on a daring shared economic growth and development trajectory. Part of this initiative was to address some of the following economic constraints:

- 📌 The relative volatility of the currency, as well as to establish a measure of macro-economic stability in the country;
- 📌 Barriers to entry and competition in some sectors of the economy;
- 📌 The cost and efficiency of the national logistical systems as well as infrastructure in the country;
- 📌 The regulatory environment and the burden of all of this on particularly small business;
- 📌 The shortage of suitable skills but also disjointed spatial settlement patterns that still characterize most of our cities and provinces particularly the Western Cape;
- 📌 The deficiencies associated with State organizations and addressing the issue of whether the State has the capacity to deal with the projected trajectory;
- 📌 The issues of education and skills development need to be addressed. How do we begin to improve the quality of education in the country and the re-capitalization of the FET colleges?; and
- 📌 The need to build governance as well as State capacity in order to handle some of the initiatives, actions or objectives identified as part of ASGISA or of the new trajectory.

Subsequently, JIPSA was launched in March 2006 to prioritize critical skills and develop human resource capacity. Besides giving momentum and support to the implementation of ASGISA, JIPSA was intended to



identify blockages and obstacles in the education system. This included the need to transform the education system to respond to economic challenges and mobilizing various social partners towards the implementation of ASGISA.

The Western Cape Provincial Context

To give meaning to the country's overarching development trajectory, the province embarked on the process of developing a Provincial Growth and Development Strategy (PGDS). As a framework for shared growth and integrated development, the PGDS is heavily embedded in the objectives of both ASGISA and JIPSA. It is an instrument of change that espouses integrated coordination and convergence by mapping the provincial development outlook.

Factors Of The PGDS

The following factors underpin the PGDS: a broaden economic participation through targeted skills development; higher rates of human and infrastructure development; an effective public transport system that provides access and mobility to all the people of the province; social cohesion to bridge some of the divides that have characterised some of the communities in the province; greater spatial integration to develop public spaces; liveable human settlements; and efficient connectivity infrastructure.

Underlying these objectives are the principles of shared growth, equity, empowerment and environmental integrity. The principle of shared growth espouses the need to bring a sense of sharing where everyone can benefit from the economic growth in the province. It is intended to bridge the divide between the 1st and 2nd economy that are visible featured of the Western Cape economic environment. At the same time, equity and empowerment, which are about redressing inequalities of the past through equal opportunities, expanding people's asset base, strengthening capabilities, creating development opportunities and giving a voice to the poor to exercise control over the things that shapes their life experiences are important elements of the PGDS. All of these are underpinned by environmental integrity.

Some of the leading interventions that have been initiated in the province embedded in the PGDS are public transport, the 2010 World Cup, scarce skills, energy, water and the Cape Flats Renewal Project.

Beyond mapping the provincial shared growth and development path, the trajectory defined in the PGDS is also about cultivation a culture of tolerance and mutual respect for all the inhabitants of the Western Cape. Inherent in this objective is the vision of a Home for All of provincial government. The PGDS is also about imbuing effective governance. Part of this process is the extent to which the provincial government has the capacity to deliver on desire PGDS objectives. The reconfiguration of an institutional architecture to secure these objectives to become a reality therefore important.

In October 2006, the Cape Higher Education Consortium which composes of all the institutions of higher learning in the province, together with the Provincial Government of the Western Cape signed a memorandum of understanding to begin to respond to skills challenges identified in JIPSA.

Implications Of ASGISA, JIPSA, And The PGDS

The implementation of these initiatives represents both opportunities and challenges for skilled and unskilled workers. Naturally, emphasis on some sectors identified in ASGISA, economic growth points and the increasing complexity of the labour market are a likely to have unfavourable impact on unskilled workers. The scales are heavily tipped in favour of the promotion of skilled workers.

The worst consequence of the changing economic landscape resulting from lack of appropriate skills will be unemployment as emphasis shifts to the knowledge economy embedded in ASGISA, JIPSA and the PGDS. The lower the level of education, the greater the chance of being unemployed.

Besides the intricacies of the labour market, a shortage of skilled workers diminishes the prospects of a better life because of pronounced income inequalities. The consequences of this are wider socioeconomic imbalances between skilled and unskilled workers. Such prospects are further weakened by increasing casualization of unskilled workers who are often poorly paid and the effect is once again that the quality of life of most workers will not significantly improve. The long term implications of the shortage of skilled workers will be reduced economic growth rate and this is what JIPSA seeks to address.

The consequence of interventions proposed in ASGISA and the PGDS will naturally favour skilled workers and people with low levels of education will be at a distinct disadvantage. On the positive side, in response to these challenges JIPSA and the provincial initiative, CHEC are specific intervention to change the South African labour market landscape, by encouraging skills development opportunities across a wide spectrum of workers categories.

 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 8: HIV/AIDS In The Workplace: Identifying Ethical Best Practices

📍 Myrtle Witbooi:

The Isolation Of Domestic Workers

Good afternoon, I thought they were going to save the best for last but that doesn't seem to be the case. Anyway, I wonder if the women have noticed that we've had about 14 male speakers and only three women. So I think it's very important that as a woman I use this opportunity to make an impact and not waste our time.

As women, we tend to get a bit emotional but that won't be the case today.

Comrades, firstly I would like to say that I was going to speak on behalf of my union but was requested to mention Cosatu and their views with regard to HIV/AIDS in the workplace as well. I think that HIV/AIDS is a very sensitive subject and that as we are seated here each of us are affected whether it be in our families or otherwise. We are, either, in denial or we choose not to speak out. In my own union, we lost two senior members to AIDS last year and that is why I emphasize the importance of speaking out.

According to Cosatu and please note that this is not my opinion. They predict that by 2010 15% of the workforce will be infected and that 40-50% of the total workforce will be exposed to the HIV/AIDS factor. The working life of the average person will be reduced to 15 years within the next 10 years.

Comrades we need to appreciate the seriousness of the situation and can no longer be ignorant to the facts. We need to have workplace policies and become proactive in all spheres of society.

We've been talking about ethics and an ethical approach. This will not start with the media and healthcare professionals, but with ordinary people so it is up to us to empower ourselves to learn about AIDS.

Over the years there have been so many different programs, white papers and approaches to AIDS but how we as leaders and workers implemented these strategies and how have we empowered one another. We need to find a way to move forward and support one another.

It is the view of the unions that we should ensure adequate HIV/AIDS policies and programs in the workplace.

A committee should be established dedicated to the issue of HIV/AIDS as shop stewards are not able to handle all workplace issues.

Workers should be referred to organizations that are able to offer support if no support is forthcoming in the workplace.

It is the duty of shop stewards and members to protect workers from discrimination. Often workers don't speak out as they are afraid of losing their jobs. I feel that as South Africans we have a duty to reach out to one another.



The business sector has a big role to play by starting to prove their commitment by contributing financially, after all it's workers who are creating their wealth. So why can't businesses create better awareness programs in the workplace?

It has bothered me for quite some time that it seems current practice that when one applies for a job you are required to go for an AIDS test. But have we ever challenged the employer to go for an AIDS test? Have we ever said to the boss: "Fine, I will go for an AIDS test why don't you come with me? We just accept it."

So comrades I just want to bring across to you that we are so used to accepting what happens to us. We are so used to saying yes, it can happen to me, but what are we doing to empower ourselves. Within my own union, the situation is very delicate because domestic workers work in isolation. Domestic workers are separated from their husbands; domestic workers are separated from their children. Domestic workers don't have homes and often stay in the backyard of the employer and their husbands work away from home. They are more open to the virus and that is why within our union we are losing members all the time, we are losing leadership all the time. We can help them but they are in denial. This is the role of all unions here. This is the role of all of us here, to reach out.

I don't have much to say because I'm sure the Professor has all the facts. I want to make it clear that I'm not an expert. I don't really have answers.

I don't really know how to bring it across to you that we remain in denial. Why do we keep on saying that it cannot happen to me? Why do we do that? It could happen, right next door; it could happen to my children. We women are so scared to talk to our children about sex; we are so scared to talk to someone in the family about sex. Have you seen the advert on television where the question is asked: "Who is talking to your children about sex?" We should ask ourselves who is talking to my children? That is what is important.

And, in conclusion, I would like to say, I'm not saying that this is a comprehensive or complete response.

The question that I would like to raise is this. Is an ethical approach to HIV/AIDS enough? Is enough being done regarding the HIV/AIDS projects? Do we have enough best practices within our workplace, within our community?

Our hospitals cannot cope; our health sector is in a mess. Yesterday they were talking about crime and I was waiting for someone to make the link between crime and AIDS because as soon as I am raped that becomes my first concern. So crime and AIDS are related issues. We need to combine issues and find common ground on how to address those issues.

We are so busy focusing on the health of our Health Minister, and I do pray for her, but we forget the issue. We ignore the reality and concern ourselves with whether or not she will serve another term. But what about the issue that's still there? It did not go to hospital with her.

So, we need to ask ourselves, when we talk about best practices, workplace transformation, human dignity and human rights, what are we talking about? Yesterday I was asked a question about leadership. As leaders we take our knowledge with us when we leave. We don't empower our organizations with our knowledge, but tend to take it with us to enrich ourselves and become powerful business people. What about these people, we are leaving behind? We as leadership should adopt an ethical approach. We as leaders should start analyzing ourselves and say what am I giving back. How am I part of transformation? How am I part of empowering women to speak out?

We should challenge government to improve its response. We usually say that twelve years of democracy is not sufficient to make drastic changes and that we should be more lenient. That attitude is not acceptable.

It's about taking back the struggle for human dignity, it's about taking back the struggle for human rights, it's about taking back the struggle to erase poverty and job losses. It's about empowering you and me so that we can walk tall in the streets of South Africa and say AIDS you are not going to get us down!



[To Contents Page](#)

📍 Prof Jan Du Toit:

Collective Management Responsibilities

Good Afternoon. Myrtle, I can't agree with you more. I'm a very controversial academic so I don't have all the statistics; I just have experience on my side. I must just contextualize my background before I proceed with the presentation.

I am trained as an Industrial Psychologist in the field of Human Resource Management and Advertising, which I did for most of my life. Today I manage a unit at the University of Stellenbosch which is called the African Centre for HIV/AIDS Management. Have any of you heard of this institute?

We run the world's largest program in HIV/AIDS management training for people in the workplace. I've got 600 post graduate students this year. We offer two courses: a Postgraduate Diploma and a Master Degree. I want to contextualize why I'm telling you this. When you think of the University of Stellenbosch, you think of its history, you think of its legacy. I've got a Postgraduate Diploma with 330 students on this program; these people are all in the workplace.

We've been running this program since 2001 and it was started at the request of our President, strangely enough, who phoned me and asked if we could develop a program because it's very clearly needed in this field.

Originally, when HIV/AIDS came to the fore scientists were the first to know about the virus, in the United States a battle ensued between France and the US for five years as to who would claim credit for discovering the virus. In the meantime people were dying. There was a strategy too in the US at the time, which sought to blame the gay population. That was a deliberate move. It was not true that that population had the highest prevalence. HIV/AIDS celebrated its 25th birthday last year.

Professor Perry who is here with me is from America and he can testify to the fact that they knew about this from the late 70's or late 60's actually, early 70's.

So HIV/AIDS has had a controversial start. And the unfortunate thing, and this is what our President said, is that HIV/AIDS has become a medical issue and the people who are on the bigger scale of things managing it are medical doctors. Doctors are actually trained to diagnose and to treat people, they are not project managers. And that, is where we had to be creative and come up with a program which is the program we are running today.

It's a very effective program. We've trained about 1700 people over the last six years and they directly impact, these students of ours, on about 9 million people on a daily basis. This is a massive program.

I can't agree with you more about the Minister of Health. So much emphasis was placed on her HIV/AIDS response, she did so many other wonderful things but we don't get to hear about that. But in HIV/AIDS what we do need is people who have the courage to talk about it in the first place.

And I always say if people want to know anything about HIV/AIDS they can come to us in Stellenbosch. I've got about 35 000 assignments of students because this program is internet based.

Unfortunately, in the six years we've been running this program we've only had two people from trade unions that have joined the program for some or other reason. I would've loved to have more of them because we developed this program with the ILO, the International Labour Office, with the World Health Organization and with UN AIDS. We've got very good partners on board which include the backing of the President of the



country. The trade unions have not been very vocal in being part of our program. I've tried many times and I want to ask if there's anyone in this room that represents the agricultural sector because those are the people that we really want on our side and I'll just share with you why.

We run an academic program as a unit but we have two other projects that we are involved in. We have a mobile unit on community mobilization because my personal view is that you can not talk HIV/AIDS in the workplace only. You have to talk HIV/AIDS in terms of the communities where the workers come from. And you have to take the organizations to task that run corporate social investment programs because quite often you find they don't do anything to the families of the workers, only to the workers themselves. Now I've got many examples that I can keep you busy with for a very long time if you would like to know how many companies are not co-operating. But we've identified something that we would like to share with you.

I had a student who did his Master's Degree with me and he did it in the township in Stellenbosch, Khayamandi. At the time he worked for the municipality of Stellenbosch and he was responsible for the mother to child transmission program for the clinics and the out-clinics in Stellenbosch. That means that he represent the farm workers in Klapmuts, Cloeteville, Idas Valley and Jamestown. He shared the following with me.

At a particular clinic in Klapmuts there was a period in November/December of 2004 where 5 out of 6 coloured women from farms was HIV positive. The sad thing is that not one of them knew what it was. This is dangerous information I'm giving you now.

Where is all the money going to for the so-called awareness? Who are the decision makers that are deciding how funding should be allocated?

We did a survey on many of the farms around Stellenbosch and found that the literacy level of people on these farms is at approximately 30%. Research was done and we collected all the pamphlets we could lay our hands on about HIV/AIDS.

We collected 35 824 of these pamphlets of which two were in Afrikaans. Now when you talk farm workers, when you talk about the Boland area the language is Afrikaans. The literacy level is 30% so of what value are pamphlets and posters that are put up in clinics? It means absolutely nothing. So what does one do?

What do you do to get information across so that people you see walking on the side of the road know? So we devised a strategy.

I don't know how many of you have been on farms over weekends so that you would have some idea of what happens there? Besides the alcohol abuse and the smoking of dagga they also do other things such as making music. So we have developed a unit which is what Professor Perry is running where we use musicals to get the HIV/AIDS message across to farm workers. We've been doing this for 18 months and we've tested it. It's a model that works very well.

But last week we went to Bonnievale to perform at a cheese factory and while we were there a woman from the Department of Health in Montagu approached us. What do you think the average age is of people in the Montagu / Ashton area who make their sexual debut? It's at the age of nine. The average sexual debut is at the age of nine. The youngest person on anti-retrovirals is 11 years old. In one year the incidence in that Breede River Valley has jumped from 3% to 9%. Is there anybody from Stellenbosch in the room? Stellenbosch in the Western Cape is the hotspot of new infections. The incidence has jumped in one year from 7 to 17% and it's all in the areas where people are not literate. This is the sad thing and it's also where the picture becomes skewed.

Maybe you heard the news not long ago when the Minister of Education launched the program for higher education on HIV/AIDS and it was said that students on all campuses in South Africa, that includes universities and former technikons, is about 60%.

And I would like to say that the workplace is not at 15% it already lies at 23% and many places of work do not even acknowledge its existence and I will tell you the reason for this.

Anybody here from Botswana before I step on people's toes? I usually step on people's toes. Who do you work for? (Response) Okay. We were called in 2004 to Debswana, De Beers of Botswana. That is the world's largest mining company. Now this is an open cast mine. I don't know if you've seen pictures of these mines but to me it was quite an experience. Those trucks are driven down into the mine and the wheels are approximately 5m in diameter. Those are massive trucks. The incidence of HIV/AIDS amongst those truck drivers is 79%, these are critical workers in that organization.

We went to different mines where we spoke to people and after the first day I really felt that we were wasting our time. On the last day we ended up with the top management of this mine group and we were presented with the attitude that many people have in industry. One of the members of the management team is from Scotland and he said: "You know we've got a lot of money. Just tell us how much it is going to cost and we'll give you the money." This is very dangerous because if top management is not involved in a program like this then you have a problem.

I always say that if you want to talk HIV/AIDS people need to have certain competencies. Clem Sunter always says that if you go to a company and they say to you that HIV/AIDS is the responsibility of the Human Resource Department you should know that it's a disaster because it needs to be in the boardroom. These statements in a company should come from the CEO and not the workers at the bottom.

And there Myrtle was so right. If there is testing (VCT) in any organization the first person to be tested should be the Managing Director in order to make a statement.

We recently had our drama group perform at the Premier's Office in the Western Cape and not one person from the top structure was present, not one. And I said that we are doing this for the wrong people; we are doing it for the people who already know a lot and who also know their status.

You need certain competencies and you can read this for yourselves, you need business competencies because HIV/AIDS is a variable, it's a risk in any organization.

I always say when you get to farm workers and the farmer has a tractor driver who is illiterate you can imagine how long it took that person to get that licence. So he becomes a very critical worker for that farm owner and if he goes it's a very critical worker that that farmer has lost. So you have to manage these things and our whole program is based on strategic Human Resource Management because that is how it should be.

So you need somebody who has business competencies, professional and technical knowledge around HIV/AIDS in other words they need to know about the virus and the ability to manage change as that is a big problem within our context.

I've heard the word transformation and all these issues have an impact. I also sometimes doubt if people know what they mean. You also need to be able to integrate all this information into a comprehensive whole.

Now if one talks HIV/AIDS in the workplace you need a policy, as Myrtle said, you need leadership and you need interventions. These are the three main things. I've got very limited time so those are the main points that I would like to emphasize.

The danger with a policy is that many organizations have policies but very few of these policies actually work. But, at least if an organization has a policy, if you can force them to formulate a policy, it means there has to be some commitment.

I understand that there are many people from the trade unions in the audience. Are you aware that if a company gives a worker anti-retrovirals the worker has to pay tax on that? It is considered a fringe benefit. This is SARS policy. So if I am HIV positive and my university pays for me to go on treatment I have to pay income tax on that. We have to fight this because this is a major issue.

If you think in terms of policy, I'm sure that you're able to read, many policies are of course not policies that have been negotiated with all stakeholders. There is a very good example of an organization that won the Business Coalition Worldwide Award for the best HIV/AIDS response. It's a coal mine in South Africa and I couldn't understand this because I knew that a year ago they did not have any policy whatsoever. So I

phoned one of the people there whom I know very well. He said that they got a consultant who did everything for them and it cost them R3 million. That shows that there is no commitment. You cannot develop a policy within a year if you have a big organization and you involve all stakeholders. So you need to have some sort of policy as I have said.

You have to take people's rights into consideration. I have many examples of unfortunate things that happen in organizations with workers. For instance, I don't know if you are aware that before a person can go onto anti-retroviral treatment they have to have six consultations with a doctor. This is of course government's program. Now if you are a farm worker which farm owner is going to give you six days off without you telling them why? Even at Debswana in Botswana where they have one of the world's good practices, I never use the word best practices. I talk about good practices. I don't think there's a best practice. Even at Debswana you find the workers don't reveal their status because as soon as those truck drivers tell people that they are HIV positive they are put into office jobs because management perceive them as a risk. They might make a mistake or have an accident or something along those lines.

So you have a policy that's also open enough for people to feel comfortable within the working environment.

Stigma. Myrtle was talking about it and on our program, which is internet based, we have a discussion board. Daily I get up to 50 – 60 messages from students who have questions and we answer them but they also answer each other. There's huge controversy at the moment concerning a domestic worker. She works for a family where the child has now become HIV positive and both the parents are negative and the child is three years old. Now they are claiming it is because the domestic worker was using the child's toothbrush. This is open for debate but it can happen there might have been blood or so forth. This becomes an issue as to how one must treat workers. Stigma is a major issue.

I've got one person who teaches on the program, Kevin Osbourne, and Kevin has been HIV positive since 1986. He's on no treatment whatsoever. He came to our summer school where all our students get together. He was teaching as I am standing here and out of the blue he said: "Oh, I've been HIV positive for 20 years". And for five minutes he couldn't teach and then he said to the class: "And now you look at me differently. Just because you know, all of a sudden you are quiet". The whole atmosphere had changed.

When one becomes infected through a blood transfusion people tend to say "poor you" but when you become infected as a result of sexual intercourse they say "it serves you right".

These are sad realities because of stigma and we see that in our work when we go to farms where we go to uneducated people. In Wupperthal on the West Coast, a doctor tells us that he is only able to see patients at night. They sneak into the building so that other people don't see them. Why? Because people are not sufficiently educated about HIV/AIDS.

HIV/AIDS. That's just a fact. Never, because the virus is a retro-virus which means it enters your cell and becomes part of your DNA. So there is no vaccine other than a human vaccine. The trials for a vaccine that they are having are just to stop the virus from entering the cell. That is what they are attempting to do but there will never be a cure. This is what people should know and there are many who don't. For instance, I like doing this but I know that people don't like hearing it. If you have been away from your house since Sunday you fall into the high risk category. You've not been sleeping at home. Anglo-American did a study for instance within the workforce. They found the highest incidence of new infections is within the middle to senior management level. Those people who sleep in different hotels every night and who don't sleep at home. It's not underground with the mine workers and this is the point. One must hit closer to home.

We had a very interesting experience and I will share this with you. We also run a leadership academy from our centre for the municipalities in conjunction with the Department of Social Welfare in the Western Cape. Our drama group performed for them and we usually have an intervention afterwards where people have the opportunity to ask lot of questions. There were two ministers of religion who really challenging us on the play, not promoting abstinence. We have to talk about abstinence and we spend too much time talking about condoms. I remember Professor Perry telling them that we have to give people a choice so that they know. This discussion went on for half an hour and I have quite a short temper so I suggested that we change the topic.

The next morning at our business school when I had to teach the same group, a man came to tell me that the previous evening they were searching for one of the women in the group, when they went to one of the rooms they found one of the ministers of religion in bed with that woman without a condom. This was the same man who was preaching abstinence and morality. I wondered how I could incorporate this into the class, the fact that I knew about the events of the previous evening. Eventually I said that one can do whatever one wants to but one never knows what happens behind closed doors.

When we look at policies stigma is the major issue that should be addressed and that can only be done if people have a very clear knowledge of issues relating to HIV/AIDS.

You need a sound policy and you need codes. I don't know if you are aware that even in the days of apartheid we were the world leaders when it came to creating good policies but we are the world's worst when it comes to implementing them. That is just a fact, you can go to any organization and you will find wonderful policies, and when you ask who is running the policy, the answer is that they really don't know but there is a policy in place.

This is what people quoted at organizations where we did studies.

“The policy is there in name only. It is there but nobody bothers to read it or use it and it is not enforced. So it is like the policy is not really there.”

This happens in the working environment.

Involve all stakeholders when you develop a policy for the implementation, the monitoring and the evaluation of these policies. Ensure that they are implemented and this is where all the trade unions must play a major role. Trade unions should become involved in the development of these policies because they must protect their workers.

Again very good communication is necessary and all these aspects should be monitored and tested. Never think a policy must be developed and put on the shelf, it has to be checked on a yearly basis.

The “GIPLA” principle is “greater involvement of people living with AIDS”. This is an international organization that has guidelines on how to involve people. I always say that I cannot talk on behalf of people living with AIDS, an HIV positive person should play that role so that people can understand how it impacts on a person's life on a daily basis.

Non-discrimination is a key word here. Gender issues are a major concern. Interestingly enough in the field that we are in there is an organization called ProCare that about 9 million people belong to, so we get e-mails from them everyday. They recently discovered that there are men who test negative but they are able to infect women. This virus has something else that it does, it hides in the testicles of men and tests are not able to pick it up.

Now the gender issue in relation to HIV/AIDS is becoming a major obstacle, as the virus will always affect women more than men. Now the world has to approach gender issues differently.

There are many new discoveries made on a daily basis. Human rights and legal issues are becoming increasingly important. I don't know if you are aware that a person can be HIV positive, a man can be HIV positive, but can actually produce children that are not infected, if one has the money. What they do is that they separate the semen and the fruit from each other and then perform artificial insemination. Christo Greyling (was infected through a blood transfusion) is a Dutch Reformed minister and has two perfectly healthy children.

Any policy should have prevention programs in place and I find it very strange even our government's new plan is very much based on treatment and AIDS orphans. This makes me very angry. I want to scream when I hear the words AIDS orphans; must we first get people sick? Why is more money not spent on educating people and making them aware? But there are considerable amounts of money available for treatment at this point in time. Even in South Africa you find that the big USAID, a big funding organization, is prioritizing treatment this year so one must first get sick before one is able to access money.

Management does not get involved in issues of AIDS, it is like AIDS is for others and not for them.

Leadership, we are here at a conference addressing the issues relating to leadership. I also said when Gordon was interviewing me that I'm not sure what ethical leadership is. It's a difficult concept. The reality is that people must just exercise more responsible leadership. That is a critical requirement because then other things will fall into place.

As soon as you use big words people try and find definitions for them and I always say that when one has to find a definition there is a problem with the concept.

Involve leadership directly at all levels. People always underestimate what uneducated people know and one must really capitalize on people that have experience. I call that the "university of life". It is very important to involve leadership directly at all levels.

One very big organization, I'm not sure if there are any representatives here from the mineworkers union? Has any one worked for or with the Goldfields group? They are one of the best examples in South Africa in terms of their HIV/AIDS response, and very simply it's because the CEO of this company in 1984 realised that HIV/AIDS is going to impact on the price of an ounce of gold.

They developed a strategy and for a while they could not get the trade unions on board but went ahead without the backing of organized labour. They ran a program for 10 years before they had a policy. The person who was driving the HIV/AIDS policy and who's also the Chairperson of the HIV/AIDS committee was the CEO of the company. You see it is a boardroom issue and they implemented HIV/AIDS responses in every sphere. If an employee went on holiday after a year's work and he came back he had to undergo a week of HIV/AIDS training again. They brought down the rate of new infections in that organization from something like 9% to 2%. So it can be done if management is on your side.

I said provide HIV/AIDS training for leadership. One quite often encounters the following situation. Last year our educational theatre group was invited to the Klein Karoo Kunste Fees and when we got there, I was quite angry because they invited us to perform, but placed us in the township. I said, these are the wrong people we are performing for; we need to perform for all those white Afrikaans people because they are the ones who are ignorant.

So you need to provide HIV/AIDS training for your leadership and that is where we as an organization become important. When a company asks me to do a presentation I always start in the boardroom. I'm not interested in the workers as they have a greater level of awareness.

I was thinking, Myrtle, of what you said earlier about sex education. It's a big problem if we don't want to talk about it. Yesterday Professor Perry was asked to be on a community radio station and they asked him not to mention the words "sex" or "condoms". We were on a radio station last year December before our World AIDS Day function. It was a Christian radio station and once again we were asked not to talk about sex. How can you talk about AIDS and not talk about sex? We have to do this. It doesn't fall out of the air. You know sometimes when people say that they don't know how they became infected my usual response is: "Maybe it was the wind".

Lesotho has just passed some very important legislation. They are starting a register where they are going to trace where people became infected. This is something that I have felt for a long time is of vital importance.

One person who was a big "spreader" of the disease in Canada worked for the Canadian national airline. He became infected in Uganda and then proceeded to infect 4 500 people directly or indirectly.

But coming back to the point of providing HIV/AIDS training for leadership, I think it belongs in the boardroom and that is where you should talk about it. Include people living with AIDS in positions of leadership that is what greater involvement of people living with AIDS means.

Going back to what Myrtle said previously is that leaders should become role models. Look at what happened in Parliament years ago when it was said Parliamentarians should go for testing. I think two people went for testing, Patricia de Lille and the Minister of Education at that time, Kader Asmal. Only two,

other people stayed away. Why they stayed away remains a mystery because your status is not revealed but the fact that you set an example is very important. The success we are having with our community mobilization is because a big part of our educational theatre program is to get people tested. The whole play encourages people to get tested and be aware of their status and our success rate in the workplace is about 67% of people that see the play go for testing.

There is a company in the Franschoek area called Wonderland.

They make all the Woolworths pre-packed foods for those of us who can afford to buy Woolworths' food. We did 7 or 8 performances and many people got tested but only 7 out of 800 people tested positive. Now this is a very isolated area, Pniel, Kylemore, Stellenbosch and Franschoek. The company felt that they had done enough. I said to them that their work was only beginning and that they should try to keep it that way so that the children of the employees also show such good results when they are tested in 10 years or so. The company felt that it was not their responsibility. I differ in that regard. Leaders should be role models.

Prevention programs in organizations, a wellness officer should run the program.

Again comprehensive education and awareness training is very important.

Target staff at all levels; the big companies are the worst when it comes to HIV/AIDS. They have all these wonderful policies and invest money in the programs, but when you see the training, one is able to see that a consultant did all the work. Earlier I heard someone complaining about training, well, I can tell you that in the field of HIV/AIDS it's worst because everyone becomes a consultant and they do terrible work.

If you want to counsel somebody on HIV/AIDS, the law states that there should be pre and post counselling. I'm a clinical psychologist by trade. It took me eight years to get a piece of paper from the Medical Council that proves that I am able to do counselling. Now you take someone off the streets and three hours later they are counselling someone on HIV/AIDS.

This is problematic because what if this person is HIV positive.

They cannot handle the psychological trauma that accompanies that. One needs a lot of training.

Move beyond information and condom distribution. Quite often, when we ask a company what their HIV/AIDS policy is, they say that they distribute condoms. That is not an HIV/AIDS response.

I phoned a company and tried to speak to a member of management at the SABC. I was told that the person was busy with strategic planning and I then replied and asked when they would actually be doing work? Management is like that in many cases when it comes to HIV/AIDS they are always busy with some strategic plan.

Involve people living with AIDS in planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of HIV/AIDS prevention programs.

Gender attitudes should be challenged. In the Portnet Group here in Cape Town one of my students Doreen Zinto, runs a program. She has no power whatsoever, nothing. She always has to go and beg some man for money. I think these things should be addressed as well.

Voluntary counselling and testing should not be done once a year before World AIDS Day, it should always be available. What many companies quite often do is to say that employees should go to their local clinic. Now who of you have seen the film "Yesterday"? You saw what happened to "Yesterday", how many times she had to walk to the local clinic and then ended up as No. 201 in the queue. This is what happens.

A company cannot ask for an intervention and then tell us to come back for testing the next day. People won't do it the next day it has to be done immediately.

I say once again that people living with AIDS are critical people and must be included in any program. You find that people living with AIDS who are part of an organization keep quiet and don't disclose because of

stigma. I can take you to many farms where people have found out that someone is HIV positive and that person was then fired.

We went to one of the biggest plum exporters in South Africa to ask if we can come and have an intervention on their farm. He has 79 families. He said that he did not want any intervention on his farm because the sooner his workers die the better so that he can get them off his farm. One finds that this is the attitude of many people. I'm not saying all farm owners are like that. There are even organizations that say that perhaps that is the only way to get rid of certain people. It's very sad. People with AIDS are inclined to close up and not talk to anybody.

You can have certain treatment care and support programs. It is the responsibility of any organization to have a treatment, care and support program. I don't know if you are aware of the fact that companies listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange have to report in terms of what money they invest into care and support.

Again, what many of the organizations do is that they contact the health and wellness organizations to do these programs for them. Last year we were asked to do an intervention for the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry in the Western Cape. With a lot of effort, we arrived at the venue and there was nobody there. They had rented the hotel, organized for breakfast, tea and lunch, but there was nobody there except the seven of us. Eventually people realised that there was an event happening and arrived at about 12'o clock. Can you imagine all the money that was wasted? The people had not been informed about the event and it does not form part of a program. It was just decided to do something before the 31st of March, because the new financial year starts on the 1st of April, and they haven't spent the allocated budget. This comes out of the pockets of taxpayers.

"They are nice to you but they keep their distance. You don't really have many friends."

This is what HIV positive people say in organizations.

I think it's important to develop a support group in any organization so that people can be at ease with who they are, where they work and know that they have the support of management.

We run a very successful unit and bring in a lot of money for the university from government subsidies. It is still quite difficult to do our work. People are not really interested in finding out what it is we do.

The point is that it's hard to find people who are committed because as Myrtle was saying earlier, more than 80% of people are directly affected by HIV/AIDS. This is not only through distant relatives, but even by colleagues in their workplace. The world has never been faced with a problem of this magnitude.

Capacity building is critical and I always say that you start with the leadership, because they are the ones that are able to effect change, but unfortunately, one is hardly ever able to get access to them. The South African National AIDS Council of which I am a member last met in 2001, it's now 2007. This is the major body supposed to manage HIV/AIDS in this country.

The Deputy President has now taken over the running of this body so we wait, with bated breath, to see whether the change will yield any results. They did not even inform our organization that we are no longer a member of the council.

Training is crucial in any organization. Even if one does financial training, it is important that you have certain sections that deal with HIV/AIDS. You have a captive audience.

There are nine aspects of legislation protecting South Africans, who are living with HIV/AIDS. In that respect, our country is very progressive but the implementation is sorely lacking.

Awareness training and stigma are very important.

These are just some of the issues that I have highlighted.

 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 9: The Opportunities And Restraints Of ASGISA And JIPSA - The Implications For Skilled And Unskilled Workers

⑥ Flip Buys

Most ailing organizations have developed a functional blindness to their own defects. They are not suffering because they cannot resolve their problems but because they cannot see their problems

(John Gardener)



Gardener's argument is true for countries like South Africa who for a long time did not see the growing problem of a lack of skills and the need for training.

Bob Gerrard argued the rationale for training:

"For organizations, and countries I assume, to survive and grow their rate of learning has to be equal to or greater than the rate of change in their environment".

The biweekly Bible of capitalism, The Economist Supplement, with regards to technology, unions and related matters, speaks about "the revenge of Karl Marx" and we think this is an important lesson for trade unions: "The means of production in the form of computer and other technology are now in the hands of the workers and they must be able to use it". That is why we deem training and development as important.

Figure 1

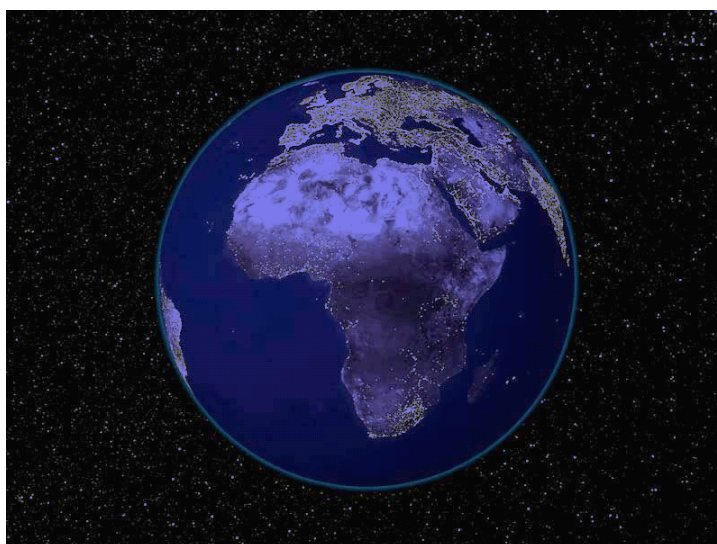


Figure 1 is the Earth as seen from space and what you see at the top is Europe and the degree to which it has been developed. One does not see much development on most of the African continent.

Figure 2

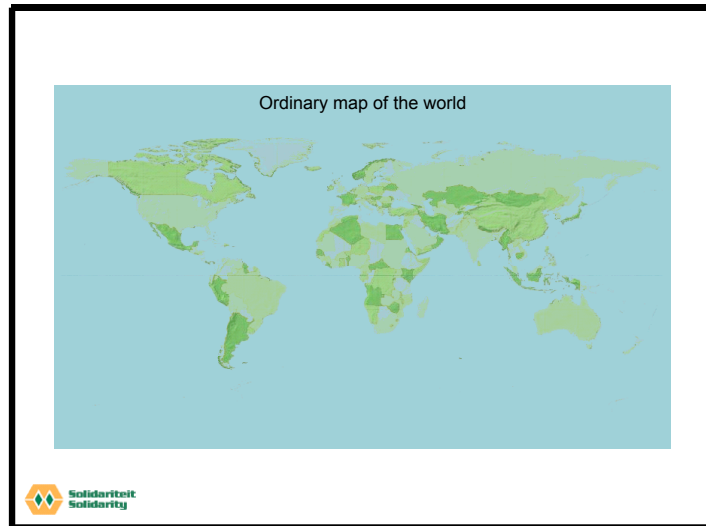


Figure 2 represents an ordinary map of the world as we see it today, especially from a Western perspective because I believe Africa must be on top.

Figure 3

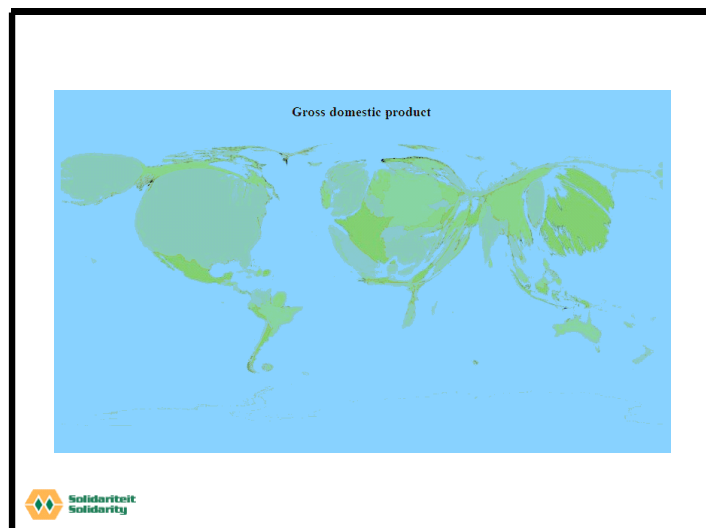


Figure 3 illustrates the world according to the gross domestic product of every country and the size of their economy. The fact that Africa is not visible on this map is part of our crisis. You can see the giants: the United States, Germany, France, Britain, Japan and China starting to expand but a very small part of that is attributed to Africa.

Figure 4

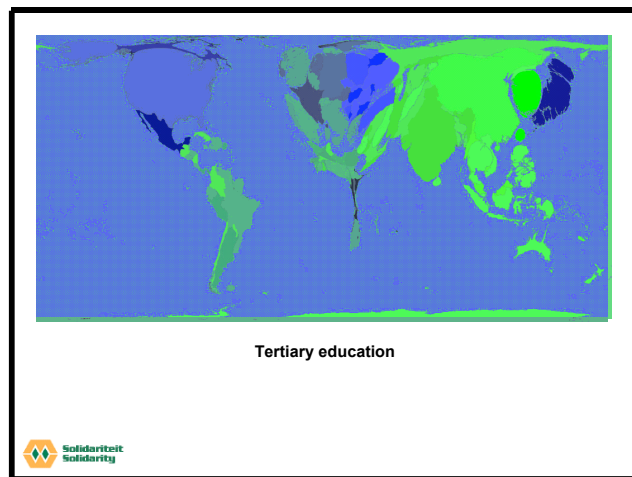
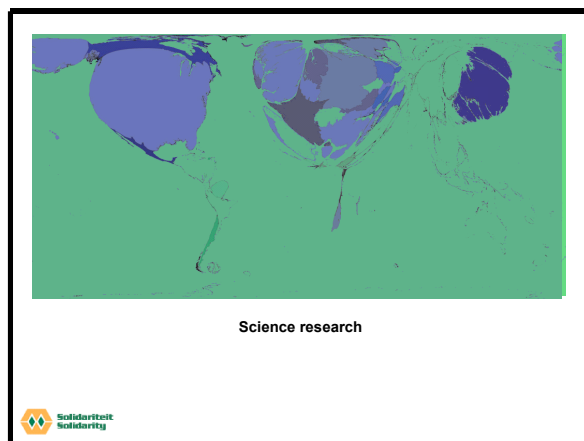


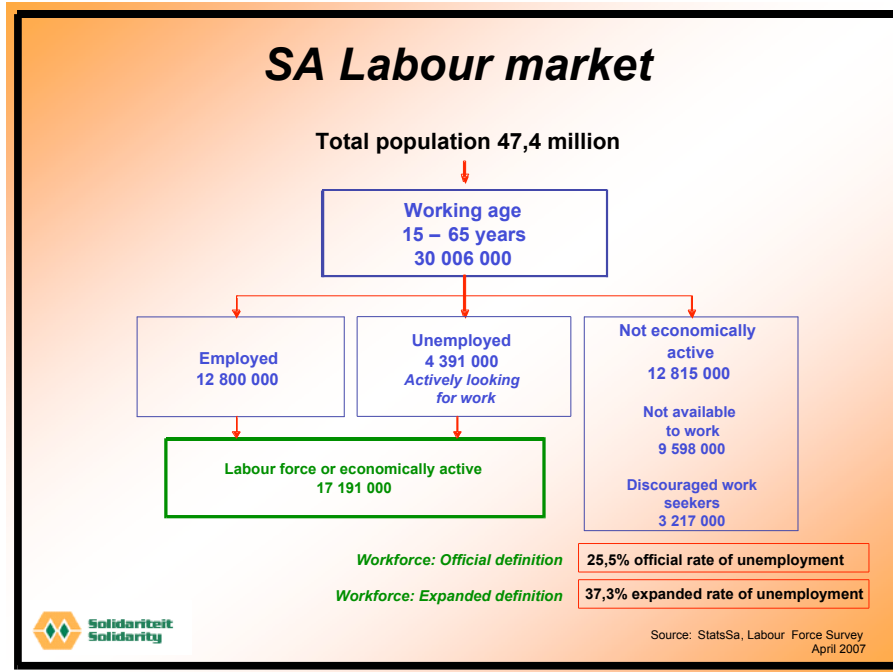
Figure 4 is a map of the world comparing levels of tertiary education. In my view there is a definite link between levels of tertiary and other education and levels of economic development of the people. China for instance has more universities in one province than we have in the whole of Africa. This image indicates the levels of scientific research in Africa which is once again quite low.

Figure 5



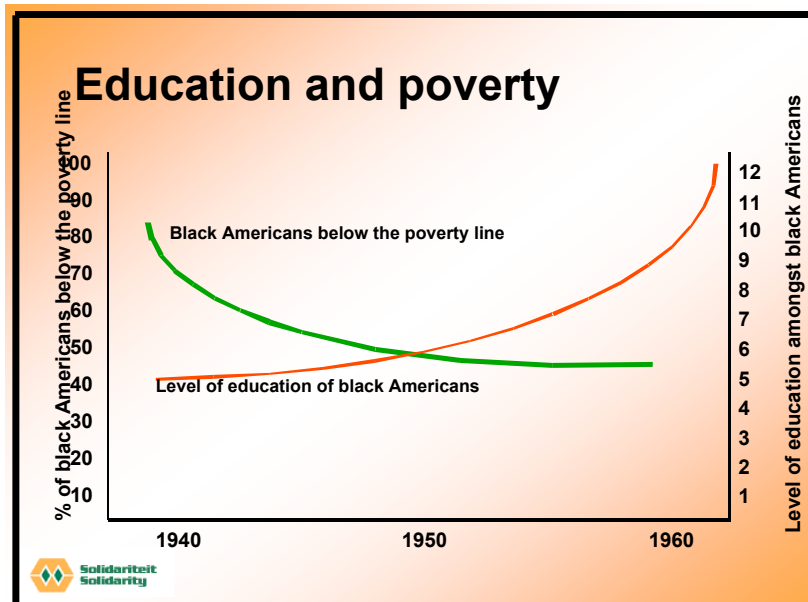
Now that we have a broad overview, if we look at South Africa (Figure 5) we know that compared to the rest of the world the economy and skills base of Africa is limited.

Figure 6



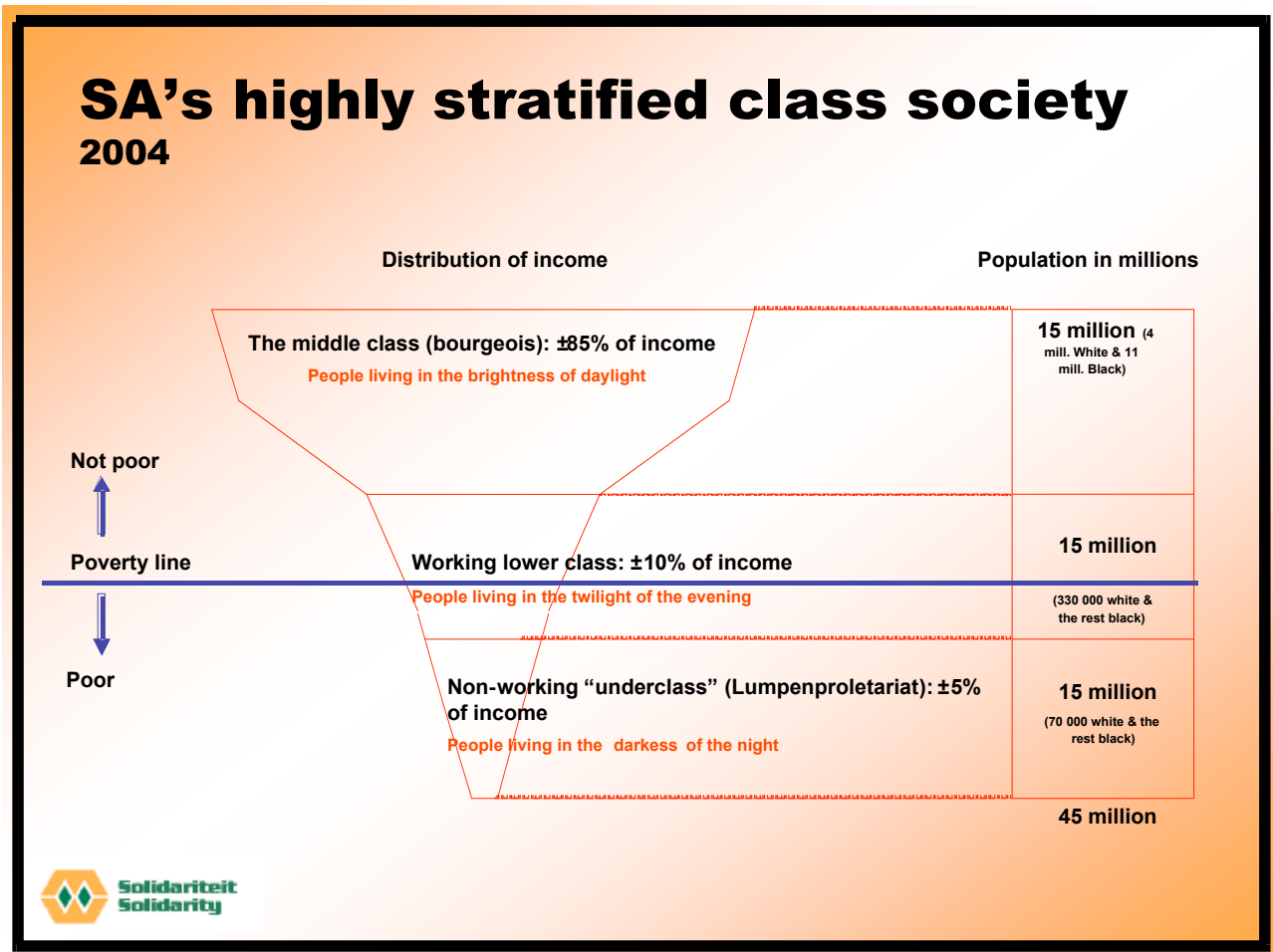
- ◆ If you look at South Africa (in Figure 6) with a population of roughly 47.4 million, the number of people who are of a working age which is between 15 and 65 is about 30 million.
- ◆ Those who are employed 12 million, those who are unemployed according to the strict definition approximately 4 million.
- ◆ Those who are not economically active about 12 million but when one includes discouraged job seekers total unemployment equals almost 40%. According to the official definition its 25%.

Figure 7



As we can see in Figure 7, we have a big crisis in South Africa. This graph (Figure 7) depicts the situation in the United States, if one looks at the period between 1940 -1960 one sees a direct link between the levels of education of black Americans and their wealth or their poverty. The fight against poverty is also the fight for good education and training.

Figure 8



Many of us will be familiar with the graph (Figure 8) of Professor Sampie Terreblanche depicting the highly stratified class society of South Africa. He classifies South African society as follows:

- ◆ Approximately 15 million people who constitute the middle class;
- ◆ 15 million people who constitute the working lower class; and
- ◆ And the non-working class or the proletariat the other 15 million

The top level gets about 85% of the income, the working lower class about 10% and the economically lowest 15 million people about 5%.

The skills paradox in South Africa is as follows:

- ◆ We have the right policies such as the Skills Development Act;
- ◆ We have the money which is the millions allocated to the SETA's;
- ◆ The demand for skills, according to Mr. Manuel there are a million vacancies in South Africa;
- ◆ The availability of people due to large scale unemployment; and
- ◆ The facilities such as the FET colleges and parastatals etc.

In the words of our Deputy-President the potential fatal constraint in the vision of government and everyone else to decrease levels of poverty is the lack of training. Here follows ten very short statements about the lack of skills and training:

- ◆ South Africa has an employability crisis and not only an unemployment crisis. Many economists agree that about 6% employment growth is possible if we have enough skills. By skills I mean the quantity and quality of skilled people in South Africa and for that we must overcome the legacy of the

past with regard to the schooling system but we must also address the management and other problems at other training organizations.

- ◆ Strategic mistakes in the education and training system, one of which is when the skills levy was introduced many companies abdicated their training responsibility to the State. Companies often refer to unions that strike but the largest strike in South Africa is the unwillingness of large employers to train their staff. Perhaps we should lock them out. Another strategic problem was the quick transformation of the artisan system to a learnership system and there was a time lag between the two.
- ◆ The definition of transformation is too narrow. Transformation should also focus on the quality of service. I would like to quote Mr. Sidney Mufamadi, Minister of Local and Provincial Government in 2005, who said: “60% of municipalities perform 50% or less of their constitutionally mandated functions because of a lack of skills”. Here are two examples.
 - ⑥ Out of 231 municipalities more than a third do not have civil engineers or technicians. There are more than a thousand vacancies for civil engineers in municipalities.
 - ⑥ More than 50% of internationally qualified South African welders who qualified in 2005 are now abroad.
- ◆ ASGISA and JIPSA must be welcomed as it creates a sense of urgency amongst all role players.
- ◆ Government strategies will fail without skills. The two biggest strategies are export led growth with a 6% growth target which requires skills. Secondly, the developmental state strategy which seeks to deliver critical services for examples in municipalities and everywhere else requires skills. We cannot live with a 40% vacancy rate for skilled people in the municipalities.

We propose three strategies: 1. Retain current skills; 2. Train new skills; and 3. Re-migration – Examples are the ABC programmes of Singapore and the programmes aimed at American born Chinese which helped to develop Singapore, Taiwan and China. We must get our trained people back. We must address the quality and quantity of training. It doesn't help to train the unemployed only to be higher skilled unemployed. We must focus on skills not only to fill jobs but to create jobs. This is an understatement but there is not enough emphasis on skills that create jobs. We must streamline the SETA system. In the past one trained an apprentice and registered. It has become such a protracted process. State business and labour must deliver.

Let us reflect on the strategy at Solidarity with regards to service delivery (refer to Figure 9 - next page).

We have identified five life stages: Children; Young people; Job seekers; Employees; and Retired people.

We focus on a specific bundle of services for each category:

- ◆ Children - Involves emergency aid which includes feeding projects at primary schools
- ◆ Young people - We focus on bursaries and training
- ◆ Job Seekers – The focus is on job provision
- ◆ Employees – The core business of unions which is collective bargaining
- ◆ Retired people – Also the provision of emergency aid

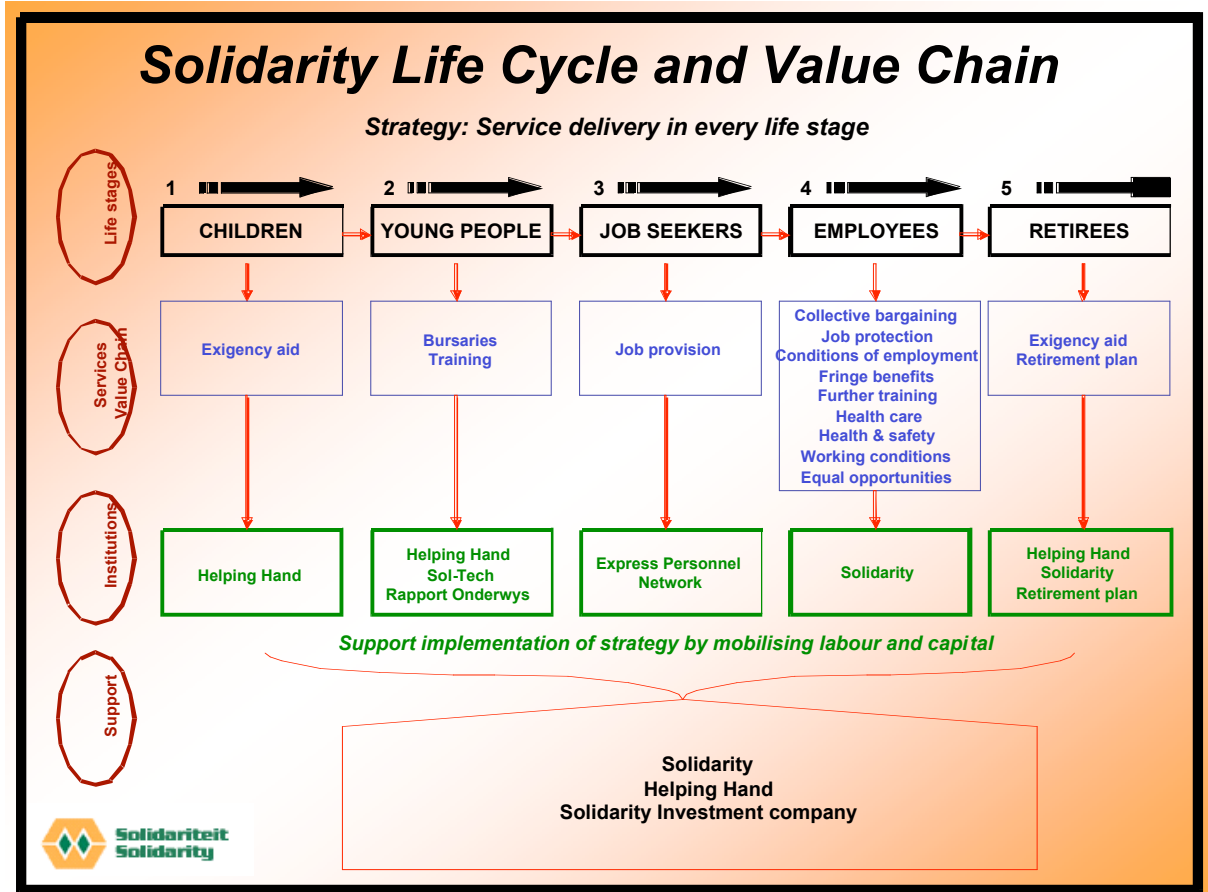
The institutions that provide these services are as follows:

- ◆ For children - We have established the Helping Hands Fund which is funded by voluntary contributions from union members
- ◆ With young people - We focus on bursaries and training with the Rapport Onderwys Fonds. We have about 60 - 70 bursary holders at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology. We have also established our own college call Soltech.
- ◆ For job seekers - We are involved in a network of job placement agencies
- ◆ The employees - Of course involve the services rendered by the union itself

We support the implementation of this strategy by not only mobilizing labour but the capital of labour and we do that through the union itself, our investment company and our Helping Hands Fund.

Lastly, we aim to establish a training centre in the Western Cape within the next six months which will also focus on the training of technical people. At the moment we have 504 people and more than half of them are people of colour and we hope to expand our training efforts by opening more training centres.

We should also hold large companies accountable for improving their training so that we can change the status quo and together light up Africa



[To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 10: Ethical Leadership In The World Of Work Workshops

Worcester Labour Workshop

The Worcester Labour Workshop was held on 26 May in Worcester. The participants were the Young Leaders Workers Campaign of COSATU and Young Delinquents from a local computer school. Dr Le Bruyns facilitated the proceedings of the day. The workshop focused on the question of ethics, leadership and how it relates to the world of work. The general theme of the workshop was The World of Work, the World of Ethics. The world of work was defined as a fundamental dimension of human life; a critical arena in which the integrity of human life is both affirmed and compromised; and the labour movement as a strategic role-player for the humanization of the world of work.



The question: What do we mean by ethical leadership? was related to the ELP's distinctive contribution to realizing the vision of a morally transformed society was through ethical leadership – “to empower a critical number of leaders at all levels of society with knowledge, skills and values to foster moral transformation”.

The exercise, Puzzling cultures helped to illustrate the existence of cultural differences and the mutual respect it requires from different people or sectors. The next question: How do our contexts influence labour

and leadership? engaged participants in a story wall exercise which was meaningful, insightful and thought-provoking for understanding ethical leadership and life in the nation, COSATU/Union, and personally. The workshop introduced the ethical framework – solving ethical challenges with the key question: What ethical challenges are we encountering in our places of work and how do we approach these situations responsibly? based on Ethical Decision-Making (by Tödt).

To apply these lenses to real-life scenarios within the world of work settings, participants were asked to meet in their small groups to use the framework to analyse their own personal ethical challenges. The workshop concluded with the introduction of the self-portrait of Norman Rockwell with the theme ‘Another world is possible’? The way forward through ethical leadership’. Participants were challenged to personal reflection and action. Participants, in general, showed appreciation and recorded that they had benefited from the workshop.



 [To Contents Page](#)

Saldanha Bay Labour Workshop

This workshop was held on 29 July 2007 in Saldanha Bay. The participants represented workers from the Boland, Overberg and Swartland farms and the fishing community on the West Coast. These groups of people are members of the Black Association of the Wine and Spirits Industry (BAWSI), Food and Allied Workers Union (FAWU) and COSATU unions, respectively. The workshop was similar to the Worcester Workshop and addressed the same theme: "Ethical Leadership in the World. The first exercise focused on the theme: Work under the moral spotlight.

Participants motivated their participation in the workshop as follows: to deal with the challenge of vulnerable sectors; develop leadership skills; take leadership to another level; to learn how to deal with issues and challenges; to understand the meaning of ethical and to understand their roles as leaders. Three quotes of the former President, Nelson Mandela (1998; 2004), who accentuated the following aspects as descriptions of the moral challenge in South Africa, were addressed: "the nation's moral fibre; the RDP of the Soul; materialism and instant gratification; and rebirth of the sense of human solidarity. Mandela's (2004) concern should be re echoed: "The values of human solidarity that once drove our quest for a humane society seem to be replaced, or are being threatened ...".



The relationship between the world of work and the worker was illustrated with the "Report of the Secretary General of the ILO at the 89th Session of the ILO, Geneva June 2001: Reducing the decent work deficit – a global challenge". This report makes mention of the fact that work is a defining feature of human existence; an affirmation of human identity; crucial to the welfare of families and stability of societies; it is to move from subsistence to existence; and work is about securing human dignity.

A Moral audit of participant's past worlds of work was done and resulted in the following responses: no jobs; racism; team leader fights me all the time; oppression, worked under apartheid; fear of failure; tired; anger; lost; depressed; was expecting good leadership; high expectations, confused, let down, that our organization may not make it; dictatorial leadership; no growth opportunities; biased rules of work places; passionate; disillusioned; changing lives; sustainability; hope; empowered; ambition. Most of these responses indicate the historical reality in the world of work that is characteristic of the legacy of apartheid.

Participants recorded the following NOW experiences: justice; proud; freedom; exited, feel depressed because there is no equality; new challenges; now I am proud of myself; frustration; joined the union and helped the exploited; much better than when we started; there's hope for us; lost and depressed; disappointment, face reality, pride; willing to do anything; opportunity for promotion; more informed and positive; obstacles; democratic leadership styles; have rights, can be used; rules are in place BCEA/ECA/LRA, skills development; disempowered; are being controlled; unhappy about foreigners who don't want to obey the rules of our country; the same as then.

There is an interesting dualism in the abovementioned responses. It is clear that the NOW experiences register new language, experiences and a sense of hope. However it is of great concern that respondents indicate emotions, experiences and realities that resonate with the apartheid era. This scenario is of concern and needs closer assessment and recommendations that should impact policy in the world of work of the said workers.

Participants had to do a practical and labour relevant exercise by seeking answers on the question: “What knowledge, skills and values do leaders need to be empowered with in fostering moral transformation in the workplace?” Tony Ehrenreich’s interview served as an example and source from which participants could find said answers.



The workshop also attended to the theme Ethical leadership in context; Change management; Conflict transformation; and application. This session highlighted the responsibility of leaders for the vision, embodiment and realization of the common good in life, with and for others. Change leads to conflict and needs an appropriate response.

Participants were generally challenged to address the following outcomes:

- ◆ To approach labour as a moral challenge in SA by narratively reflecting upon the life-giving and life-thieving aspects of our world of work;
- ◆ To understand what leadership means and how ethical leadership contributes to moral transformation in society through the fostering of knowledge, skills and values;
- ◆ To apply this knowledge, skills and values to different labour contexts in which dynamics of change and conflict present ongoing moral challenges for people in their places of work

 [To Contents Page](#)

Section 6:



Ethical Leadership In & Through Business

 [To Contents Page](#)

Background

The Ethical leadership in and through Business Conference was held at the Great Hall, University of the Western Cape (UWC) on 26 June 2007. The objective of the conference was to investigate the contributions of existing business practices and initiatives in business for a morally renewed society.

The conference sought to found out what these practices were, raised awareness of the same; assisted in further development of these practices; and analyzed the challenges confronting business with respect to ethical leadership. The general outcomes of the conference were to develop an awareness of the ethical responsibility of business leaders in the business sector; create a space for mutual dialogue; and facilitate a platform for future reflection and action.

The conference was attended by approximately 250 representatives from various business sectors, trade unions, some from faith based communities (FBOs), community based organization (CBOs), educational institutions, state departments and advocacy groups.



Chapter Outline

Chapter 1

Focuses on **Dr Clint Le Bruyns'** views on the pivotal role that the world of economics fulfils today. He argues that economic life reflects threatening realities that are hard to deal with or overcome for most people in South Africa.. He calls for a responsibility for the common good (public morality) that can address issues like poverty, unemployment, wage gaps, crime, family breakdown, HIV-Aids, globalization, social capital, skills development, gangsterism, substance abuse, war and conflict or peace.

Chapter 2

Deals with the reflections of **Nosey Pieterse** (ReInvestment Ltd.; Black Association of the Wine and Spirits Industry; South African Wine Industry Council, Phetogo Investments) and **Ms Nana Magomola** (Thamaga Investment Holdings). This chapter deals with Ethical business practices in South Africa: Perceptions and Reality.

Pieterse focuses on the issues that confront today's working class and reflects on perceptions of how ethical or unethical business practices engages with these issues. He argues that business ethics cannot be separated form ethics in general and that we must deal with corporate problems on the basis of fundamental ethical standards. He contextualizes situation ethics with reference to the severe plight of farm workers and the unethical conduct of some farmers and companies.

Nana Magomola argues that ethics is not an event but a process and that integrity is essential for healthy business. She holds that business ethics is globally receiving renewed attention. She calls for higher standards of corporate governance and corporate social responsibility. Magomola addresses the increased annual costs of crime in South Africa and declares that unethical business practices is on the increase.

Chapter 3

Describes the views of **Janine Myburgh** (President, Cape Chamber of Commerce) and **Dr Lionel Louw** (Chief of Staff, Premiers Office; Ethical Leadership Project) on the theme: "Beyond the bottom line: Business success through social investment and corporate governance."

Myburgh describes the Chamber of Commerce as being the gatekeeper of the ethical norms of Business and Industry. She argues that Corporate Social Investment can take many forms, but that it is firstly an investment in employees and secondly, the community in which a business operates. She hold that the investment in training opportunities of employees leads to economic growth and a better environment for business and inevitably, leads to improvements of social capital.

Dr Louw defines business enterprises as corporate citizens. He hold that each business is an integral part of our society. As a corporate citizen it is subject to the same pressures and aspirations as the rest of society. Dr Louw argues that the concerns of individual citizens should also be the concerns of corporate citizens. He calls corporate citizens to task with reference to current issues such as poverty, unemployment, HIV/AIDS, racism, lack of housing, unsatisfactory education system, climate change, inadequate infrastructure; and a host of other challenges in improving the quality of life for all our citizens.

Chapter 4

Deals with the perspectives of **Patrick Parring** (Exel Projects and Events, Granbuild Construction, Marib Holdings, Cape Lime, Cape Peninsula University of Technology Council) and **Roger Ronnie** (SAMWU) on the theme "BEE: Social impact, expectations and limitations".

Parring focuses on the ten years of South Africa's new democracy which did not deliver real social and economic changes as experienced by ordinary South Africans. Parring argues that the reality is such that if we are not going to speed up the process for fundamental change and transformation as expected in "a better life for all", that we may be confronted with another reality, in that people will feel that they have nothing to loose "again". He acknowledges BEE as the foundation to correct the imbalances in the economy. He however alludes to the tendencies of white owned business to operate in a closed door economy.

Roger Ronnie argues that Black economic empowerment (BEE) has not had the desired social impact. He argues that the concept has been broadened to what is called broad-based black economic empowerment (BBBEE). He however, argues that BBBEE remains focused on increasing the number of black people that manage, own and control the country's economy. He stresses that the emphasis on black ownership has reduced the creation of quality jobs and production to meet the needs of the poor.

Chapter 5

Describes **Prof Oliver Williams's** (Centre for Ethics and Religious Values in Business, Univ. of Notre Dame, USA; University of Cape Town Graduate School of Business) views on the theme: Peace through Business. Responsible Corporate Citizenship and the Ideals of the U.N. Global Impact. He addresses some overarching reflections that may apply to many companies in the global economy. The premise of his views are that while corporate social responsibility (CSR) or corporate citizenship is not a new idea, the emergence of a new role for the firm within society, is. He highlights how good corporate governance can offer guidance on how this new political role of the firm can be implemented while preserving the democratic nature of society. Williams argues that in all of this, a crucial role for the U.N. Global Compact is underscored.

 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 1: Theoretical Orientation - Ethical Leadership In And Through Business

Dr Clint Le Bruyns

The vision of the Ethical Leadership Project is “a morally transformed society through ethical leadership”. It is a vision inspired by former president Nelson Mandela’s plea for an ‘RDP of the Soul’ of the nation that he called for in the late nineties and to which South Africa committed itself a few years later in the form of a moral renewal campaign. The ELP has declared, along with other role-players in society, moral transformation a top priority for the continuing progress and well-being of all our people. Since this is clearly a complex challenge, we have identified ‘ethical leadership’ as one concrete way through which our society, at all levels and in all spheres, might potentially contribute to moral transformation in South Africa. And so the ELP mission is “to empower a critical number of leaders at all levels of society with knowledge, skills and values to foster moral transformation”. We should focus on ‘Ethical Leadership in and through Business’ against this background.

Concerning ‘business’: Our focus on business underlines the pivotal role the world of economics fulfils in life today.

There’s the story of a monkey caught in a heavy flood who manages to hang on to a tree while the raging waters pass by, but a few moments later catches sight of a fish swimming against the current and reckons he needs to assist, so at the right time he quickly snatches the fish from the threatening waters, finds shelter on a piece of dry land and lays the fish down, pleased that he could rescue this poor struggling fish that day.

Like this monkey and fish, the economic waters are not always in our favour; in fact, for most people in South Africa economic life reflects threatening realities that are hard to deal with or overcome. But we dare not make the mistake of the monkey in trying to rescue people from economic hardship and desperation by isolating them from the economic world. We depend on the economy and its role-players for a better life for all. Human dignity must also include rather than exclude economic dignity.

Concerning ‘ethical leadership’: So what do we mean by ‘ethical leadership’ in the business world?

There’s the story of a farmer who was having problems trying to distinguish between his 2 horses, so: he cut the tail off one horse, but that didn’t help as it soon grew back; then he cut the mane of one horse, but that didn’t help as it soon grew back; eventually he measured them both and that was when he discovered that the black horse was actually 20 cm taller than the white horse!

What might be obvious to some, might not be that obvious to others – and perhaps we could say that about ethical leadership in economic life: We may know something about leadership and even ethics, but ethical leadership in context might be a little more complex to understand and recognize. However we talk about it, perhaps there are 2 key ideas to keep in mind. In the first place, it has to do with responsibility. Secondly, it is a responsibility not confined to oneself (private needs and agendas; company’s; etc.), but a responsibility for the common good (public morality). It goes beyond integrity (being true to one’s character and role – professional, political, artistic, intellectual) to encompass the well-being and future of others. This is usually an extremely difficult paradigm shift. What we are communicating through the ELP is that any possibility of



moral transformation in any sphere of life, including business, is directly intertwined with the extent to which we are willing to go beyond our private and organizational zones. So what might ethical responsibility within the business world have to do with poverty, unemployment, wage gaps, crime, family breakdown, HIV-Aids, globalization, social capital, skills development, gangsterism, substance abuse, war and conflict or peace, and so on? Maybe nothing, maybe everything.

Concerning ‘in and through’: This involves a two-pronged view: looking in and looking out. Through the business conference we are affirming the ethical leadership capital that already exists in the world of business as well as opening ourselves to constructive critique about the scope and quality of ethical leadership in our economic sphere (“in”). Therefore this conference has the following objectives in mind:

- ◆ To investigate the contributions of existing business practices and initiatives in business for a morally renewed society by exploring
 - ⑥ the ethical frameworks of business relationships with its stakeholders
 - ⑥ its role in nation building
 - ⑥ its role in alleviating socioeconomic conditions in disadvantaged communities
 - ⑥ its role in contributing to ethical leadership practices and to a morally renewed society
- ◆ The conference seeks to find out what these practices are, to raise awareness of the same and to assist in further development of these practices and to analyse the challenges confronting business with respect to ethical leadership.

Furthermore, while this conference values the need for stocktaking and analysis, it is also wants to pave the way for practical action that contributes in meaningful and modest ways to moral transformation (“through”), and thus has the following outcomes in mind:

- ◆ Business leaders identify ethical best practices and challenges;
- ◆ Business leaders apply ethical practices in order to realise a morally renewed society;
- ◆ Business leaders incorporate (integrate) practices which would foster nation building, assist in alleviating poverty, contribute to ethical leadership and ultimately a morally renewed society;
- ◆ Business negotiations with labour facilitate moral renewal through the empowerment of workers;
- ◆ Sustainable growth and development in the SA economy through ethical leadership.

We should engage continuously in meaningful and engaging opportunities of listening, reflection and discussion as a step in the direction of envisioning a morally transformed society through ethical leadership in and through business in South Africa.

 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 2: Ethical Business Practices In South Africa - Perception And Reality

📍 **Nosey Pieterse:**

Situation Ethics

Our approach here is practical and focuses on the issues that are confronting the working class today and reflects on our perception of how ethical or unethical business engages with these issues.

Traditionally, concerns about ethical practices in business was confined to issues such as embezzlement; bribery; poisoning atmosphere, good governance, etc. Such examples suggest that managers' problems with ethics consist of nothing more than violations of clear-cut, well-defined laws; rules; and codes of conduct.



It is however argued, that business ethics cannot be separated from ethics in general and we must deal with corporate problems on the basis of fundamental ethical standards. This should include commonly accepted ethical values such as: honesty; fairness; compassion; respect; and truthfulness.

There are different schools of thought when it comes to ethics as a discipline. The school of thought that I embrace is "Situation Ethics". A proponent of Situation Ethics, J.W. Montgomery said:

"No action is good or right of itself. It depends on whether it hurts or helps people"
(1972:26)

Situation ethics subordinates principles to circumstances, the general to the particular, and forces the natural and scriptural to give way to the personal and actual. According to Situation Ethics, the rightness of an action is to be judged in relation to the situation in which it takes place, rather than with reference to laws or universally binding rules.

If we accept Situation Ethics as the basis for the evaluation of the actions of individuals or groups, then no room is left to deal with issues in the traditional manner. This is the case because in Situation Ethics, you can be unethical without breaking the law. Now one might argue how are these possible? It is very simple. The actions of individuals and/ or groups are subjected to a different test. Traditionally the test would be conformance or compliance whilst in Situation Ethics it is about whether it hurts or helps people. Fairness and compassion transcends laws and norms.

Situation Ethics also looks beyond the action of individuals and/or groups, e.g. the society which punishes criminals are not always aware of the degree to which it is tainted with, and responsible for, the very crimes which it punishes. Now that you have clarity of, and not necessarily agreement with our approach, there might be a greater level of appreciation for the positions we take on certain actions. So let us as promised earlier, focus on some of the actions that the working class is confronted with.

1. The Apartheid Debt

Democratic South Africa is facing a tremendous challenge in combating poverty; job creation and service delivery. In the face of these challenges, the republic is paying billions of rand to the World Bank and IMF. This is debt that was incurred by the apartheid regime. It was a debt that was incurred to enable the

apartheid regime to remain in power. It was a debt incurred to prolong our agony. And now, the victims of apartheid must service the debt. Whilst traditional ethics, and its adherent, the corporate world, would argue that paying the debt is the ethical thing to do; Situation Ethics would argue that it is unethical that the victims service the debt that was responsible for its subjugation.

2. Wage Gaps

How is it possible that an executive can earn a day what a farm worker earn in a year? To put it mildly, the wage differentials in South Africa is horrific almost the highest in the world, and it is still growing. The irony is that the growing income differentials takes place after government promulgated the EEA which in S27 deals with addressing income differentials. It is immoral to take home so much whilst others go home empty handed.

3. The BEE Deals

This area is fraught with unethical behaviour. The most commonly of which is fronting; where white businesses make use of black faces without any real form of empowerment. In some instances it was revealed that workers were not even aware that they were shareholders in the company.

Another example is in cases where farmers or aspiring farmers get farm workers together, and with the help of their LRAD grants acquire a farm, once again without empowering them so they can protect their interest. We have examples where such farms went bankrupt and the farm workers lost everything. In the end they were brutally evicted from the farm of which they were previously owners and employees.

A further example of unethical conduct in this field is when wine farmers and/or companies initiate a black vintner's project. In many instances these projects are what are referred to as pseudo empowerment. It is a marketing ploy by the sponsor to draw foreigners and domestic tourist to his business. A characteristic of these pseudo empowerment projects are the high level of dependency on the sponsor of the project. If the umbilical cord is cut, the project dies.

4. Evictions

As far as evictions are concern we need to understand, first and foremost, who the evictees are. In many instances they are farm workers who have been living on the farm for the better part of their life if not for all their life. They are semi-literate and sometimes totally illiterate.

What are the reasons given for evictions? Dismissals; retrenchments; farm is sold; worker are not working on the farm anymore and the farmer needs his house.

Many of the houses on the farms were built with grant money for the explicit purpose to house farm workers. Farm workers are facing evictions because farmers want to diversify. They want to convert the farm worker houses into self-catering units to make bigger profits. Is that ethical? Houses that were acquired to house farm workers are now used to generate profits. Is it ethical to evict farm workers in order to make bigger profits? Does the law allow for that! Traditional Ethics condones that as long as they comply with the laws, but is it right?

Farmers, knowing the level of sophistication of the workers push eviction orders through the courts, knowing very well that the victims don't have a clue about how to defend themselves. They get it through under the guise of an urgent application. Workers get evicted without the Land Claims Court ever having had sight of the eviction order for the purpose of ratification. Workers get evicted without alternative accommodation. Workers get evicted without the court being informed by a social worker concerning the situation and circumstances of the occupiers. Many times workers found themselves stranded because when they woke up one morning they learned that the farm has a new owner. The previous owner is gone. The only thing that the new owner is interested in, is for them to vacate his houses. His argument is, he has no employment relationship with them. Their contact was not transferred to him as per S197 of the LRA, even though the farm has been sold as a gong concern.

5. Dop System

The South African corporate world under apartheid has established a culture of unethical behaviour because they were dealing with a workforce that was mainly black and disenfranchised. They took advantage of the

opportunities that apartheid represented. Apartheid rendered the workforce extremely vulnerable. A classical example was the notorious dop system. How can an employer enslave his workforce in the manner to the extent that it happened? They knew that they were busy destroying not only the individual, but also his/her descendants. Today we are still saddled with the legacy of the dop system with our abnormally high incidence of alcoholism and fetal alcohol syndrome. Corporate South Africa must be subjected to a process of unlearning these bad habits. They have been conditioned by the apartheid laws that gave them draconian powers over the workforce. Just the mere fact that the apartheid regime legitimized the dop system is clear evidence of the unholy alliance that existed between the apartheid regime and the corporate world. Another example was the job reservation which enabled business to exploit black labour under the guise of unskilled labour. How does the corporate world undo conditioning that has taken place over decades?

General

Government with all its good intentions included in the LRA the farm workers, promulgated Esta, the Sectoral Determination for Agricultural Workers; the Employment Equity Act and the Skills Development Act. These laws came and went, without it even getting close to touch the lives of the majority of farm workers. The farmers are very well aware that the Department of Labour lacks the capacity to enforce these laws and so they just simply ignore it. However, what they through their consultants and lawyers have learned well, was to exploit the loopholes of these laws and use it against the farm workers. Classical example here is the way they use Esta to so call legally evict farm workers. Is that doing business ethically?

Even Traditional Ethics will have to concur that it is not right. Farmers exploit the fact that the workers are their prisoners on the farms. They keep unions out and D.O.L does not have the capacity to expose all of this.

These are some of the unethical conduct in the Agriculture Sector that we want to highlight on behalf of the working class.

Conclusion

An act ought to be done if and only if it or the rule under which it falls produces, will properly produce, or is intended to produce a greater balance of good over evil than any available alternative

(William Frankena)

These are some of the unethical conduct in the Agriculture Sector that needs to be highlighted on behalf of the working class.

 [To Contents Page](#)

📍 Nana Magomola:

Ethics Is Good Business

Thomas Jefferson, American President, once said:

"Whenever you do something act as if the world were watching."

Warren Buffet, the multi-billionaire said:

"Trust is like air we breathe when present, nobody really notices but when absent everybody notices."



Is Unethical Business Practice A Perception Or Reality?

Ethics is not an event but a process. The golden rule in business says that good conduct is important for success. Integrity is great for business because in the end everybody wins.

A decade ago, many companies viewed ethics as an administrative compliance. Today however, attention to business ethics is on the rise across the world. Higher standards of corporate governance and corporate social responsibility are expected as a matter of fact. Consumers will primarily deal with companies that uphold integrity and ethics.

There is a perception that white collar crime in private and public institutions is on the increase in South Africa. There is also an increased concern that this crime costs South Africa billions of Rand annually and therefore need urgent attention. Yearly we see several conferences focusing on unethical business practice. The cost of unethical business behaviour far exceeds the value of all street crimes. Theft and robberies cost the country thousands, maybe millions, but white collar crime costs us billions. What complicates the problem with unethical behaviour is that, it is not often reported. Most institutions deal with it internally as an administrative issue. A KPMG study conducted in 1993 indicates that only 20% of white collar crimes are reported to the police.

Several reasons are advanced for not reporting and these are: these cases are complex and time consuming; conviction is not always guaranteed; time spent in court and processing far out-ways the benefit derived; and pursuing the case attracts negative attention to the company.

Furthermore there is no central database of detected or suspected corruption incidences. Quantification is based on hearsay; some knows someone else who has been a victim. The fact of the matter though is that in reality unethical business practice is on the increase, and does need urgent attention by both the community and law enforcers. The following are some the effects of commercial crime: general ill health and injuries caused by neglect of Environment, Health and Occupational Acts; consumers pay unrealistic high prices due to "price fixing"; increase in insurance premium; 30% of claims are fraudulent or inflated. About R5 billion is spent annually on insurance claims.

Unethical business practice includes fraud, tax swindling bribery, kickbacks insider trading corporate misconduct such as environmental, health and safety offences. These crimes are usually committed by respected people of high social status. Indeed the higher we rise in business and positions of responsibility, the greater the temptation to engage in unethical behaviour.

Eradicating poverty and unemployment will not necessarily prevent unethical business behaviour because this is not a crime of need, but a crime motivated by greed. In executing our daily functions, it is important to work with integrity and speak out against unethical behaviour. Even though this may sometimes cost us our

jobs, but we can always get another one. But exchanging our principles for success is short lived and yet the effect of this action lasts a lifetime.

Setting A Climate For Integrity

It is very important that good governance and integrity must be driven from the top. If our employees see we cutting corners and consistently behave unethically, they will copy us. One cannot afford to be ambiguous; there must be congruence between what you say and what you do. "Walk the talk":

- ◆ Set an example through strong leadership. Employees expect supervisor and manager to lead by example. Ethical dilemmas are a direct consequence of doing business; therefore, how one manages the dilemma ethically sets the tone for followers.
- ◆ Be vigilant and set effective internal controls i.e. reduce opportunities to commit offences.
- ◆ Screen prospective employees thoroughly.
- ◆ Avoid setting unrealistic targets that will encourage employees to break the law or be unethical, emphasis the principle of "honesty before profits."
- ◆ Be in touch and in tune with your business, do not sit in an ivory tower."
- ◆ Set rules and codes of ethics and provide training in that regard.
- ◆ Employees must know and understand rules of engagement.
- ◆ Create an opportunity for employees to expose unethical behaviour without victimization.
- ◆ Encourage and reward integrity and transparency. Employees need to be assured that ethical business practice benefits business.

Ethical business behaviour is a way of differentiating our institution from others. People in general wish to do business with honest and trustworthy individuals because this ensures consistency and dependability. It is a certainty that satisfied employees and costumers will spread the word about our goods or services.

What Is Business Ethics?

The fact is that ethical concerns are part of the routine practices of everyday business life and are more frequently characterized by concerns about relationships and responsibility than by legal issues. Business Ethics therefore specifically looks at those values which determine behaviour of the individual business professional as well as the effect this behaviour has on the environment in which he/she operates.

Why Behave In An Ethical Manner?

We need to keep the following factors in mind if we are to behave in an ethical manner. We are Ethical because we are Human Beings. Being Ethical means sharing and cooperating with other people. A selfish person cannot habitually make Ethical Decisions. Without Ethical Behaviour, Society cannot exist. Only Ethical and Fair Behaviour in business is "Good' Business. We can only fulfil our own desires and interests if we take those of others into account.

A Code Of Ethics

"Do we need a Code of Ethics?" Dr. Albert Schweitzer offers this definition of Ethics:

In a general sense Ethics is the name we give to our concern for good behaviour. We feel an obligation not only to consider our own personal well-being, but also that of others and of human society as a whole.

It is not enough for companies to have codes of ethics; they must make absolutely sure that the Code of Conduct is adhered to at all times. As soon as all members fully understand the Code, report-backs on unethical behaviour should follow, and stringent disciplinary steps must be taken to back up the adopted philosophy and culture. Furthermore we must appreciate that: Codes of Conduct differ for different organizations; Codes do not regulate all Behaviour, but only that which relates to a given group; Companies should provide Codes of Conduct for their members and anybody linked to the industry; and Through the Code, companies enhance its image, and the image of the industry.

How To Become More Ethical

The following aspects should consistently be recognized and adhered to. All of mankind is capable of being good. We are always reaching for goals, and we are always progressing. Lying is an omnipresent social disease to be avoided at all costs. Lying leads to the moral downfall of a society. As soon as lying becomes the standard we can no longer trust anybody. Be honest and truthful with all our fellow human beings. Decide on our Ethical Priorities. Allow our companies Codes of Ethics to become an integral part of our Ethical Decision Making.

The Enron Story

The Enron story is an illustration of the dire implications of unethical business practices. In 1985 Enron was the 2nd largest pipeline company in the US, with revenue of \$5b and \$12.1b in assets and 15,000 employees. By 1999 Enron through various business models and different strategies had grown to revenue of \$40.1b and assets of \$51b with a share price hits high of \$90.56. In Aug 2000 the Fortune magazine names Enron as one of it's '10 Stocks to the decade'. In Oct 2001, the wheels come off, an inquiry is made against the company. Enron's share price dropped to \$15. By Nov 2001 its share price dropped to 61 cents. During December 2001 Enron filed for bankruptcy. What went wrong? What had happened to Enron is what happened at similar companies, like Leisurennet , Fidentia and Eron Morgate Properties in Canada.

The key issues which is highlighted by the Enron experience are: loss of focus; violation of core values; short terms gains; lack of transparency; and a weak board. Enron had basically lost its focus on good business practice. The company's Vision was to be "the world's first major gas player", but by 2000 this had changed to 'the world's greatest company. The company changed from being a successful energy trading and logistics company to a financial institution hedging funds. The culture changed to be more aggressive and risk taking. The new culture encouraged bending the rules until it became only a small step to break them.

Enron had violated its own core values. Enron's values were: Respect – 'we treat others as we would like to be treated ourselves'; Integrity – 'we work with others and prospects openly, honestly and sincerely; Communication – 'we have an obligation to communicate'; and Excellence – 'we are satisfied with nothing less than the best in everything we do'.

The reality was that the values were mere talk. The Enron culture clearly put profit first. In 1998 senior management set up a fake dealing room to 'sting' Wall Street. In Oct 2000 Enron traders manipulated the Californian power prices for excess profits.

Short Termism of jobs was one of the key outcomes. Staff was reviewed twice yearly using a 'rank and yank' Scheme where employees were placed on a bell curve. The lowest 10 to 20% were then let go. Enron aggressively recruited ambitious young graduates, gave them autonomy and responsibility, set them loose in a competitive environment then used the rank and yank system to get rid of the weakest. From January 1999 to July 2001 executives sold \$1.1b in stock and cashed in large sums.

Lack of transparency was a grave mistake. Disclosure in their Annual Report was fundamentally inadequate; and the complexity of Enron's Special Purpose Vehicles left the company open to manipulation. Arthur Anderson allowed this to occur. Consulting income made out 50% of the big five Accounting firm's revenue – it was 13% in 1981.

The Board simply rubber stamped the decisions of management. There was minimal inquiry into questionable activities even though in 2001 the Board included an accounting professor, two former energy regulators and four executives of financial investment Firms.

Summary And Conclusions

Ethics is good business. We should aspire for the following values for good business practices. Being good is being effective in our personal life and also in our professional life. We should be more aware of the responsibilities we have to be more ethical in our business life. Ethical business practices are cornerstones of building a successful society. Creating an atmosphere that promotes ethical behaviour. Encouraging employees to ask questions. Encouraging employees to be aware of the core principles contained in codes of conduct. Demonstrating commitment to codes of conduct. Using reasonable care to prevent and detect violation of ethical codes. Reporting any risk to the codes of conduct. Handling employee reports promptly

and confidentially. Most importantly making our voices heard. We should ultimately be part of the change to create a morally upright society.

*The ultimate measure of a man
Is not where he stands in moments of comfort and convenience
But where he stands at times
Of challenge and controversy*

(Martin Luther King)



[To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 3: Beyond The Bottom Line - Business Success Through Social Investment And Corporate Governance

📍 Janine Myburgh:

Business And Industry As Gatekeeper Of Ethical Norms

The Chamber has a very proud history of representing Commerce and Industries for no less than 203 years. Many regard the Chamber as being the gatekeeper of the ethical norms of Business and Industry.

As an Attorney (in my private capacity) our reputations are on par with those of politicians and unfortunately there are times when both professions deserve this reputation.

The triple bottom line, People, Profit and Planet, is one of the parameters business should be assessed by. It is not possible to function successfully for a sustainable period of time without applying the 3 P's to our life or our business practices. The following personal experience serves as such an example in my legal practice:



When I started practicing I was all starry-eyed and had visions of almost saving the world. However, you become disillusioned very quickly when you are let out into the real world. There are 2 issues that really had an effect on me at the commencement of me starting my professional life.

- ◆ That there is a major difference between morally fair and legally fair.
 - 📍 This is also an issue many a client grapples with. You as the attorney has to go to great lengths to be able to justify this and your profession.
- ◆ The second point, that also made a great impact on me, was that my clients will not bat an eye lid to lie to me. This may sound naïve, which I definitely was, but sadly you outgrow this stage very quickly (Janine Myburgh, 2007).

Architects frequently make the point that to design great buildings you need great clients. Clients with vision and worthy ideals. The same is true for lawyers and advocates and there are some wonderful examples of outstanding legal men and women fighting test cases as a matter of principle. So there are good lawyers and bad ones just as there are good doctors and bad ones, good drivers and dangerous ones. Unfortunately the jury is still out on the Politicians. (joke!)

As a lawyer one sees a great deal of the negatives in life. One has to deal with people who have dishonest motives. One has to deal with aspects of business life that are far from wholesome. But the problem is by no means confined to the business world. A good example is the wide-scale fraudulent use of travel vouchers by many of our Parliamentarians. Many people unfortunately have the idea that it's okay if you can get away with it. The rule for them is "don't get caught". That does not make it right and it does leave some festering sores which slowly poison people, companies and even organizations. In the long term we doubt whether any kind of trickery is really worthwhile. The gains have to be off-set against the loss of reputation and the loss of credibility and the loss of future business. It was found that it is much better to concentrate on the positive returns from a constructive and enlightened approach which sees business not in an insular way, but as part of the community in which it's staff and it's customers / clients live.

Like all people have been tempted many a time. But it is what people do when tempted that counts.

Corporate Social Investment can take many forms but the bottom line is that it is an investment in, firstly, employees and, secondly, the community in which a business operates.

A more practical approach will suffice, instead of looking at the subject in abstract philosophical terms with lots of long words and sociological jargon. The first example of investment in employees is training. It can be expensive and there are no guarantees that the people who have trained will stay with you. They could easily leave to join a rival firm and compete against you. So why do it? The answer is simple. Trained people help to grow economic activity and that makes for a better environment in which to do business and that, inevitably, leads to improvements to the bottom line. This is testimony of firms where staff were regarded as being totally indispensable and definitely not regarded as very important capital that of the main capital which had a negative effect on the Business as a whole.

Let us focus on an example. For decades most apprentice training in South Africa was done by the Railways and the Mines. They knew that many of the people they invested in would leave and there would be few direct benefits to the organizations. But the indirect benefits made it worthwhile. The mines knew that many of their artisans would end up working for some of their suppliers and well-trained people would produce better goods and that would be good for the mines.

What goes around comes around. Or, what I prefer – As ye sow so shall ye reap.

The other huge benefit was to the country as a whole. At present South Africa has a serious shortage of artisans and one of the main reasons is that the mining industry and the railways have been in decline for the last few decades and they were forced to cut back on employee numbers and training. South Africans are paying the price because the new Setas and the more relaxed learnership system have not delivered.

The businesses that are most aware of the need for Corporate Social Investment are those that deal directly with consumers, the retailers. Take Pick and Pay as an example.

Raymond Ackerman, founder of the successful supermarket chain, will tell us that from the very beginning Corporate Social Investment was fundamental to their success. At the drop of a hat he will talk about the four legs of the table and, especially the fourth leg which is investment in the community.

For years we would find Pick 'n Pay's name at the top of a list of donors when there was any kind of social emergency following a flood, fire or other disaster. Cynics said it was alone for the publicity, but Pick 'n Pay also did a great deal behind the scenes with bursaries for the needy and the worthy. The payback came in the form of better relations with a more enlightened and responsive community. That meant more customers and more full trolleys being wheeled out of the stores.

While this was happening a rival (Company for example) Checkers went into decline. It is significant that the revived Shoprite/Checkers group now runs national competitions with awards for ordinary people who make important contributions to the community.

It is never too late to learn.

Investing in the community at large pays off in so many ways. It makes staff proud to be associated with the company and proud staff are more loyal and more productive. That, too, goes to the bottom line. It also goes into the homes of employees. It gives them status. Even "street credit"! "My father's a Woolworths manager." It's almost as good a boast as "my mother's a doctor." It does not take much to invest in the community, even a small firm, does not have the funds of the Big retailers, have been able to do their part.

Investing in the community is something that the Cape Town Regional Chamber of Commerce and Industry has done throughout its 200-year history. In the early days of the last century, long before there were such things as MBA's, the Chamber invested in business education and set the standards. If you wanted to get anywhere in business you had to write the Chamber of Commerce examinations. The pay-off was not in new members but an improvement in the way business was conducted. That was good for the whole community and it did raise the Chamber's status. Inevitably that did lead to a growth in membership.

More recently courses have been run for exporters and the Chamber is now working hard on small business development with courses and mentor programs. It is an activity that falls outside of our mandate and brings

no direct or immediate benefits to our members. It is as an investment in the broader business community. Perhaps it will prove to be an investment in future business leaders. For the present the objective is to help people in the world of small business. People who cannot afford expensive courses at business schools. The aim is for them to become better business people because this will raise standards and business well conducted increases prosperity.

Experience has proved that small businesses grow and become business leaders. Two examples are proof hereof: Hylton Ross joined the Chamber when he bought his first Kombi. His company is now a leader in the tourism industry, operating a fleet of more than 50 coaches. A second example is Phillip Krawitz who came from a one-store family business. He became active in the Chamber and he says that his involvement was his business education. His company, Cape Union Mart, is now a national chain with its own factories.

Experiences like this make us believe in small business and that makes the decision to invest in them easy. We believe that projects like this also make the Chamber more effective and that increases our appeal.

What goes around comes around. In Biblical terms – As ye sow so shall ye reap!

The principle is as clear as daylight. Good companies invest in their staff and their communities. They do not do it to earn “brownie” points or a pat on the back from some dignitary, but because it is smart. It is good long-term thinking. The reward can be found in the bottom line.

But it goes beyond that. The late and great Dr Anton Rupert will be remembered not for the products he sold but for his huge investment in the arts, in conservation and in the community of South Africa. And there is no doubt that the country is a better place because of his work and his contributions. His Corporate Social Investments had a great deal to do with the success of his companies.

As ye sow so shall ye reap.

We have not concentrated on corporate governance. We are all aware of the various King 2 report and the contents thereof. It does not take us to be brain surgeons to know it is imperative to be accountable and acting with transparency. Simply the system by which companies are directed and controlled, concerning the structures and processes associated with management, decision making and control in our organizations!

It is often as simple as just doing the right thing (as guided by the King 2).

It might not be easy but it is right.

 [To Contents Page](#)

 **Dr Lionel Louw:**

Corporate Social Investment Of The South Africa's Corporate Citizens

It is accepted that business is about business. That means that there is an entrepreneur (or set of entrepreneurs or investors) with a vision based on identifying a niche in the market and work that is undertaken to generate profit at the end of the day. Ownership of an economic entity and the quest to generate profit is in the nature of the enterprise. The entrepreneur takes all the risks associated with the production and is rewarded with the profits generated. That is the dominant economic system operative in South Africa and the world and the basis on which we respond today on the topic "Beyond the Bottom Line".



Business enterprises, however, could be recognized as corporate citizens in contrast to individual citizens. Each business is an integral part of our society. As a corporate citizen it is subject to the same pressures and aspirations as the rest of society. The concerns of individual citizens should also be the concerns of corporate citizens. The battle with poverty, unemployment, HIV/AIDS, racism, lack of housing, unsatisfactory education system, climate change, inadequate infrastructure and a host of other challenges in improving the quality of life for all citizens, is a daily reality. South Africans grapple with the apartheid legacy and how to overcome the deliberately created backlogs in order to create a prosperous society that the country can be based on the potential inherent in its people and other resources. This is the national environment; this is the South African society in which business is a corporate citizen. At issue is how the corporate citizen behaves in this environment.

The expectation is that the corporate citizen observes the triple bottom line:

- (1) Profit;
- (2) People; and
- (3) Environment

It is on this basis that the Corporate Social Investment (CSI) of the corporate citizens in South Africa should make a significant contribution to socioeconomic development. It should continue to be done independently, collectively or even in public-private partnerships. The expectation is simply that CSI be in a reasonable proportion to profit and the scale of the problems with which we are confronted in the country.

Corporate citizens are urged to look beyond just short-term gains and to take a long-term view on South Africa and to make investments on that basis.

If South Africa prospers as a country every citizen have a reasonable chance of prospering if they are prepared to share resources equitably.

 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 4: BEE - Social Impact, Expectations And Limitations

Patrick Parring:

No Real Social And Economic Changes For Ordinary South Africans

It is important to remind ourselves that “social and economic” changes date back to the 1980’s when the previous political regime could no longer sustain local and international political and economic pressure.

It is more than ten years into our new democracy and no real social and economic changes are experienced by ordinary South Africans. Some people may argue that we cannot expect to correct more than 300 years of wrong in such a short space of time.

The reality is that if we are not going to speed up the process for fundamental

change and transformation as expected in “a better life for all”, we may be confronted with another reality, in that people will feel that they have nothing to lose “again”. The consequences of that may have far-reaching consequences and we do not believe that to be in the best interest of our country.

Let us highlight some of the expectations that were created during the struggle and thereafter in terms of a better life for all and the promise of becoming a winning nation.

- ◆ To give back human dignity that was taken away from black people by the apartheid regime.
- ◆ Our new democratic government will provide homes, jobs and basic services to all the disenfranchised communities.
- ◆ Better education.
- ◆ Deal with crime, in particular within black communities.
- ◆ Deal with the abuse of women and children.
- ◆ To eradicate corruption in all spheres of society.
- ◆ Bringing an end to economic sanctions that will open our economy and lead to economic growth and prosperity, with opportunities that will benefit the historical disadvantaged business communities. Hence the establishment of the BEE charters, and the transformation of financial institutions such as The Development Bank of SA, IDC, PIC, and the establishment of government agencies such as Khula, NEF to name a few.
- ◆ Deal with corruption in government and business.

Where do we find ourselves now and how should we respond to some of the challenges ahead?

Government’s Response To The Above:

The removal of all unjust laws has to a large extent given back human dignity to black communities. Little has been achieved in terms of delivery of housing and basic services. Government legislation with regards to BEE has set the foundation to correct the imbalances in our economy and for the setting up of clear equity targets and timeframes.



There has been a serious lack of delivery, and we believe that reasons for non-delivery have to do with the lack of capacity within government i.e. people are appointed in positions when they are not qualified for the job, with many being political appointees. Then there is a lack of skills transfer and training that can help many to succeed in their respective positions. We also believe that the reluctance of white officials inherited from the previous regime to accept change and to a great extent deliberately attempt to undermine government policy has a huge negative impact on delivery.

Corruption, the lack of transparency and the notion that people can get away with it, has far reaching implications in the short-, medium- and long-term. The temptation to corrupt and to be corrupted has become almost second nature in the form of kickbacks in all forms.

The internal struggle for power within the ANC and in all spheres of the organization and government that is focused on in the media all the time, rightly or wrongly, also has a negative impact on nation building and service delivery. This is costing us, in that so much energy and resources of the leadership and government goes to waste.

Then there is the notion of not always promoting real entrepreneurship, what we would call “Business Champions”, people who have experience in starting up businesses and are able to operate the day-to-day businesses at any level. There is also a lack of support by Government-funded institutions for private sector initiatives directed towards the development of the SMME sector and job creation.

Business’ Response To The Above:

Owners of capital as we would call big white-owned business organizations, has a history of operating in a closed economy, controlled by an elite few, known as the “Big Five” controlling approximately 95% of the JSE “economy” and who today still call the shots. Owners of capital choose partners who are “gate-keepers” in BEE transactions in order to ensure maintaining the status quo and are currently doing better than ever. There is a reluctance by business to embrace and implement government policy in respect of economic transformation and black economic empowerment and, if they do, it is on their terms and in most instances in the form of FRONTING.

We have a history of doing business under cover because of the economic sanctions that prevailed, leading to business being conducted immorally. This now seems to be the new culture being embraced by many PDI’s and the excuse, and we quote “what some people perceive to be fronting others believe to be an opportunity”. We believe that whatever prevails will determine the business value system and culture of our future economy. There also seems to be no commitment to invest in people in the form of skills transfer, equal opportunity in the workplace and opportunities to previously disadvantaged businesses in the form of preferential procurement and ongoing mentoring and support.

The impact is that all aspirant entrepreneurs have little chance of survival in the current business environment, as there is particularly a huge shortage of management skills, access to finance and opportunities. In the process, no real business role models are developing from disadvantaged communities, hence gang lords flourish and are looked up to as role models. What should be a fair distribution of wealth at a time of huge economic growth and stability has become the privilege of only a few. The winner “grabs” it all, which is greed.

Having given our opinion on the state of BEE and on the negative social impacts, we still believe it is not too late to convince all stakeholders, social partners, business and government that it is in everybody’s self interest to make a conscious decision to embrace transformation based on integrity and morality. The opportunity of a lifetime is to make a “REAL” investment and leave a legacy behind.



[To Contents Page](#)

Roger Ronnie:

A Working Class Perspective

This is a revised version of a paper delivered at a Harold Wolpe Trust Lecture - Rhodes University, Grahamstown, 11 May 2006

“The history of all hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggle”

Marx, Engels - Communist Manifest, 1848



Introduction

Black economic empowerment (BEE) has and continues to generate an enormous amount of debate. The number of conferences, seminars and publications on the subject bear testimony. A consensus on issues like the social impact and limitations of BEE has yet to emerge. Blade Nzimande asserts that this is due to “BEE not being properly located within its broader political and economic context, thus tending to reduce it only to the question of redressing racial imbalances” (Blade Nzimande, Black Economic Empowerment in South Africa : Notes towards a lecture found at http://www.sacp.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=196&Itemid+69).

Black economic empowerment (BEE) is however put forward, almost without question, as a relevant and necessary process for post-apartheid South Africa. This applies across the full political spectrum with the only real concern from the left being the narrow focus of BEE and from the right, the unnecessary interference by government with the free hand of the market. Government has appeared to agree with COSATU, leading to what is now referred to as broad based black economic empowerment (BBEE).

Following this broad-based approach, Government now defines BEE as “an integrated and coherent socioeconomic process that directly contributes to the economic transformation of South Africa and brings about significant increases in the numbers of black people that manage, own and control the country’s economy, as well as significant decreases in income inequalities” (South Africa’s Economic Transformation: Strategy for Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment, dti, 2003). It is the broadness of the definition that continues to give rise to the ongoing rumbling about BEE. For a start, a large majority of South Africans remain untouched by unfolding BEE – whether of the narrow or broad-based variety. It also signals a continuation of the trickle-down approach that characterizes government macro-economic policies.

BEE, we contend, will therefore bring little or no change to the material situation of the majority. Rather than being a “coherent socioeconomic process that directly contributes to the economic transformation of South Africa” to the benefit of the majority black population, BEE is simply part of a process that seeks to legitimize and entrench capitalism. A process that seeks to unravel the distortions in the economy brought about by a capitalist growth path distorted through the prism of racism. In other words the conversion of what became known as “apartheid capitalism” into a system where racially based class inequalities are reduced by various means. A process driven and controlled in the main by government and white business aimed at drawing in more black persons into the economic mainstream. Those who argue that this process will ultimately benefit the masses, ignore the basic laws of capitalism. As such, if it continues on its current trajectory, BEE will have limited social impact.

BEE, as a national project, ignores the changed global situation that allowed the Afrikaners to deal with the “poor white” problem as part of their broader project to gain a share of the fruits of capitalism in the pre and post 1948 periods. The integration of South Africa into the global economy, on the terms and rules set by the developed economies and institutions like the World Bank and WTO, undermines the broad-based social benefits envisaged by some of the proponents of BEE.

White Economic Empowerment

There are a number of similarities between the steps taken by Afrikaners prior to 1948 to change ownership patterns and the resultant economic deprivation for relatively large numbers of whites which had emerged during the development of capitalism, and the current BEE processes.

Built on a strong sense of Afrikaner nationalism, the intention then was to free the Afrikaner from domination by foreign capital and create a layer of Afrikaner business people who would have the interest of the all Afrikaners at heart and contribute to solving what became known as the poor white problem. Steps envisaged included the creation of key economic institutions to support agricultural and industrial activity, the use of co-operatives as a means to consolidate and co-ordinate all aspects of agriculture and the training and development of young Afrikaners (Dan O'Meara, *Volkskapitalisme*, Johannesburg, Ravan Press 1998, provides a compelling account of how the Afrikaners were able to use state power to promote and advance the economic interests of their constituency, including the account of the development and growth of Sanlam). Very similar to what comprises the BEE package.

A further similarity between what happened then and now was the tension that emerged between those who saw any economic program as focusing primarily on reversing the poor white situation through a range of broad based schemes and those with an unambiguous capitalist agenda. The former argued for small scale co-operatives and the promotion of small enterprises (often promoted in quite strong anti-capitalist language) as the way to go. The latter promoted the large scale foray into areas of the economy previously under the control of foreign capital.

There are however also very real differences between the two projects. The Afrikaner empowerment project was built on a narrow, ethnically based form of nationalism whereas the current processes are based on an inclusive form of African nationalism aimed at the majority. A second distinction is the changed global situations under which these two processes unfolded. This is particularly relevant when looking at the "patriotic bourgeoisie" argument which underpins much of the current BEE debates.

It remains to be said at this point that while the Afrikaner economic movement did indeed lead to a consolidation of financial resources and the emergence of a number of Afrikaner controlled institutions, the poor white problem was ultimately addressed by the Apartheid State and not Afrikaner business. This primarily because the process was ultimately based on profit generation and maximization in the first instance and thereafter the trickle down of any social benefits to the "poor white". The bottom line was the need to accept and adapt to capitalism as a means to addressing the problems of the day. Again a relevant point, in our opinion, when considering the unfolding BEE processes as there is no compelling reason to find that things will or can be different this time around. If anything the effects of globalization undermine any good intentions the proponents of BEE might espouse.

The Development Of Capitalism In South Africa

(See *Political Economy – South Africa in Crisis*, COSATU Education Publication, Pietermaritzburg, 1987. Chapters Two and Three succinctly focuses on the development of the gold mines, the migrant labour system, threats to cheap labour and how apartheid ensured the supply of cheap labour and led to what became known as apartheid capitalism)

It is useful, as a starting point, to remind ourselves about how capitalism developed in South Africa. The development of capitalism in South Africa was shaped by a system based on race. Gold had been mined and used for a long time by black people in the region. The arrival of colonialists as part of imperialist expansion started undermining the way in which these societies had operated and it was particularly in the area of mining that the most drastic developments occurred.

The money needed to fund the operations to access the huge quantities of gold embedded deep underground were sourced internationally and led to the formation of a few mining companies which have continued, in the main, to dominate the South African economy.

These finances and access to a regular supply of cheap labour was pivotal to the development of capitalism. The demand for labour could not be met from external sources. The focus was shifted to the local African population. Central to what became known as apartheid was the migrant labour system and other laws and actions aimed at ensuring racial divisions as a means to provide a regular supply of cheap labour. It also included steps to systematically eliminate what remained of the pre-capitalist societies including moving African farmers off the land by denying them access to credit. This supply of cheap labour was then

controlled by various measures, including restricting workers to small, under-resourced areas. The 1913 Land Act was central to this process.

The growth of the mining industry in turn led to the development of a manufacturing industry. This in turn required an even greater supply of cheap labour with all the necessary controls. In time, this local manufacturing industry also required fairly large numbers of semi-skilled and skilled workers. At the same time, large scale capitalist agriculture was forcing many whites off the land and the apartheid state took steps to ensure that jobs were made available for these people. The policy of apartheid became more entrenched after the National Party came to power in 1948 and it was the existence of this situation – what effectively became known as the Apartheid State with all its repressive means - which permitted capitalism to grow at a very rapid pace right up until the seventies.

It was therefore put forward by many, when analyzing the South African situation, that the system of apartheid – based on racism and tribalism – developed out of the direct need of capitalism for a large supply and control of cheap labour. The resultant socioeconomic and political injustices were and remain an outcome of these developments. Hence the use of the term Racial or Apartheid Capitalism when describing the pre-1994 situation.

The State Of The Working Class In South Africa And Internationally

The changed global situation requires, in our opinion, that we not only confine ourselves to local conditions when assessing the role that BEE can play in “economic transformation”. It requires that we look at the ravages that capitalism has wreaked on the majority of the worlds population and the broader environment.

Locally, South Africa remains one of the most unequal places in the world. The resultant poverty brought about by this inequality has been the subject of many studies. Almost 60% of South Africans live in conditions of poverty and given the racially based nature of capitalist development, over 90% of these are black. Unemployment, depending on which definition you apply, stands in excess of 40%, with little or no short term prospects of employment (Joint COSATU/NEHAWU Submission to the public hearings on the Report of the Committee of enquiry into a comprehensive social security system, June 2003).

A defining characteristic of South African society, as COSATU contends, is the “historically accumulated and worsening race, gender and geographic inequalities. These, it says, are “concretely expressed in the extreme levels of chronic poverty and underdevelopment in the areas where the majority of the population reside.”(COSATU’s submission on the Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment Bill and comments on the Department of Trade and Industry’s broad-based BEE strategy document, 2003, at page 3, found at www.cosatu.org.za/docs/2003/bee.htm)

Although the democratic state has taken steps to extend basic social services to large numbers of people, these have often been accompanied by policies – like full cost recovery – that work against the interest of the poor and lead to ongoing disconnections and/or lack of access.

Similar conditions exist on a global scale with no end in sight. Job insecurity, casualization, declining working conditions is the order of the day. Instead what we are finding are larger and larger numbers of people who are completely disconnected and excluded from the capitalist system. Hence the use in South Africa and elsewhere of terms like “poorest of the poor” and the reference to persons with jobs as “being lucky” and constituting an “elite”.

It is this state of affairs and under these global and local conditions that BEE, as one intervention, is meant to address. We argues that it is incapable of meeting this challenge irrespective whether we apply a narrow or broad based approach.

The Origins Of BEE

According to Blade Nzimande of the SACP the concept of BEE “is new in the vocabulary of our movement and alliance”. He goes on to argue that as a concept it was absent from all pre-1994 policy documents (Blade Nzimande, Black Economic Empowerment in South Africa : Notes towards a lecture found at http://www.sacp.org.za/index/php?option=com_content&task=view&id=196&Itemid=69).

He does however draw attention to post 1976 developments, when attempts were made by the Apartheid State, working with the white capitalist class, to create a small layer of black capitalists aimed at convincing black people that capitalism was in their interest. The main reason however was to counter the growing awareness of and support for socialism amongst the masses.

Nzimande, correctly in our opinion, detects a continuity between what was then known as Black Advancement under an apartheid regime and BEE under a democratic government. As then, the drivers of BEE are government and white business. It therefore follows that BEE, as promoted, is not meant to radically transform the economy in favour of the working class and the poor but rather as a necessary tool to entrench capitalism. This is clearly borne out by the comments of a number of BEE beneficiaries. It goes something like this - capitalism is here to stay, we should take steps to de-racialise the system in order that we can benefit as quickly as possible and that this will in turn lead benefits for the masses. Even more crude is the argument that people did not join the struggle "to be poor" and that we cannot expect "a capitalist system to produce socialist outcomes" (Saki Macozoma quoted in Frank Meintjies, *Black Economic Empowerment: Elite Enrichment or Real Transformation?*, 2004, found at www.isandla.org.za/papers/BEE.doc).

BEE – The Stated Objectives And Measures

Following on from their definition of broad based black economic empowerment, government has identified six areas that will drive the process. These are:

- (1) Allowing more blacks to participate in the mainstream economy through mechanisms like equity ownership;
- (2) To grow managerial and operational control by blacks;
- (3) The promotion of affirmative action and employment equity in respect of recruitment;
- (4) Skills development;
- (5) Preferential procurement through the appointment of black suppliers as a means to grow enterprises, increase capacity and create jobs; and
- (6) Investment in black enterprises or joint enterprises which aim to transfer skills and/or create jobs.

The above will not and cannot resolve the legacies of apartheid capitalism. When located within the broader macro and micro-economic policies and programs of government, the situation becomes even more depressing. Our recent history of BEE deals bear testimony to this. Some features of "actually existing" BEE are:

- (1) The process has served to enrich a few, who have come to be known as the "usual suspects". Here Cyril Ramaphosa, Patrice Motsepe, Tokyo Sexwale and Mzi Khumalo come to mind.
- (2) Brought about the revolving door syndrome where high ranking politicians and civil servants quit and immediately participate in BEE deals, often in the areas in which they had served. Prominent persons who have become major players within BEE include Mathews Phosa (former premier), Jay Naidoo (former Cabinet Minister), Marcel Golding (former parliamentarian), Valli Moosa (former Cabinet Minister), Andile Ngcaba (former Director General), Penuel Maduna (former Cabinet Minister), Tokyo Sexwale (former Premier) and Moss Ngoasheng (former economics advisor in the Presidency) - Frank Meintjies, *Black Economic Empowerment : Elite Enrichment or Real Transformation?*, in *Isandla Development Communique* Nos. 9 and 10, 2004.
- (3) Supposed broad based deals only bring immediate financial benefits to the key figures. The way in which the deals are structured mean that working class people see no immediate benefit.

We are unaware of any study that accurately quantifies and spells out in detail the number of actual beneficiaries from these deals. For example much is made of the 300 000 people that WIPHOLD represents yet no indication is given of exactly how and when they will benefit from deals like the Telkom one.

Geoff Parr of the Competitions Commission, in assessing whether or not BEE can address poverty, is of the view that many of the empowerment schemes that give or sell shares at favourable prices will not improve the wealth of the recipients. At best, he argues, these exercises “will simply be a one-off shot in the arm, a poverty relief effort rather than empowerment in a sustainable, empowering sense that was intended by the various pieces of empowerment legislation” (Geoff Parr, Can Black Economic Empowerment address poverty, in Competition News, Edition 20, June 2005 found at www.compcom.co.za/resouces/newsletter)

The ANC itself has raised concerns regarding the current form and content of BEE, although its main concern has been in respect of the funding models that have been adopted to date. These models, the ANC say, has made “it difficult to meet its(BEE’s) economic objectives , such as a higher growth rate, job creation and poverty reduction.” (Business Day, Empowerment Funding drains economy – ANC, Special Report, 2 May 2006).

COSATU and other formations on the left like the SACP have been very critical of the form and content of existing BEE deals. Blade Nzimande is on record as saying that most of these deals have had no or even a negative impact on the “real transformational challenges of South Africa’s economy” and that BEE had been reduced to “only a question of redressing racial imbalances” (Blade Nzimande, Black Economic Empowerment in South Africa : Notes towards a lecture,2005, found at http://www.sacp.org.za/index/php?option=com_content&task=view&id=196&Itemid+69).

“The eradication of extreme forms of poverty and entrenched inequality,” COSATU argues, “is a pre-condition for a successful BEE strategy.” (COSATU’s submission on the Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment Bill and comments on the Department of Trade and Industry’s broad-based BEE strategy document, 2003, at page 3, found at www.cosatu.org.za/docs/2003/bee.htm)

These organizations have sought to shift the debate from the narrow BEE confines to one which emphasizes economic transformation through the building of what is termed “peoples power in the economy”. They raise a number of ways in which this can occur. While agreeing with much of what they put forward, we are of the view that they do not go far enough as a result of their particular perspectives of what is the best that the South African working class can hope for in this period.

The Patriotic Bourgeoisie

In the same manner that the Afrikaner economic project unfolded (admittedly on a much more narrow ethnic basis) BEE is in the main premised on the creation of a layer of capitalists with the national interest at heart who will contribute to transforming the structural and social features of apartheid capitalism. In other words, as Joel Netshitenze of the ANC puts it, the creation of “a better form of SA capitalism”(Quoted in Frank Meintjies, Black Economic Empowerment : Elite Enrichment or Real Transformation?, in Isandla Development Communique Nos. 9 and 10, 2004).

Our experiences of BEE to date would indicate otherwise. It is already conceded that most of the deals involve the enrichment of a few through wealth gained purchasing and/or been granted stakes in existing companies. Very little, if anything, is directed to the creation of new businesses that, amongst others, create jobs as a central feature of dealing with poverty. Very little, if any, consideration for the more broad based intentions of BEE. To the extent that the social conditions of the masses have been improved, these have been undertaken and introduced by the state as was the case in the Afrikaner economic program. Why is this so and will it always be the case?

There is merit in the view that Apartheid Capitalism restricted the black petit-bourgeoisie and that the post 1994 dispensation provided an opportunity for them to advance their class agenda. Given the distortions brought about by Apartheid Capitalism, the only way this could be done was to rely on existing white monopoly capital as the means to rapidly gain wealth. BEE, it is argued, became the slogan for this development (Dale Forbes and Jeff Rudin, Black Economic Empowerment: What about the Workers, 2005, unpublished). But as I have already said, monopoly capital in the pre- 1994 era had also recognized that the long term survival of capitalism depended on creating and building a layer of black capitalists. Given the underlying imperatives of the system, it therefore comes as no surprise that black capitalists and white capitalists act in identical ways.

At the end of the day, BEE is in the main about increasing the number and influence of black people in business without any intention of radically transforming capitalist relations of production.

Capitalism – An Inherently Exploitative Global System

Capitalism is a class based system. By its very exploitative nature it leads to the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few (and growing fewer by the day) thereby creating conditions and inequalities that characterize South Africa and the rest of the world. To therefore expect of capitalism, even of the BEE variety, to operate in a manner which economically empowers the masses is to seek to negate the very reason for its existence.

The changed global situation that emerged post the 1970s, including the collapse of the Soviet Union has resulted in capitalism exerting an almost hegemonic hold across the globe. This situation is often referred to as globalization. What this in effect has meant is that capitalists across the globe compete with each other for the same markets. Central to this is the need to drive down the costs of labour as the means to maximizing profits. So even if we were able to create this layer of patriotic capitalists in South Africa, the broad based social imperatives that people seek to bring about through the BEE process will be completely undermined. And in any event, as Joel Bakan so clearly sets out in his book “The Corporation – the pathological pursuit of Profit and Power”, businesses can only ever act in the interests of its shareholders and that any altruistic actions on their part must make good business sense.

At best, all BEE will do is create a small layer of capitalists. The broad based variety will simply just make this pool a slightly larger but still privileged pool with very limited social impact. Another contributing factor to this are the obligations foisted on South Africa by its membership of the World Trade Organization. The rules of the game make it almost impossible for national governments to, amongst others, take steps to protect their national bourgeoisie, to require that companies fulfil certain social obligations and to protect from commodification, the very basic services needed to lift people out of poverty. The ongoing NAMA and GATS negotiations are cases in point.

Dispelling The Two-economy Thesis

A further complicating factor in the BEE debate is the dual/two economy thesis that seems to inform some of the reasons for BEE. The one country, two economy thesis has an important ideological function in the defence of capitalism. From a socialist perspective there is no such thing as a ‘2nd economy’. What passes for the 2nd economy is the perfectly normal logic of capitalism, a logic that of necessity produces poverty for the majority as a condition for its very successful production of wealth for a few. It is the outcome of the basic laws of capitalism. Nothing more or less.

BEE – A Main Driver Of Privatization

Recalling that some of the stated objectives of BEE are job creation and reduction in income inequalities, some of the post 1994 government’s choices clearly undermine these objectives. These include turning to privatization (including public private partnerships and outsourcing) and the focus on ownership charters for various sectors of the economy as means to advance BEE. The often cheap sale of state assets fly in the face of the nationalization calls of the Freedom Charter (Roger Southall, ANC black economic empowerment and state owned enterprises, in Buhlungu S and others, State of the Nation South Africa 2007, HSRC Press, Johannesburg, 2007, provides an insightful overview of shifts in government economic policy, the location of BEE within these shifts, the similarities between the way in which the state and capital in the first half of the twentieth century catered for the interests of the Afrikaners and BEE under the ANC and the problems that characterised both).

How often have we heard that our government is not by the means to meet its socioeconomic obligations as enshrined in the Constitution? Yet it is able to raise millions towards the realization of various BEE charters and by consequence the creation of a small group of black capitalists.

As COSATU argues, “the one-sided focus on procurement, promotion of small enterprises and the restructuring of state-owned enterprises (SOEs) for the realization of BEE, is problematic. It is well documented that small enterprises can often provide worse conditions for (mostly black) workers than large ones. There is ample international evidence that privatization of state assets(in this case to empower black owners) can lead to worse services for the poor.” (COSATU’s submission on the Broad Based Black

Economic Empowerment Bill and comments on the Department of Trade and Industry's broad-based BEE strategy document, 2003, at page 4, found at www.cosatu.org.za/docs/2003/bee.htm)

This situation was best illustrated in the recent security workers strike. The largest security contracts are in the public sector and many of companies have quite extensive black ownership. The often bloody fight that these workers had to engage in to improve their scandalous working conditions were met with not a murmur from the "patriotic bourgeoisie".

Many of the proposals (infrastructure development, black commercial farmers, SMMEs etc.) in the latest economic growth package of government, ASGISA, simply continue this trend.

To therefore turn to a BEE, in its current form, as a necessity to bring about progressive economic transformation and relief for the masses is to succumb to a belief that capitalism can deliver as they are invariably two sides of the same coin. To the extent that social outcomes are a consideration of capitalism, they are merely to ensure the conditions for the creation of the next generation of workers.

What Is To Be Done?

Nzimande is very blunt when he asserts that the "SACP is not remotely convinced that the huge challenges of our society – and indeed of our world – can be effectively addressed within the closed parameters of capitalism". He argues however that notwithstanding the capitalist conditions within which we seek to address these challenges quite a lot can be done. This is also the view adopted by COSATU.

Calls have been made for a move towards an alternative growth path premised on a strong state with a strong public sector. In this regard the government's supposed move away the privatization of state entities and commitments towards public investment have been welcomed (Southall argues that this shift, as part of what is termed building a developmental state, was due to a number of factors. These included union opposition to privatization, the absence of real broad based economic empowerment flowing from the sale of state assets, disillusionment with the role of the private sector and the difficulties of turning many of the parastatals around). As a note caution, trade rules and obligations and the introduction of business principles into the running of state enterprises could render this change of direction meaningless.

In similar fashion, much has been said on the left about the importance of building a co-operative movement. This requires a much more vigorous examination of co-ops than the present, uncritical acceptance that they in some way pre-figure socialism.

Co-ops that function as tiny islands in a large sea of rampant capitalism face two stark options. They either adopt the logic of the market or they go bankrupt. This is the international experience of co-ops over the past century at least. In any event COSATU, at its 1992 Economic Policy Conference, had already declared that co-ops are not an efficient way of creating jobs on a mass scale. It argued then that co-ops can be a "useful contributors to building a more democratic economy – and unions can gain a great deal of insight into the possibilities for democratic work organization by their involvement in worker co-ops."

The large co-ops that emerged from the Afrikaner economic program were in the main run as private sector businesses and in recent times have been converted into private companies.

Another counter proposal to narrow BEE often put forward is that of focusing on the informal sector. COSATU, whilst acknowledging that in the absence of proper jobs people have to do something to survive, cautioned against the promotion of the informal sector as a solution to unemployment and poverty reduction. They also warned against the survivalist nature that characterizes this sector. (Economic Policy in COSATU, Report of the Economic Policy Conference 27 -29 March 1999, internal COSATU publication)

Other features of BEE like employee share option schemes etc were tried in the pre-1994 period and rejected. Why are they popular now? We must remember that they have their genesis in the Reagan/Thatcher era and with a specific intention in mind. They were similarly advanced in Sweden when the model of western social democracy starting falling apart.

The South African Municipal Workers' Union(SAMWU) has made a number of proposals based on a strong interventionist state and strong public sector (See SAMWU submission to the Local Government Sector

Summit, July 2004, unpublished). Steps that, it believes, if implemented could raise the funds necessary to bring about large scale poverty reduction and sustainable economic empowerment. From this could flow programs that address challenges that COSATU identifies, such as a poor and expensive public transport system, poor access to the market, sources of raw materials, lack of access to technical support and finance etc. Coupled to this should be a focus on the creation of quality jobs and productive investments which target the needs of the poor.

The SAMWU proposals include:

- ◆ The introduction of policies that could inject money into the local economies – in urban and rural areas – and meet service delivery targets through:
 - ⑥ Social Grants including a Basic Income Grant (BIG). COSATU says everyone should get R100 per month from the Government;
 - ⑥ Public Works Programs. SAMWU does have serious reservations about the current Extended Public Works Program as there is no link between the program and the creation of quality jobs;
 - ⑥ Public Sector delivery systems with appropriate technology supporting more and not less employment;
 - ⑥ Replacing the 40 – 50 thousand municipal jobs that have been lost through ‘natural attrition’ over the last ten years; and similar action in the parastatals like Eskom, Transnet etc.

SAMWU has also recommended that Government can easily find money through policies that:

- ◆ Force investors to invest at least 5% of their investible income in government and parastatal infrastructure bonds.
- ◆ Halt and reverse the reduction of personal and corporate taxes. Government has given away R73 billion over ten years through tax reductions.
- ◆ Increase the budget deficit to 5% to get an extra R16 billion. Even the World Bank recognized that a 10% budget deficit was not unrealistic given South Africa’s challenges.
- ◆ Channel interest rate cuts into forced savings programs for social and economic development. A 1.5% interest rate cut would raise R11 billion a year.
- ◆ Refuse to pay what is known as the Apartheid Debt. The government is currently spending almost R50 billion a year to settle loans from Banks during the time of apartheid.
- ◆ Introduce a Tobin Tax. This is a small tax on investment money that comes into South Africa but does not go directly into production.
- ◆ Introduce a small tax on company and individual money that is invested overseas. In 2003 alone, R17 billion was invested in other countries. Very little of the profit made is brought back into the country.
- ◆ Review Black Economic Empowerment Charters. In the Mining Charter alone they want to raise R167 billion for the creation of a tiny number of black mine owners.
- ◆ Compel the Public Investment Commission (PIC) to prioritize broad based economic development. The PIC controls the Government Employees Pension Fund with assets of over R300 billion.
- ◆ Direct parastatals like the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) to focus on industrial development and job creation instead of using public money to fund private business.
- ◆ Introduce progressive block tariffs for services like electricity and water that include adequate free services on a universal scale.

To even consider these proposals will require political will by government and a very clear indication that it is not simply relying on the market to come to the rescue of the masses. Our history in this regard is not very encouraging. Only initiatives that seek to redistribute income on a massive scale will contribute to the reduction and eradication of poverty. BEE is unfortunately not such an initiative.

Conclusion

There are a number of issues that flow from BEE which are crucial to locating the debate within its historical political and economic context. More especially when viewed from a working class perspective. Some have been touched on in this paper. Others include:

- ◆ Given the very clear realization that BEE is not in the workers interests a question arises, why does it continue to enjoy a degree of support within the labour movement and the SACP?
- ◆ The problems created by the expectations the left continues to place on post-apartheid capitalism to redress the exploitation of blacks legitimized by apartheid.
- ◆ The triumph of capitalist values with its features of personal enrichment and disregard for class solidarity. Our leaders are not immune. Andrew Nash is of the view that: "Calls for ubuntu, for moral regeneration and the like will have little effect while South Africa continues to assimilate into a global order which recognizes no moral ties or obligations but those of the market. The problem is not that people do not know the difference between right and wrong, but that they do not see why they should themselves do what is right when life in capitalist society constantly makes contrary demands." (Andrew Nash, Ethics in the new South Africa – that would be a good idea, in Amandla, Issue No. 1, July 2007, p 17)
- ◆ Given the international and domestic balance of class forces is the only feasible working class strategy one that takes place within the framework of the market?

As Neville Alexander has strongly put it, those who are of the view that this present phase of "aggressive and rapacious neo-liberal globalization" will not allow solutions to the problems of the poor to be found within the framework of the market must continue to talk of a socialist alternative. One which he says is:

"based on a different albeit currently below-the-horizon set of values. We simply have to continue to expose the contradictions of the system, initiate and support the most radical democratic reforms i.e. those that tend to strengthen the position and the security of the urban and rural poor."

(Neville Alexander, Affirmative Action and the perpetuation of racial identities in post-apartheid South Africa, 2006, at page 13.
Edited version of lecture originally delivered at the East London Campus, University of Fort Hare, 25 March 2006)

BEE, in its current form and content, is not the type of radical reform that Alexander and others speak of.

 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 5: Responsible Corporate Citizenship And The Ideals Of The U.N. Global Impact

⑥ Prof Oliver Williams

In the notion of corporate citizenship, we like the analogy that it is helpful to consider individual citizenship and then from there get a better idea about what corporate citizenship might mean.

When you think about it, as an individual citizen, all of us have two sets of responsibilities. The one set of responsibilities may be called one's role responsibility, being a mother, father, doctor, or lawyer, a businessman, and one has a role responsibility to try and meet the duties of one's particular role that one has. A

second set of responsibilities may be called the citizenship responsibilities, paying one's taxes, or if one has the time, to join the neighbourhood watch, coach your child's soccer team. What we do as an individual citizen depends on our resources, the time we have, the amount of money we have, our skills.

There is something similar to corporate responsibility. Firstly, a business has its role responsibility, it has to produce goods and services and return on investment; if it does not do these things it does not exist. As we know businesses go under everyday and new ones are created. In addition, what is becoming clearer is that business has a citizenship responsibility. Businesses are part of the wider society, and in fact for their own good health businesses depend on the health of wider society. And so, if the business has the resources, most businesses have seen that they have to be a good corporate citizenship; and the participating good corporate citizenship, a project. More and more businesses are taking up that challenge.

What are the reasons why businesses are participating and becoming good corporate citizens? Part of Professor William's research is to look into this question. He asks why a lot of companies are doing good and interesting things, as some are not? He says that there is not one simple answer to this question. The motivation is unclear.

The following summarizes some of the answers that has come up: the King report on corporate governance has very interesting insight. That report talks about businesses needing a licence to operate. King says that twenty years ago to get a licence to operate, all that was needed was to fill in a form at a bureaucrat; but in the society that we live in today, the licence to operate is an implicit social contract you have with the many stakeholders. One has to be responsive to what the consumer expectations are, to what people understand your responsibilities are, and if one does not meet that licence to operate, one does not meet consumer expectations. The people can change the terms of one's licence to operate. In the United States of America after the big Enron failures and the WorldCom failures, the government passed a very strict bill that says if a managing director or CEO signs off on a full statement, he goes to jail and he pays a big fine. In other words, the people changed the licence to operate. No longer did they trust business, particularly big business, to fill out their accounting statements correctly and they made very strict penalties. It seems that one can fine many examples as to what the licence to operate is.

The laws in South Africa about Black Economic Empowerment are new terms, new licences to operate which society feels business should participate in, in trying to deal with one of the serious problems in society, which is the equity issue based on previously disadvantaged people. Meeting the consumer's expectations is one reason that you see business getting into corporate citizenship. Smart businesses want to be proactive, they don't want to wait until someone tries to regulate or force them to do something; they have people who



are thinking about what it is they ought to do with the power they have in society, and how they can help the society to be a better place from their assistance.

Some companies really believe the notion of Ubuntu, the King report speaks of South African business not forgetting about the important African philosophy of Ubuntu, which is a communitarian value. It helps because, I am what you are, and you are because we are in this together; that leading a humane life requires certain relationships and there is an inter - connectedness between business and society.

Other companies are interested in what they call reputational capital. That is, being known as a good corporate citizen does have some pay-offs, in the sense that you are admired as a company and certain people make their decisions on whether to buy your product or not on the basis of your reputation. The Financial Times, for example, estimates that IBM's reputational capital is worth 55 billion dollars! The primary value of IBM as a company is not planting equipment; it is in their reputation, the high regard they are held by people. This is why many governments buy their products around the world, and why many companies buy their products. For example, IBM gave 150 million dollars to corporate citizenship programs around the world.

Another reason why, particularly big business, partakes in corporate citizenship projects is because they are so large, they feel that people expect them to help with the problems in the wider society because of their size. There are 190 nation states in the world, there are number of companies that are larger than all the nation states in the world. For example, General Electric had sales of 100 billion dollars last year, and there are only 7 nation states with an annual budget larger than that. IBM's was 80 billion dollars. Today because business has been so successful in pleasing us, because we buy their products, it has why they have amassed wealth and power. Many big companies feel that where there is power there is also responsibility. This is why they decide to take on some of wider society's problems. This is some of the background in Professor Williams research and work of why companies get involved with society.

There is a serious need for a reflection on corporate citizenship in our world today. Coffi Anan in 2000 started what he called the UN Global Compact. That is a set of principles or ideals for business around the world. There are ten principles that have to do with human rights, labour rights, environment, corruption, etc. There are over 4000 companies in the world that have signed up. They will try to advance human and labour rights; they will try to take care of environmental issues and try to avoid corruption.

Business can be an agent to bring stability, be part of peace through commerce in trying to restore the social fabric of society, by healing and peace building.

 [To Contents Page](#)

Section 7:



Ethical Leadership In & Through Politics

 [To Contents Page](#)

Background

The conference, Ethical leadership in and through Politics, was held at the Great Hall, University of the Western Cape (UWC) from 6 to 7 September 2007. The objective of the conference was to investigate the contributions of existing politics practices and initiatives in political parties and government for a morally renewed society by exploring:

- ◆ the ethical frameworks of political parties and government's relationships with its stakeholders
- ◆ their role in nation building
- ◆ their role in alleviating socioeconomic conditions in disadvantaged communities
- ◆ their role in contributing to ethical leadership practices and to a morally renewed society

The conference sought to find out what these practices are, to raise awareness of the same and to assist in further development of these practices and to analyse the challenges confronting politics with respect to ethical leadership.

The general outcomes of the conference was to develop an awareness of the ethical responsibility of political leaders in their political parties and organizations; create a space for mutual dialogue; and facilitate a platform for future reflection and action; and the specific outcomes:

- ⑥ Political leaders identify ethical best practices and challenges;
- ⑥ Political leaders apply ethical practices in order to realise a morally renewed society;
- ⑥ Political leaders incorporate (integrate) practices which would foster
- ⑥ nation building, assist in alleviating poverty, contribute to ethical leadership and ultimately a morally renewed society;
- ⑥ Sustainable growth and development in the SA through ethical leadership.

The conference was attended by approximately 270 (Thursday) and 120 (Friday) representatives from various political parties, organizations, trade unions, some from faith based communities (FBOs), community based organizations (CBOs), educational institutions, municipalities (especially the Oudtshoorn delegation) state departments and advocacy groups dealing with issues relating to ethical leadership in and through politics.

 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter Outline

Chapter 1

Addresses **Rev. Courtney Sampson's** views on the challenge of moral renewal in politics. Sampson argues that politicians are not in any way more dishonest or corrupt than the rest of us. He analyses South Africa's political strength in the 2nd decade of its democracy and argues that the country have a strong structural democracy. The real challenge lies in the way in which South Africans as individuals respond to the constitution. He calls for visionary politicians for the kind of society we should create. Sampson then identifies several challenges of our emerging democracy; and argues that the unpredictability of our past (Pieter Dirk Uys) has created an environment where political representation has become a career and a profession. We have seen a shift from political leadership as persecution and suffering to political leadership as security and wealth (albeit relative).

Chapter 2

Describes the perspectives of three political leaders from different political parties; **Lance Greyling** (ID); **Max Ozinsky** (ANC); and **Hansie Louw** (ACDP) on the theme "Ethical Leadership in and through Politics: Perceptions and Reality (Perspectives from political parties in the Western Cape)."

Lance Greyling (ID) declares that politicians often tend to ignore their ethical leadership in their daily political practices. He argues that the perception of the public, particularly during floor crossing, that ethical leadership and politics is an oxymoron, is justifiable. There is a fundamental disjuncture between how politics should be viewed and how it is viewed. He defines ethical leadership as the upholding of values which inform society and the promotion on both an individual and collective basis to achieve those values. He notes that the practice of politics seems to have descended into being more about the accumulation of power than the upholding of basic principles. "When power trumps principles, ethics is

often the loser.” Greyling says that South African politics runs the risk of exacerbating rather than bridging the divides of its past.

Max Ozinsky (ANC) locates his perspective within the ANC’s tradition and its distinctive role models. He refers to key examples of ethical political leadership, such as Chief Albert Luthuli, Oliver Tambo, and Nelson Mandela. Ozinsky argues that the complex web of and mechanisms of neo-colonialism were and are in place to ensure wealth for a few whites and the current scourge of corruption. He holds that floor-crossing from the perspectives of many political parties is fundamentally flawed, because it is dishonest to the voters who put the politicians in power in the first place. The moral decision for people in the New National Party, who at the time of democracy was members of a party whose forerunner instituted Apartheid became untenable to continue in their party. He concludes by stating that we must not think that the decision for floor crossing is taken lightly.

Hansie Louw (ACDP) argues that ethics and morality exist only in dictionaries today and that South Africans are collectively ill and morally comatose. He states that our leaders and politicians primarily reflections of this ‘ill’. Louw defines this as the reason why politicians are bribed legally to join other political parties. Louw further describes the socioeconomic challenges in South Africa and the political “inability” to deal with these challenges. He illustrates this by illustrating the gap between the wealth of the white property boom and poverty coupled with extreme unemployment. He concludes by calling for practical ethics to transform the socioeconomic dynamics in the Western Cape; for cooperation between government, churches and communities; and an end to the housing backlog and poverty; and by those who “have” and radical changes in the constitution.

Chapter 3

Focuses on the **Tony Ehrenreich**’s (COSATU) views on “Thirteen years after apartheid: the quest for democratic governance.” Ehrenreich argues that our democracy have made incredible gains; set up democratic institutions; an independent judiciary; government institutions; and civil society institutions. He defines our democracy as a people centred caring democracy, paid for in blood; which we should protect and nurture; and that we should defend our common public good. He contends that we are observing after thirteen years: a decline in democratic participation; a trend to imperial leadership; and the end of servant leadership. He calls on politicians to respect the humanity of other opponents and that their engagements must appreciate the spirit of UBUNTU. Ehrenreich defines floor crossing as the most unethical of political acts. He concludes that: “Leaders have an obligation to stand for a noble higher purpose that inspires people to action by providing them with hope. ... As leaders of society we must restore and ensure Ethics of Politics.”

Chapter 4

Describes the perspectives of **Ryland Fisher** (Author) and **Karl Cloete** (SACP) on the theme: “Bridging inequality: Race, class, cultural differences and poverty in the Western Cape.”

Ryland Fisher addresses the impact of race on poverty and vice versa. His argument is grounded in his own experience and especially that of the people he had interviewed. His basic premise is that he is a racist and that all of us are basically racists in our conduct, attitudes and perceptions. He believes that the acknowledgement thereof will promote healthy dialogue, acceptance of racial and cultural differences and ultimately social capital and cohesion of our people. The One City Many Cultures Project, which he initiated while he was editor of the Cape Times newspaper, serves as a practical illustration. He then focuses on how the history of the Western Cape has led to a situation where the province is decidedly different to other provinces: with abundant riches, but also with huge inequalities.

Karl Cloete (SACP) locates said topic in its historical premise of the National Democratic Revolution and the democratic breakthrough achieved in 1994. He describes the racial stereotypes and prejudices that still play themselves out between coloured, and African workers in our working class communities, as painful. This ‘painful’ reality is especially true for those who believe in the emancipation of the working class and the philosophy of a non-racial and non-sexist society. Prejudice along racial lines has found a safe haven within many spheres in our society. It finds expression where one group wants to yield power over others and where there is a scrambling over positions and resources. Whilst we are not born racist, this phenomenon comes as a result of society’s influence on us over time. Cloete calls for the defeat of racism, racial prejudice and racial stereotypes.

Chapter 5

Describes **Fatima Shabodien**’s (Women on Farms Project) perspectives on The challenges of transformation through redistribution of land in the Western Cape.

She argues that transformation in the Western Cape (and in the country) can only be achieved through a radical land redistribution program. Land redistribution has to be seen as the key strategy around which other interventions may be structured. The fact that the extreme inequity in land distribution persists along racial and gender lines even fourteen years after the dawn of our democracy, should present a profound moment of crisis for South Africans. Her contribution focuses on: an historical overview of commercial agriculture and the location of black farm worker families within this structure; a reflection on the distinctive features of the Western Cape in relation to land reform; a brief overview of land reform to date; and concludes with a vision of what is needed to realise transformation through land reform in the Western Cape. She concludes by saying: “There must be an acknowledgment that it has been the exploitation of workers in general and women temporary workers in particular that has made this system possible in much the same way as

apartheid enabled a “successful” mining industry.” Land reform is about eradicating poverty and restoring dignity to people in the land of their birth.

Chapter 6

Focuses on the Minister, **Lynn Brown**’s (MEC – Dept of Finance and Tourism) views on The National Growth and Development Strategy and the vision of iKapa eliHlumayo. She defines an ethical leader in and through politics as being all about good, fair and efficient governance in achieving the targets set out for electoral promises to the people; delivering on a better life for all. Ethical governance is the ability of visioning the future and realizing it for the people in our communities. In our Provincial Growth and Development Strategy, iKapa Elihlumayo (the Growing and Sharing Cape) we say that “by 2014 the Western Cape will be a sustainable ‘Home for All’ its citizens, whether rich or poor, boy or girl, regardless of mother tongue, race or creed and whether living in a suburb, township or informal settlement. The Western Cape will be an empowering place to live in with improved opportunities through shared growth and integrated development.” Brown holds that the economy is creating jobs, but not enough jobs especially at the lower to medium skill level where we have many unemployed people. Our youth are also bearing the brunt of poverty, unemployment, crime and violence in communities, raising the importance of policies of social inclusion and addressing vulnerability as integral to a shared growth and integrated development approach. She calls for just and ethical principles and leadership in respect of a shared vision and decision making. Brown concludes that we must continue to strive for good governance and ethical leadership – stretching our capacities to the limit and ensuring a legacy for the future.

Chapter 7

Addresses **Sifiso Mbuyisa**’s (Director – Human Rights and Social Dialogue; Dept. of the Premier; Ethical Leadership Project) perspectives on the topic: A cross-sectoral and integrated approach in 15 priority areas in the Western Cape. He sketches the current context and defines the theoretical assumptions on the Developmental State and concludes with a description of the Social Transformation Program. He draws on the views of four developmental experts to state the theoretical assumptions of a developmental state, namely people capabilities; basic human needs; and development as freedom. He concludes his contribution with the Social Transformation Program.

Chapter 8

Views Minister **Richard Dyanti**’s (MEC – Dept of Local Government and Housing) perspectives on the topic: “Towards integrated sustainable human settlements with developmental and well-governed municipalities with effective service delivery – challenges and successes.”

Chapter 9

Presents **Dr Lydia Cairncross** (Groote Schuur Hospital) on the theme: The challenges of health inequality in the private and public sectors. She holds that South Africa spends 8.8% of its GDP on health, but that our health indices reflect a population that has limited access to healthcare. This discrepancy arises as most health expenditure is within the private sector which services less than 20% of the population. Cairncross calls the inequalities within the private-public sector as inequality of the most startling in South Africa’s health sector. She argues that the concept of healthcare as a profit making, commercial enterprise is challenged by the principle of the Right to Health enshrined within various international declarations. This is echoed strongly in our Constitution, Bill of Rights, the Freedom Charter and the RDP. Yet the private sector continues to flourish at the expense of the public sector in terms of human and material resources. Cairncross argues that the health system in South Africa suffers from enormous inequalities inherited from Apartheid. Access to health care was then differentiated on the basis of race, geographical location and social status. Post 1994, contrary to expectations and hopes, some of these inequalities have deepened. Private-Public Initiatives and Social Health Insurance do not address the fundamental ethical problem of the corporatization of health services. She concludes: “In a society that is serious about a dignified life for all, the Right to Health must mean access to equal, quality and free health care for all its citizens. This can only be achieved through a single, public health system based on the ethic of service not the pursuit of profit.”

Chapter 10

Addresses the views of **Benett Joko** (PAC) on the topic: The role of ethical leadership in political organizations. He poses the question: What are leadership and its role, politics and morality? He defines leadership by: what leaders say and not say; what they do and what they don’t do; what they write and what they don’t write. Joko identifies three forms of what he calls, cowardice leadership: physical cowardice: afraid of any contact with anything; intellectual cowardice most prevailing in our academic institutions; and morale cowardice. Joko then defines politics as the science and art of government. He argues that the Pan Africanist view is that politics is the science of obligations to control facets of communal life. Joko holds that the role of Pan Africanist leadership has always been to project those values and that the P.A.C has been led by ethical leadership in pursuit of its political objectives. South Africa is an African society and the role of its leadership has to be in line with that.



[To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 1: The Ethical Challenge Of A Morally Renewed Society

⑥ Rev Courtney Sampson

In my current job I work very closely with politicians. And I say quite confidently to you that the majority of our politicians are not in any way more dishonest or corrupt than the rest of us. I think one of the most difficult situations that we are faced with is that we don't have opportunities to hear our politicians. We never really get an opportunity or very little opportunity to engage with them directly. So we don't see the person; we don't see the attitude; we don't experience the struggles to be able to provide what needs to be provided. And I think that for me is one of the greatest difficulties of our era. But having said that let us just embark on our journey regarding the challenges of ethical leadership in politics. And I have deliberately used no quotations of politicians. I think that the question we have to ask politically, how strong are we in the 2nd decade of our democracy. When I asked that question to myself, I must begin to look at all the challenges that we face. My personal opinion is that in terms of structural democracy – the way in which our democracy is structured, the:



- ◆ Constitution
- ◆ Independent executive
- ◆ Independent legislature
- ◆ Independent judiciary; and
- ◆ Chapter 9 institutions.

In terms of all these things we are a strong democracy. There is no doubt about that. There is no question about the fact that we have everything in place to be a very strong democracy. The problem and the challenge lies in the way in which we as individuals respond to this democracy. That is where the real challenges lies. I think structurally we have a strong democracy, but the way individuals respond to our democracy is questionable, and that is where I think the real challenge lies.

Plato argued in Gorgias:

'The ability, professed particularly by the Sophists, to make the worse cause appear the better, struck Plato as the source of all corruption'.

To make the worst cause appear the better is the source of all corruption. I think if we look at it from that particular perspective, we can see how in political life, we begin to engage at a level where it does appear as if there is, not only in politics, but in many aspects of our lives, debates and arguments, about how it is possible that we can make the worst cause appear the better.

In the 'Pentagon Papers' – those Pentagon Papers known as the *History of U.S decision-making Process on Vietnam Policy commissioned in June 1967*, Hannah Arendt describes the US President probably as being exceptionally vulnerable in the world. Vulnerable because she says, "public enough - the only person likely enough to be a victim of complete manipulation, is the President of the United States. Because of the immensity of his job, he must surround himself with advisors – the national security managers as they are

recently being called. Who exercise their power, chiefly filtering the information that reaches the president, but interpreting the outside world for him”.

But, even given this background, of the essence of corruption and the manipulation of facts, in order to fulfill a particular purpose, the greatest challenge to politicians must be remain visionary in the kind of society that we must create. **Emerging democracies**, such as ours **has many, many challenges**. It is not easy, we talk on the one hand as if we are a fully fledged democracy. On the other hand we know that we are an emerging democracy. And one of the challenges that we have to look at, in the words of Pieter Dirk Uys:

‘Our future is clear, it is the past that is so unpredictable’.

We are not dealing sufficiently with this unpredictability of the past. In fact one of these challenges is to plan the future, while taking cognizance of the past (Pieter Dirk Uys). There is a kind of dishonesty that has nothing to do with money. It almost amounts to a new form of denialism. The denialism of South Africa’s past is quite understandable, because who wants to own such an awful past and who wants to be reminded of it all the time. People want to move away from it as quickly as they can, yet at the same time, for those who have been the victims of what the past meant. It is often therapeutic for the victims to talk about it. Have you noticed how people who have been incarcerated, who have had terrible things done to them, when they get together, they almost automatically slip into a nostalgic talking about, can you remember; with great laughter of cause, of how people were beaten and ran away with a great scare in their eyes. Can you remember how scare you were? It is precisely this kind of nostalgia that is healing. So we are caught between a need to be able to move away from this past and also to linger in it for a little wail. For people just to life to experience and to gain therapy that comes with that kind of nostalgia. Of cause we know, that when people become nostalgic in the presence of youth, youth become entirely bored. They don’t know what you talking about, and that, that for me, is one of those challenges. Where we have to understand where we come from, but we are really planning the future.

I believe that a second challenge is to celebrate the gains that we have made in the second decade of our democracy, but that we should also become aware of the shortcomings of that which is not being delivered. In a TV programme, called *Footprint in Africa*, which I saw the other day, Beverley Mitchell, the producer and also the interlocutor of this programme has the following to say: ‘I fought for liberation and all I got was democracy’. And when se said it I thought by myself, there is value in this. Everybody is beating the democracy drum, so hard that we are looking past the challenges that have been raised in this audience earlier today; about issues concerning jobs, houses and all those kind of things.

The third challenge in an emerging democracy is that we have to strive for reconciliation, but not at the expense of justice. As crucial and as important as it is, to achieve reconciliation in our time, it can never be done at the expense of justice. Justice can surely be seen as the way in which South Africa begins to provide for all it’s people. What justice can there be when we have and continue to have the levels of poverty that we have to deal with. Will a time come soon when people will turn their back on reconciliation and say listen you are blinding me, and you are shutting me down around questions of reconciliation and now you are preventing me from asking the things that I deserve. So this is a challenge. A balance needs to be struck, because you can’t be begin to provide, and provide, and provide, without also taking in consideration the questions of reconciliation. These are difficult issues and they need to be addressed.

A fourth challenge in an emerging democracy that our politicians have to be aware of and have to deal with on a daily bases in policy, and al sorts of things and in decisions that they make; is a strike in balance between the fears of those who have and the needs of those who have little or nothing. This balance is absolutely crucial. And I can tell you that the majority of our politicians are aware of this balance. Of how important it is that you cannot turn your back on the fears of those who have invested must in our country, but also that you can’t turn your back on the needs of those who have to sit and see these things playing themselves out on the other side. I believe that for me is one of the critical issues, because where is the benchmark? Surely the benchmark, this is one of the countries where wealth and poverty are very close together. People who are poor see wealth everyday.

A next challenge in an emerging democracy is the question of learning to live in a democracy and unlearning life in an oppressive state. What I mean by that is that nobody gave us a handbook about how to live in a democracy. We still use the same terminology to describe things to one another. There is not even a new language that is brought into the mix so that we can begin to describe ourselves in other ways. We are not

learning effectively enough how to define ourselves by our Constitution rather than by race, language, ethnicity, culture etc. so we have to learn new things, but we have to unlearn old things at the same time. You do one without the other, you either live in the past or you ignore it at your own peril. And you'll lose sight of the importance of being able to live in a new democracy. And so I believe that our politicians in their ethical leadership that they provide, like all of us, be **contributors** and not **detractors**. It is so easy to become a detractor and not a contributor. And whilst we are looking at the failures and shortcomings of our current time, we must be careful that our awareness and engagements with those shortcomings doesn't lead us to a road to become detractors and no longer contributors. What South Africa needs is contributors; and that for me is a critical question for our politicians. I believe that the neglect of these balances will lead to cynicism and cynicism inevitable turns one into a *detractor*. The media have an incredibly important role to play. The debate is so much about the rights of the media that we are not looking at the importance of the role of the media. By its very nature the media is not the most accurate commentary of the health of our democracy. And it is because it needs to look at that is going to catch the attention of people. This is not a kind of right-off of the media that I am busy with, I think it is something that the media also needs to engage with, within themselves; and have an awareness of the challenges of this democracy that we are living in. The media tends to focus on the shortcomings of the responses of individuals in the democracy more than on the strength of our democracy in a structural sense. And so we begin to live in a world of cynicism that turns us all into detractors, because nothing is going right. That is one of the sad realities of where we are. We all know that in any society you have a vocal minority and a silent majority. And if you think in the ways it becomes very difficult for the words, for the thoughts, for the ideas of the silent majority to begin to permeate right up to the top. We don't hear it often even, but it remains a challenge. What we are dealing with at the end of the day really is a battle of the mind. We must train our minds to stay focused to avoid cynicism to become contributors and not detractors. Hannah Arendt says in her book, *Between Past and Future*:

The task of the mind is to understand what happened and this understanding, according to Hegel, is man's (remember the time of his reality, own insertion) way of reconciling himself with reality; its actual end is to be at peace with the world. The trouble is that if the mind is unable to bring peace and reconciliation, it finds itself immediately engaged in its own kind of warfare.

It's a struggle of the mind. It's the way in which we apply our minds in the information that we have. It's how we engage with the actual realities of our democracy, rather than simply to hear the voices of a vocal minority. It's also to hear the voices of the silent majority. Where do we hear those voices? Do our politicians hear those voices?, do they even begin to hear those voices? I have always believed that with democracy goes two other D's. The other two D's that goes with democracy is **decency** and **dignity**. Why is it so difficult for us to live with decency and dignity? People who find themselves in the most squalled conditions often live with more decency and dignity than those who live in wealth. And then you can ask what decency and dignity is there in poverty? But I think that this is a challenge in terms of ethical leadership for all our politicians. What we need to see is decency and dignity.

Our political life is marked and dogged by too much desperation. Desperate people don't think. Desperate people can't listen to an argument or an explanation. All that desperate people can do is to want. And if they can't want or get what they want than you sitting with a very serious problem. They don't look at the balances, what is decent behaviour, what is dignified behaviour. It doesn't fit in to it at all. And the best people loose their style. In Paarl we used to say they 'verkoop' (sold) they style. They loose their style in this absolute desperation. It is an amazing thing to see people who are intelligent, well learned, but when they are getting engulfed by this act of desperation they begin to loose focus altogether. And all they want is to get what they want. And when they got it they don't know what to do with it, because they haven't planned to get it. The *unpredictability of our past* (according to Pieter Dirk Uys), and our past in particular, has created an environment where political representation has become a career, a profession; and we heard somebody refereeing to that this morning, it is a profession. But I always sit done in my quiet moments and think, is it, should it be? Should it not be that in an ideal world, that people get taken out of their ordinary jobs and lives to represent us the people for a term or more terms. Isn't But because of where we come from – I always say to people everybody thinks that Trevor Manuel is grand, but I think the first full-time job he ever held was the minister of trade and industry, at that age. People were denied certain situations to be able get themselves to certain level. And in that they came into politics. So that is how politics become a career and a profession. It is not that you take someone out of a career and a profession to ask them to please represent us the people; we think you can represent us well. The unpredictability of our past that comes into our future at the time in

ways that we cannot even to think how and messes with our heads and the things we are putting place brings us to this point. What we also see in much of the people who have given much of their lives in the struggle is a very serious shift from political leadership as *persecution and suffering* to political leadership of *security and wealth*, albeit relatively. That shift took place so fast. One the one we had political leaders who had to run and hide, the next moment political leadership meant that you could live in a better house, and that you could have a better live for your children and for yourself. How do we live with those kinds of tensions, and how do we deal with it. It really has to do with the question of dealing with your mind; of really dealing with it in your own thinking, so that you don't become a victim of something that you can think you way out.

The harsh realities for me, is that the disadvantaged under apartheid, will never catch up with those who were advantaged under it. Let's forget about it, not in your live time, in my live time, or even the next generation's live time, will we who have been disadvantaged ever catch up with those who have been advantaged. Make peace with that. Once you make peace with that reality, then we can really begin to see how we can built from there. But now we run around and try to buy the houses we can't afford. We move into, like I did, next to a old white couple, who paid of their house for a thousand rand, and I am now owing money. I am indebted. But these harsh realities are very important for us to live through. It is important for us to accept that harsh reality and for those who have been able to accumulate a fair living standard just to be patient with us. But in all of this we deal with how we think. The battle of the mind is absolutely crucial, because that reality must not lead you to become resentful. It mustn't lead you to be able to push aside reconciliation. It mustn't lead us to not value the kinds of gains we have made. It mustn't lead us to not value the essence of our democracy. So really at the end of the day it is a battle of the mind. However, this must not detract us from achieving our goals of reconciliation and building one united nation. We are, all of us, after all the *bridging generation*, only generation that will ever build the future of our country, based on an actual experience of our past. I referred earlier how bored the children become when we are nostalgic about the past. When we gone as a generation, there will be no people left who actually experienced the past. We can begin to see the shifting. So if our behaviour as leadership and political leadership cannot set the example and a trend and be ethical, then I think we are going to fall ourselves into big trouble.

The other reason way ethical leadership in politics is such a crucial reality is simply because we now economically and socially challenged communities ordinarily have a serious lack of positive role models – this provides a serious need for ethical leadership. You can go to any community that is economically and socially challenged and you will the serious lack of positive role models. We cannot allow ourselves, given the challenges, in our own minds to begin to slip and not understand the crucial importance of knowing where we going.

In conclusion, we deserve politicians who will **live** our Constitution and give meaning to our well developed structural democracy - baring in mind that we are defined by our Constitution; race, language, ethnicity, culture, where you come from, where you to school, are all secondary identification. The Constitution gives you your primary identification, and that primary identification is that you are a South African. We deserve politicians who will be South Africans before they lay claim to any other secondary identification. We deserve politicians who will **live** our democracy with decency and dignity. We deserve politicians who will get the basics right in ensuring absolute and meticulous compliance with treasury and tender regulations. We deserve politicians who will form the vanguard of integrity, honest and respect:

What happened to us?

Where are all the dreams we once had for ourselves?

What happened to the desire to change, to release ourselves into more caring lives?

Where are we? Have we forgotten so soon what we wanted to be?

Antjie Krog

 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 2: Perceptions And Reality From Political Parties In The Western Cape

📍 **Lance Greyling (ID):**

Losing Sight Of The Ethical Dimension Of Politics

I'll try my best in putting across the political viewpoint on this issue. Firstly, I would like to thank the conference organisers for forcing political leaders to take the time to consider the issue of ethical leadership.

What often happens in the cut and thrust of politics is that we lose sight of what we should be doing as leaders. We lose sight of the ethical dimension of politics which is critical to our democracy and the electorate. One could forgive the public particularly during the floor crossing period for thinking that ethical leadership and politics don't actually belong in the same sentence.



Let's be honest, politicians and the practice of politics is universally looked down upon. I looked in the Penguin dictionary for a definition of politics and politicians. One of the definitions that the dictionary gave for politician is "somebody who uses underhand methods to accumulate power". That tells us a lot about how politicians and the practice of politics is viewed not only in SA but across the world. In fact when I was growing up one of the things my mother always used to say to me was: "Lance whatever you do when you grow up just don't become a politician." Unfortunately I have disappointed her. But I am involved in politics because I believe that is where I can do the most good. I don't believe that politics and politicians should be seen in such a negative light and one of the challenges we face is to restore the image of politics.

I see a fundamental disjuncture between how politics is currently viewed and how it should be perceived. To my mind politics and the practice thereof should be regarded as the noblest profession. Politicians are ultimately public servants and should be putting the needs of the public ahead of themselves and the party. Unfortunately we have lost the plot and this conference goes a long way to engaging these issues and restoring the balance.

This then speaks to the question of what ethical leadership is. To my mind ethical leadership is about upholding certain values which you would like to see inform society and then striving on an individual and a collective basis to achieve those values.

The values that the ID promotes are captured in our slogan: "bridging the divide." We want to build a country where the destructive divides of the past are bridged. These divides can be seen on all levels from our economy and education to health and politics. An ethical leader in the ID therefore is one who is constantly striving to bridge these divides and inspires others to do that as well. Unfortunately the practice of politics seems to have descended into being more about the accumulation of power than upholding of principles.

The principle issues of politics are often lost in the drive to accumulate power. We need to talk about how we are going to deal with that contradiction.

The lofty ideals that parties and politicians constantly profess are often ignored in the overriding drive to accumulate power. Instead of politics then being about a contestation of ideas and values it becomes a

destructive fight in which unethical behaviour is justified to achieve the ends of power. Unfortunately the tendency in multi-party democracies around the world is for politics to descend into such a situation. In a country like SA with such a divided past our politics runs the risk of exacerbating instead of bridging those divides.

Floor crossing for instance has seen the creation of a new party that is claiming to push the agenda of a particular group in SA. I believe that a political party should not be pushing the agenda of a group but a set of values that you wish to see inform society.

Values cut across all groupings in a society and a political party should be judged on how well it disperses political power and not how much of it can be accumulated.

One of the key policy stances of the ID is that of people-led development. We are facing a crisis in the delivery of services and we have seen dissatisfaction expressed in the form of protests throughout the country. This brings about a crisis of trust in the ability of politicians to live up to their promises.

The ID also believes that one way to resolve this crisis is to unlock the capacity that resides in our people and communities. It is about inspiring people and providing them with the resources to achieve our shared goals. Therefore a critical component of ethical leadership is inspiration and we are sorely lacking that kind of inspirational leadership at the moment. We need to get back to the kind of leadership where we look up to people and feel inspired by them. That is the challenge that faces all of us whether in politics, business or civil society.

Ethical leadership is about inspiring people with a vision and offering them hope that we can collectively achieve that vision. For this to happen we need to restore the trust that the electorate has lost in politicians. We need to do away with those elements of politics that promote unethical behaviour and erodes public trust in the actions of politicians.

Floor crossing is a good example. I am not going to take the moral high ground. I don't think that any party in SA can do that. We need to take collective responsibility for this and honestly engage with this issue. We need to decide whether this is promoting the goals of our multi-party democracy or not and collectively decide what to do about that.

The major problem is that it promotes unethical behaviour among politicians and political parties. The fundamental challenge is to try and move beyond this. We need to remove the incentive structures that promote unethical behaviour.

The fundamental challenge for politics is to resolve what I see as a basic contradiction between political contestation and the goals of nation building. It has been a disappointment to see that we have taken the old divides of the past and transplanted them into the politics of our new democracy.

I was a fairly young member of Parliament when I went there in 2004. I sat in the benches and listened to some of the debates. It was quite a disappointment to see the kinds of discussions that were taking place. Debates that become personal and are not in the interest of nation building. If the public were to see their behaviour it would not achieve the unity that we so desperately crave.

Collectively, as political parties we need to find a way to bridge these divides. The question is whether we can find a way of rising above our narrow party interests and find a vision which we can all work towards while still respecting our political differences. We need to find a vision that we can all buy into and which we can commit ourselves to regardless of our political affiliations.

Some of the other issues we need to look at have already been mentioned in the first presentation. That of funding regulation for instance.

It is clear that the current lack of regulation over particularly private donations and party funding is also responsible for unethical behaviour. We see this across parties and once again I am not claiming the moral high ground but the situation does not promote ethical behaviour but provides an incentive structure for unethical behaviour to occur. We need to challenge the corporate capture of our democracy.

The issue of members' interest has been mentioned. We believe that members' interest should be an act of parliament with legislative penalties because at the moment parties decide how they will discipline members of parliament. Nothing has been laid down as to what those penalties should be. That situation needs to change.

I haven't come here to sermonize and to tell people that this is the way we can create ethical leadership in SA. I would have liked to engage with the panel but I think they are probably engaged in other matters. But I certainly will engage with the audience and let's see if we can collectively find a way to restore the trust that the public seems to have lost in politicians.

Let's see if we can elevate politics to the kind of noble profession that it should actually be.

 [To Contents Page](#)

⑥ Max Ozinsky (ANC):

Views And Perceptions Of The ANC In The Ethical Leadership Domain

Thank you very much for the welcome and my apologies for being late. I'm actually standing in for our Provincial Secretary Mcebisi Skwatsha who had to attend a national meeting.

I'm the chief whip as you have heard and we've just had a scheduled caucus meeting, as you know our caucus has gotten larger and so it took a bit longer than usual. Please accept my apologies for being late.

What I am going to present is the speech our Provincial Secretary would have presented.

This political issue that we face as a nation, especially a nation that is fighting for its liberation. If we look at the decisions and the way in which those decisions were taken and the leadership they provided, we see the African National Congress and the South African people have set tremendous examples of ethical leadership.

While Nelson Mandela was in prison he was given the choice that if he rejects his organization, the ANC, and the methods that it was adopting in the struggle, he would be released from prison and could live in a Bantustan in the Transkei.

After more than 20 years in prison his approach to dealing with that question was that he was not free until all SA was free.

That is the direction that the ANC leadership and the history of the ANC have taken in dealing with ethical questions in our struggle, our politics and in our day to day behaviour. What are the interests of the overwhelming masses of the people who face poverty daily?

These are the kinds of role models and traditions that we as South Africans and revolutionaries in SA aspire to and try to emulate. These are very high standards and often we have difficulty emulating them in our day to day work.

We have many great leaders and examples of difficult decisions where the interests of the people had to be promoted. None of our great leaders are simply saints. The greatness of these decisions and how they were taken comes from the fact that the leadership of the ANC and of our struggle have taken decisions as a collective and not as individuals. And it is the collective that has built these individuals and their abilities to take the kinds of decisions that are required.

I've heard Nelson Mandela talk about being in the ANC Youth League in the 1940's and some of the decisions he took then, to disrupt meetings of the ANC and Communist Party and to find ways to get leaders elected at conferences. The fact that he did those things in his youth does not take away from the greatness of the way he operated later in life.

I think the important question is for us to understand how someone who was a fiery revolutionary and sometimes very impatient in the 1940's evolved into the great leader he was in the 1950's and later on. He believes that he became part of the collective that had to learn to work together and to take decisions in the interest of the people. That is when the ANC transformed itself into a great mass organization in the 1950's and the learning process was accelerated.



The conditions in SA have changed tremendously in the last 13 years and those changes are a product of the struggle of the ANC and of the people of this country. What we have been able to achieve in the last 13 years was to lay the groundwork to codify the lessons and demands of the struggle.

The demands which are set out in the Freedom Charter 50 years ago, today finds expression in the constitution of our country and the practice of our people, of parliament, municipalities and the laws that have been passed by these institutions.

Of course there cannot be a word for word correlation between the Freedom Charter and what is in our Constitution today or in any law that is passed those institutions. But the laws and Constitution and our methods of politics try to reflect what has been laid down in documents like the Freedom Charter and other historic documents of the struggle.

The great debate in assessing our morality and our politics is how to continually ensure that the views of our people that have elected their public representatives come to be reflected in our political practices and governance. The difficulty lies in ensuring that the views of the great masses of our people are reflected and not just the views of a few who are powerful, rich and influential.

The challenge that we face is that the few rich, powerful and influential people in many ways have access to resources which can determine the debate, the way in which we see politics and the way in which popular opinion is moulded. Of course this is not a new issue, it has existed throughout our struggle, from the 1950's the views of our people began to be suppressed with the banning of individuals, organizations, newspapers, public meetings and so on - starting with the Communist Party in 1950.

In that situation where the views of the people could not be articulated in public, we had to find other forums to express those views.

In that way the role of organizations and other sometimes illegal methods of struggle became more important. Today the situation is different. The press by en-large but not exclusively continues to be controlled by a small elite. While there have been many changes at our universities, they continue to articulate the view of the old order and there is a continual battle to ensure that the views of the people and their demands are put at the forefront of popular debate and opinion. That is why we have some very anomalous situations where while the press may be very influential in moulding people's views, the views that they reflect are those of a very small group.

An example which might be very controversial but is very apt is that of the popular press in Cape Town. If you read those organs of thought like The Voice, Die Son, The Cape Times and the Cape Argus, you would think that all our challenges have been resolved in the last 18 months.

I challenge you to go and drive in Klipfontein Road in Gugulethu or the main roads of Khayelitsha where the roads are flooded at present and strewn with refuse. We have experienced a period of very high rainfall and flooding has been caused by the lack of refuse removal. Yet that issue does not feature at all in popular debate in the newspapers and in the views of opinion formers and experts that we see on television. This is one of the most important issues affecting the ordinary people of Cape Town. The poor and marginalized on their way to work today had to walk through piles of rubbish and flooded areas. Their busses and taxi's had to drive through potholes, often on the pavement, in order to take them to their place of work. I think this is a very important issue when we assess questions of morality.

Are the issues of governance that face us, the issues of politics and political parties given coverage, or are the minor issues raised in the press? Are the main issues we face what Helen Zille and Baadih Chaban said? Or is it chequebook journalism, the rubbish that people have to live in and the disease that it could cause?

We need to continually question those who form our opinions and ideology.

In our legislature we have developed processes of oversight, where we attempt to assess the delivery that comes from our government and whether or not the needs of our people are being met. Our members of parliament and the provincial legislature spend probably two-thirds of their time, visiting areas, holding public meetings, interacting and trying to assess government's delivery. Will the houses that we build last for 30

years or will they fall down in five years? These are issues that members of legislature and parliament deal with.

But if you were to read the newspapers these issues are by en-large absent from public debate. We have a Minister of Finance who is continually challenging public representatives with the fact that government produces large amounts of data on how public money is spent. Government through the Auditor-General and other processes has a mechanism of assessing its delivery. But those mechanisms are not at the centre of public debate and are completely trivialized by the press.

We've had situations where our legislature has questioned the crime situation in our province. Is our Department of Community Safety addressing the issue of crime? Is our department which has a Constitutional role of oversight able to use those mechanisms to ensure better policing? When these issues are raised in the legislature it is attributed to internal divisions in the ANC.

Do we rely on the court of media opinion or on the opinions of our people? In a province such as the Western Cape, which already faces divisions of race, class and religion, there is also a divided reality that various sectors of our people have to live through

In closing, the challenge in dealing with issues of political and revolutionary morality is to ensure that issues of a broad section of our society is reflected and not only those of small powerful groups.

 [To Contents Page](#)

📍 Hansie Louw (ACDP):

How To Get Housing Out Of The Political Domain

Thank you very much. I would just like to go on record and state that I'm probably the only paying and not paid politician in the Western Cape. I think that is an important distinction to make.

During my work in Khayelitsha I discovered a place called Masebokwe's. Inside he had a placard that he proudly displays there. It says: "I met an honest politician the other day." He told me that he believed all politicians to be liars.

I would like to speak about ethics and morality especially within the context of the Western Cape and South Africa and how it is reflected in the areas of property and poverty.

There are a few Latin words that I would like to explain. "Povertus ellenda est". It has been many years since I took Latin so I'm not sure if it's still correct. But as I understand it means that poverty is destroyed and is being destroyed. If we can't adopt that mindset we will not get rid of poverty in SA, which is one of the major issues we are facing.

I would like to disagree with the Ethical Leadership Project and argue that the words: morals and ethics only exist in dictionaries. In practice politicians, including the ACDP, are collectively ill and should be resurrected in a moral way.

I will not address the issue of floor crossing even though I think that it's wrong. There are more important issues in the context of the Western Cape and SA that we need to focus on.

I will also present some possible solutions.

Allow me to sketch the current situation in SA.

If we look at the reality in the Western Cape and SA, I think we have a just political system. Our economy has improved and we even have a number of multi-millionaires.

Crime and Aids will always be a crisis and a challenge.

Our informal settlements have grown. There has been some job creation. The cost of housing has gone through the roof. The National Credit Act is not assisting the people who need help, especially those of us who need to get into the housing market.

There are certain acts and bills that are morally unjust and that prevents us from growing economically.

There are perceptions that because we are free we should be patient and wait for things to get better. But people are still unemployed, still live in shacks or in temporary housing and we still have poor service delivery.

Some choose to leave SA in search of better opportunities.

I would like to illustrate why I say we are morally comatose, we are not seeing what is happening in the Western Cape and in SA.



I will address firstly property and then poverty and unemployment.

Property gives us the incredible privilege of ownership and experiencing growth in assets. We bought the house that we are living in a number of years ago and at the time we didn't think that we could afford it.

There has been enormous growth in the value of property so our investment has grown in terms of value and equity.

A person wanting to enter the market now will encounter difficulties. Some people cannot get financing especially in certain categories of the market.

There are huge shortfalls in the Western Cape and SA. The figure that is bandied around, I'm not sure whether it is correct, it that we have a shortfall of about 400 000 in the Western Cape and about two million houses nationally.

Let's say that each of those houses cost R100 000, which means that we are talking about roughly R40 billion. According to a media report we need about R168 billion nationally.

These houses could have been acquired 10 -15 years ago for about R5 000. At the moment they cannot be acquired for R100 000. If you look at the interest on R100 000 it would amount to roughly R10 000 per annum. So we have missed a huge opportunity to provide housing in the Western Cape and nationally.

I own a few properties in Khayelitsha that I bought about two years ago. I haven't moved there yet.

Talking about Khayelitsha, we have two sons of which one is twenty-one. When he was about 18 we went to a church service in Khayelitsha and he said to me: "Dad do you want to get us killed?" That was his initial reaction.

I've subsequently bought property in the area but I receive no rental from the people occupying them. They are taking care of the properties for me. I'm also a capitalist and I know there will be growth in the value of those properties.

The point is that if we addressed the issue of housing a few years ago we could have resolved it. But at the moment if we just look at the growth of the value of property in those areas it is at least 22% a year and I project that the figure will rise to about 80%. The interest rate is about 12%, so the cost of delaying is costing this province about four billion rand per year.

The issue is open to debate. This was taken just after a fire in November of 2005 that destroyed a portion of Site B. It was rebuilt and then painted.

We can blame Apartheid and migration or we can say that people are passive and lazy or have no insight. The reason is irrelevant. We have to address the problem.

What are the political parties doing? Remember that I am a paying politician, that's why I can say this. They haven't done much.

The ANC did not do much, both the DA and ACDP did not do much either. Assigning blame does not help. We have to address the problem and look to the future.

The ethics of the issue is as follows. The picture is not that clear but it's a young boy of aged about 8 – 10. He is opening a tap conveniently located in front of the shack. Now one of my dreams for Khayelitsha and the Western Cape is that this situation should cease to exist. It should be a picture on a museum wall and it can have the last remaining shack next to it.

Let's talk about economic beneficiaries. There are people that benefited before 1994 and people that are benefiting post-1994. The former being largely white and the latter largely black, but still to some extent white beneficiaries as well. I'm one of those beneficiaries and I acknowledge that.

So if we look at housing from a political perspective, politicians would like to delay housing so that they have something to promise people. The other parties delay housing so those voters become unhappy and vote for them. So we have a lose-lose situation.

If we don't take housing out of the party political arena we are not going to resolve it and the same with poverty. The violence and protests will continue to escalate. This picture was taken about three days ago when one person was killed after a housing protest. It was because a bakery van accidentally ran over him during the protest.

If we do not have serious and constructive effort by all parties we will not resolve the housing issue in SA. I think we have arrived at a type of financial Apartheid. People with limited income will have no access to housing apart from being on a waiting list. I was shocked when a woman in Khayelitsha told me that she'd been on a housing waiting list for 15 years. We could have solved that problem 15 years ago with about three or four thousand rand. This problem will continue to escalate if we don't change it. It's not justifiable.

Let's look at poverty. The African in ACDP refers to a vision we have for the continent. Jeffrey Sachs has written a book called, The End of Poverty. In it he says: "The time to end poverty has arrived although hard work still lies ahead. Africa's crisis is that we have one death every 5.67s from Aids, Malaria or TB."

He also says that currently about 8 million people die per year because they are too poor to stay alive. He asks: "Is disease the cause of poverty or is poverty the cause of disease?" The answer according to Sachs is that it is a bit of both.

He goes on to say that 1/1000th of first world income invested in developing nation's health sectors could avert 8 million deaths per year.

That's a global perspective but let's bring it back home.

Someone asked me about a year ago to help them buy a fridge in order to sell meat. I helped her and she repaid me soon after. About six months later she no longer operated her business. My initial reaction was that she was unable to manage her finances.

But I thought about it and then I read the above mentioned book and what she needed was an investment of about R12 000 and not the R1 600 that she had requested. If I had had the foresight she could have had a flourishing business that earned her an income of about R4 000 a month. Small investments could give people hope to earn an income.

There are many challenges. I'm trying to learn the language but I'm battling. I will get there though even if it's not in this lifetime. There are cultural differences. At my church we are on a first name basis with the pastor whereas I address my friends who are pastors in the black community as "pastor".

I was indoctrinated that white Afrikaners are superior and it is hard to move beyond that at times. The point is that if we can add another R12 – 20 000 to the price of a house that financing could create jobs for people. So if the haves, and a lot of us did benefit, could arrange finance to the tune of R120 000 we could provide someone with a house and capital to start a small business. If government could arrange some tax relief that would be fantastic.

I would like us to amend the Constitution so that we have to resolve the housing crisis by 2015.

 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 3: Thirteen Years After Apartheid: The Quest For Democratic Governance

🗣️ Tony Ehrenreich

This discussion must be about finding a standard of what it means with ethical conduct. There must be some universal truth that guides us. It is an important question to reflect on.

There is no doubt that the discussion we engage in must be robust, but in that robustness we send a signal to the politicians in the ways they themselves have to behave. You can differ with somebody else and not define them as your enemy. You got to continue, as Martin Luther King said, love your enemy, not only for himself, but sometimes in spite of himself.

Desmond Tutu says it better, he says, you must respect humanity of other people, because that is the central feature of ubuntu. Because the danger in our debates and contests, if we dehumanize any one else in the way we engage, we effectively dehumanize ourselves. Once a society becomes dehumanize, the values that brought it to that point are gone, and all that prevails is our worst nature.

All that we should be doing, should appeal to people's better nature. Because you see politicians, unlike many of us, they have an obligation to rise to a higher and nobler standard. That's way they public representatives, they are in our glare all the time. We look at the way they conduct themselves and we expect them to conduct themselves in a way that serve as an example for our society. Because comrades there can be no doubt that there should be a fundamental linkage between private virtues, the stuff that makes you a good person, and public values, because if there is a break between public virtues, those things that make you a good person and the public values that emerge from your engagements as a public representative, will not be what we deserve as a society. So we must evaluate our politicians, we must hold them to a higher standard. And they themselves by virtue of being chosen to those positions must hold themselves to a higher standard.

I want to say in our country 13 years later into our democracy, because I meant to speak on the question of governance, we have made incredible gains. Courtney spoke about all the constitutional mechanisms that we have put in place. And that must indeed be something we celebrate. In our government and country there is peace and relative stability. Women and the disadvantaged, and disabled have special roles in our society that affirms the problems of the past. Many institutions that look at the role of special categories of people, the Chapter 9's and other institutions do admirable work and even when we have to revue them from time to time the tasks they do speaks to the difficulties that we have. The differences between judiciary and government structures are clear and it gives us in many respects an expression and a codification of the rights we said we stand for. Democratic elections have run freely and fairly in our country and thanks to Courtney Sampson also in the Western Cape without any question, those are important institutional advances of democracy in our country. Institutions like NEDLAC that give social partners, business, labour the community, the opportunity to engage with government with on social policy is an important structures because they give advancement to the constitutional imperative of a participative democracy.

This is not an imperial democracy where we elect someone for five years and they act on their own supposedly interests. This is a participatory democracy where we have the right to engage on the issues that are defined. And in that respects, comrades we are very different from our neighbours in Zimbabwe and many other countries. We must appreciate that. Because any country that does not celebrate its successes



will not know what it is to provide hope for its people, that a better way is possible if they just diligently apply them to that. But, because what we have in this country is directly proportioned to our people, we paid for those institutions and the kind of democracy that we have with the blood of our heroes. So this has not come cheap, this has been through struggle and we must continue to defend that.

The ambition that our people have set for themselves is to build a caring democratic society that includes the participation of all of our people. We must defend this goal with everything that we have, because there is a very real danger that our democracy is in decline. We loosing the ability to shape what it is government does, we loosing the ability to define many of the areas which needs to be taken forward. Why is that happening? 13 years later many of the leaders we put in parliament are jeopardizing the very democracy that we stand for, and we should be holding them to a higher account.

They are doing that because we reach the end of the notion of servant leadership. This notion that you first become a servant to the people and then you become a leader; today people don't follow that journey. They want to be leaders before they have ever served our people, and so that come to those positions with no appreciation of what it is that we stand for as a nation.

The role of leadership is often more about filling their pockets and their stomachs than taking care of those people that have put them in office. The question is that government and government structures work for the people. You employed them through your elections to work for you. They are accountable to you in every detail that you like to know. And in that respect I have some points that differs from the previous speakers, and I hope that may be an area that we can also engage in and find a way around. Because it is about setting a standard that we hold ourselves to, it is about making sure that in our country people don't lord over us. Even the Bible speaks about ways of how people come to leadership. When there was the challenge amongst the disciples as to who would be the favoured leader after Jesus. They spoke about that question that you can only come to that role of leadership through the way that you serve. Your greatness will be measured against your compassion of what it is that you do for the people. And many times our politicians are not doing that. The party bosses and the way the party is structured become so powerful in respect of defining what it is that our leaders stand for. To come in public office to be a minister in our country loyalty to party bosses is more important than in your effectiveness in delivering to our people. Something is wrong when that becomes the defining feature.

Something is wrong about us in defending the kind of democracy that we want when we allow those practices to happen. Because the way in which the system unfolds brings many dangers. Today when you elected into public office, all of the trimmings that go along with that – the car, house, salary – all of the fanciness you will not often as a politician when you leave political office be able to sustain that kind of lifestyle. So to sustain it you must be holden to the party and the party bosses, no longer be holden to the people who elected you. That is a fundamental danger in the entire principle of democracy that makes representatives accountable to the people primarily.

Some people have left parliament and they very few when what parliament has done has gone against their own personal ethical standards. You can measure them on your fingers. Andrew Feinstein is one of the ANC people who left when he had difficulty of what happened in parliament accounts, but you can't find many other public office officials that will do that, because these days it is about the ability to sustain their lifestyles. That in many respects is trampling on what makes our nation great. Out of great struggles are born great leaders, and no where in the world are there leaders as great as Mandela, Sisulu, Ray Alexander, and many of the others on who's legacy we meant to build. When we do what we do in this country, we trampling on the legacy that they left us. Trampling on the struggles that they made and the very examples that they have set for ourselves. And we show no greater disregard for them and the values they stand for than through floor crossing. Floor crossing may be lawful, but it's illegitimate, it has no credibility, and the people don't want it and don't like it. So that is the question about how it is when we define what it is we stand for.

Is it possible that you as an individual, based on your personal values and personal virtues you say: I want to vote for a party that stand against discrimination, so you vote for a party that stand against discrimination – and when the window period come, you representative walks over to a party that stands for discrimination. How can that be right? No matter what you issues may be with floor crossing, whether it is right, and happens in others countries, that cannot be right. There is something fundamentally wrong about that and we must make sure that we defend the democratic practices and democratic institutions that those that come before us has set for this country.

By allowing floor crossing to continue, we are allowing unethical conduct in our country. That is something that we should be guarding against, because ultimately the electorate must be the deciders of who occupy political office and what the portion of their representation is. That is what democracy is all about. Max earlier spoke about the fact that the electorate causes the disruptions by not voting enough for a party. I would disagree with him – that's democracy, people vote for whom they vote for and what the final outcome is, that is the democratic process. The politicians must then make sure they put our interest first and workout appropriate mechanisms to give expression of that proportion of representation of people. You can't say that democracy is an inconvenience. There may be difficulties that come out of it, but democracy, the will of the people can never be an inconvenience and cannot be defined as such. During this process of floor crossing we have seen the most amazing thing happening. Politicians of different parties have come together in the middle of the night in outposts to talk about how they'll be able to defend their positions. Have they ever come together in the middle of the night to talk about how they will make sure that there are homes for everyone? Have they ever come together to talk about the educational needs for our people.

That shows you that the politicians that we have, that the leaders that we have because of the lack of ethics, because of the lack of private virtues they don't stand for anything, they don't stand for anything that demonstrate the interests of our people. They stand for themselves and their interests, and that is way they make time for that and not time for that which are key to our people. When we are, however, quite in the face of those practices then we become complicit in those practises. So we must raise our voices, we must make sure that the vocal minority is increased and that we speak against those issues. Because politicians are often more about how they are able to maintain their fancy lifestyles than what it is we do.

And in many respects the media plays a part in that. I agree with the colleagues who spoke about the role of the media; I don't agree with the extent of it. Many politicians shine because of they just so obviously better than the others. At the moment Helen Zille is seen as this night and shining armour amongst many people. She hasn't done anything for poor people in the Western Cape, but she is seen as the shining armour. The media is presenting her that way, and she is in winter nights out in the streets and marching with people in Mitchell's Plain and doing all of these things. Maybe that is what all politicians should do, but the media does play a role in presenting and elevating people. I don't think there is something wrong with that, what should happen is that all politicians should get equal exposure in the media.

All politicians should be out there with people in the rain and marching against drugs. So I don't care whether you ANC or DA, and I am ANC. I don't care about that when it comes to serving the needs of our people. It is about how politicians act and whether they act ethical and how their holding up to a standard. Surely that must be our primary concern, because that is the job they there for. Should it be that just somebody comes from the ANC and they do something wrong I must be quite when I am gonna raise it when it is something that the DA is doing wrong. It is about building the democracy and practices that we expect, it is about saying this is the kind of conduct that we deserve from politicians, and making sure that that applies to everybody.

But I think that this question of public or private virtue – what it is that you stand for. Courtney spoke about when you see a good person you'll know that you met a good person. That is about that person's private virtue, what it is that the person stands for. There's got to be a linkage between those private virtues and public values. More importantly there's got to be a linkage between public values and social injured. There is a story in the Bible that makes that point, for me, in the best way possible. Everybody has heard the story about the Good Samaritan. He came along this journey and discovered a man who was robbed and he helped the man into the next town. Now that's a great thing to do. That is clearly a good person. Most other people will be too scared – is the robber still around, and ride right past him. But the Samaritan stopped, assisted and took that person into town. Whatever your faith may be, the notion of a Good Samaritan is something that we all can embrace. We all should be that way. But if that Good Samaritan came past that point every morning, and he found somebody has been robbed and he just helped those persons into town, he would not be doing enough. Because you see the robbery and injury to that person is the social injury.

The public policy issue that must flow out of that and out of the Good Samaritan's action is to make sure that the policemen or somebody employed to that point so that the entire society can be safe. We can't just pick up the injured we must make sure that people don't become injured. That's the point about public policy, that's the job of public officials - that is what it is they are meant to do. But I am not sure that we see that in our society today, because in many respects, the public policies does not speak to the difficulties that we

have. In South Africa we have a brilliant example of what public ambitions are and what it is that public policy should be pursuing.

People speak about the Freedom Charter, so it is probably a good point to start on. The Freedom Charter talks about the fact that the doors of learning and culture should be open to all, but its not open to all. Because the kids who go to school in the shadows of Table Mountain, they have computers, astro-turfs and class sizes of about twenty five. The learners who goes to schools in the townships has class sizes of sixty with no computers and sports fields, because the gangsters are probably shooting each other on the sports fields. Now surely that disjuncture can't continue to exist. Is it ok just because our politicians have their children in fancy schools so that never because part of the public debate. You see we talking about a better life for all our people, then we better stand by what it is we promised our society. Now that to me is the difference between your private actions and your public policies. All children should be equal they should be allowed to be the best they could be. The children in the township can never compete with the children on the school level in Claremont and Constantia, because their environment for education is just so different. There may be a few rise above that, but generally on aggregate they will never have the same opportunities. When they leave school and apply for jobs the bosses asked them which one of you have computer experiences. The kids who come from the townships will not have it, so they will probably continue in the cycle of poverty by not getting those employment opportunities.

Surely at the public policy level we should be saying, well make sure that the money is available to equalize education standards immediately. I want to talk later about the fact if we have money because the point is also what I hear about the fears of people and also the ambitions of others. Organisations are about raising the expectations of people, but comrades, I would argue that we are raising legitimate expectations. If you say that everybody is going to live in a house in Constantia, but may be a wrong expectation, because everybody is not. But if you say that everybody should have a decent house, that's a fair and legitimate expectation in the context of the Freedom Charter and the promises that we have made our people that there will be security, comfort and housing for all.

You see because if it was never your intention to provide those things for people, then you should not have made those promises. Then say that all we want is to give you the vote but you will continue to live where you live; business as usual, but come and vote every five years. And that is why I think the quote is right; 'we fought for liberation in this country and all we got was democracy'. Are we gonna justify the legitimacy of that, we surely should be the people that speak out against that and making sure that we change it. Because what has happen in this country is that the political elite and the business elite have attain the better life. But the poor have paid for it. The poor have paid for it in a variety of ways and the poor have paid for it through public policy. The decisions that government make, that politicians make, becomes public policies that gives expression of what is possible in society, and that is what has happened in our country. And the best example to me, to pick up on a point that somebody earlier made, that we need 160 billion rand to build houses for everybody. I don't necessarily agree with his figures or argument, but take that as a figure in point - 160 billion rand to build houses for everybody. Somebody else said that if we take all the holiday houses and all the high walls build around there will be enough walls to build homes for everybody also. But that shows the gaps that have developed between us.

Comrades I want to come to the point about public policy and the decisions that we take. There is no doubt that Trevor Manuel is a beloved son of the soul, but Trevor Manuel is the same man who gives back R100 billion every year in tax cuts to wealthy and upper income earners and to businesses. R 100 billion every year - so with two years money you can deal with housing backlogs, with less that two years money you can equalize education standards immediately. Why does he give back the money to the wealthy, when his electorate is poor people? Those are the people who put the ANC into power. Surely there's a problem there with public policy and what it is that our government does with respect to the promises that was made to our people. Now that's to me a question of governance, because that is what I am required to speak upon.

The governance and the ethical conduct of the government would be to make sure that we move progressively to realizing the ambitions of the Freedom Charter. By giving money back to the wealthy, those I might add who stole it under apartheid. By giving money back to them we perpetuate the inequalities into the future and there's got to be something wrong about that. But you see this flow from the earlier point that was made about the choices government makes on a macro level. When government adapts to the GEAR policy - there was one sentence in there, that the tax to GDP ratio would be 25%. And that is why they cut the tax down consistently. But surely there were a lot of other policies that spoke about what it is that we want to do

for our people. We achieved many things in this country, but I will argue that we can do a lot better if we redistribute resources of our country in a more effective way.

Anglo America and De Beers are able to export our gold, our diamonds and our steel to Japan and China and we buy back high value added products. So that we are unable to add value to our country, even though we have millions of people who are unemployed - we have the cheapest electricity on the continent and we have the skills and technological advancement to add value. Now why is it that we export the materials in a raw way. Well it seems that we are exporting it in a raw way because Anglo and De Beers can make quicker profits. They'll still make profits if we build factories and add value, but it may be slightly less profits. But they are making more money at the moment because of prices on the commodities on the world market. But Anglo and De Beers are both given back to black communities.

Don't they have BEE partners that they gave 25% of their companies to, who became millionaires over night. Even though they just five people, there is redistribution happening. But is that the redistribution that we fought for, when we can use the benefits and profits of those diamond and gold mines in the interests of all our people? The reason why I raise these points is because these for me are about ethical questions. It is about the promises you make to the people and the actions you take to realize them.

Maybe we are not giving our people enough information, because people don't know why they have to be patient for delivery, because we first have to take care of a few of my comrades in the ANC who's are politically connected to get shares in BEE companies. We shouldn't speak for interest groups comrades, we should speak for what represents the advance of social justice. For that is what we stand for as a nation and that's our greatness in this country.

Let us not be dragged down to a lower standard by the conduct of many of the politicians. GEAR policy has been responsible for the privatization of Health Care of Education and of Public Transport. We have the best airline in the world the most modern fleet of planes, but we probably have the oldest set of trains. Now surely that shows you the disproportionate expenditure of a government elected by poor people not acting for poor people. I go to Johannesburg only because the union pays for the ticket to go and work up there. On every flight I am on 95% of the people on the plane are wealthy white people. The other 2% are union guys going to up with me, to work! But there is something wrong when we are spending public funds. R 6 million two years ago was put into SAA. We are spending public money that which should be spending on poor people to make sure that the travel requirements of the wealthy is brought down. Surely we could double the prices of the tickets and the guys flying up and down to Johannesburg could afford to pay it anyway. In health care we are cutting back on Tygerberg and Groote Schuur's hospital funding, and poor people who goes there for services. Our politicians go to Panorama, N1 and fancy hospitals. That's where the politicians goes and take their kids. They don't stand in the cue at Groote Schuur and Tygerberg. Now surely there's a problem that the public health service should get the focus of government, and maybe government will have a greater focus on there if they have to take their children there at five o'clock in the morning. But we gotta make those demands, we gotta make the demands that we believe is in public interests and demonstrate some kind of private virtues.

I want to close by saying that all of these things that are happening in society are not only about what happens to politicians. The choices we make reflects on every step of our lives. Unemployment has gone from 16% in 1996 to close to 40% now. The levels of poverty in many of our communities have increased. The levels of inequality in South Africa as a fact have increased. Wealthy 10% of our society has more of the national income now, than what they had in 1996. How could this be the consequences of a process to undo apartheid and its legacies? Now people are asked to be patient - that all of these things will come right at some point in the distant future, but many of the standards on which politicians measure themselves and their own lives don't talk about the question of patients. They take care of their lives immediately, but the electorate who they meant to serve have to be patient in respect of how they are going to be taken care of.

I want to close chairperson by saying that there is no doubt that we have come to the point where there has to be a revue of what is happening in our country. There has to be a revue of the conduct of the politicians. There is got to be a revue of our own practices and to what standards we hold our politicians. But clearly those things must be measured against honesty. Courtney makes a clear point of do you want to be a detractor or do you want to be a constructive contributor? I don't care how other people may interpret you. I would ask that you speak the truth. That you talk about the people in townships that are dying of the tik-problems and the gangsters who make it unsafe for them, whether you constructive or detractor is not is not the biggest issue for me.

Speak the truth so that we know what it is that we address, because too often those who spoke about the plight of our people are dismissed as detractors. Because it takes away the legitimacy of the crises that our communities are facing. The only thing that we should ask for is to speak the truth, because there can be only one truth. Some other people may try and present something else as the truth, but when we engage we will know what is the truth, and we should stand by the truth, because the truth is what will take us forward. Leaders must act in ways that inspires communities that a better life is possible, that gives them hope and the possibilities for the future. If we allow our leaders to continue in the way that they are now, our chances for the future is severely undermined.

The questions of ethics are absolutely essential, both in politicians but also in us, because by our silence we unethical and we allow our unethical conduct to continue.

A community without benevolence invites its own destruction.

Leaders have obligation to stand for noble higher purpose that inspires people to action by providing them with hope.

Hope is as great as the gift of life.

As leaders of society we must restore and ensure ETHICS OF POLITICS.

 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 4: Bridging Inequality - Race, Class, Cultural Differences And Poverty In The Western Cape

Ryland Fisher:

The Impact Of Race On Poverty And Poverty On Race

I am honoured to speak to you today. The topic of the racial inequalities inherent in our society is something which is very close to my heart.

I believe it should be something that should be close to the hearts of all black people. I often wonder how it is possible for some black people to turn their backs on other, poorer, black people.

Surely, all of us have poor family. I do and I get reminded of where I come from on a daily basis in my interactions with the poorer members of my family.



The aim of my presentation is to look at the impact of race on poverty and vice versa. I will look at how the history of the Western Cape has led to a situation where the province is decidedly different to other provinces: with abundant riches but also huge inequalities.

I will look at how some of these differences are manifested and try to make some suggestions as to how to deal with these differences and anomalies. I will make references to my book, *Race*, and to projects such as the One City Many Cultures project which I initiated while I was editor of the Cape Times.

It will not be an academic presentation but will be based on my own experience and the experience of people I have interviewed over the years.

I want to start with reading an extract from my book, *Race*. It is called “The dilemma of being coloured”.

In the 1980s, it was easy to identify when people were talking about coloured people. They would raise both their hands to about face height, extend their middle and index fingers and move them up and down to make quotation marks or “air quotes”, an indication that they were talking about “so-called” coloured people. Nowadays, the quotation marks have disappeared and people just talk about coloured people. No more so-called.

But where does this leave people who may or may not look like coloured people but do not necessarily want to be associated with being a coloured? And what does it mean to look like a coloured?

I have never been able to relate to being a coloured, because I struggle to understand on which basis one becomes a coloured. Is it because of skin colour? It cannot be, because some coloureds are whiter than most whites, while other coloureds are blacker than most Africans.

Is it because of hair texture? I don't think so, because some coloureds have the straightest and shiniest hair, while others have hair that is so curly that they would never have passed the old apartheid-era pencil test, where government officials would stick a pencil into a person's hair to determine his or her race. If the pencil stuck, then that person would be considered black. If the pencil fell out, then that person could be declared white.

Is it because of culture? Again, it cannot be. In terms of music, some coloureds believe in the culture of the Cape Coon (or Minstrel) Carnivals or the Cape Malay Choirs, while others reject this. Some coloureds feel more comfortable with African music, while others feel more comfortable with American music. A few even like classical music, while many grew up in the church choir tradition. In terms of food, people classified as coloureds have varied tastes, from curries traditionally associated with Indians to samp and beans normally associated with Africans. In terms of religion, some coloureds are Christians while others are Muslim, and many are associated with other religions or with no religion at all.

Is it because of language? No, coloureds speak different languages. There are those (mainly in the Cape) who speak Afrikaans, while some (especially those from Durban) cannot even speak Afrikaans and only speak English. Others, especially those from Gauteng or KwaZulu-Natal, are comfortable speaking African languages such as Zulu, Xhosa or Sotho.

Or is it simply a way of defining people who cannot be defined in any other way?

I have always believed that the last reason is probably the most likely. I believe that the apartheid government created a category of people and called them coloureds, because they had no other way of defining them. But even if they did not create this category, they certainly perpetuated it in a negative way, to their advantage. This was in line with the policy of divide and rule. It was not in their interest for Africans, coloureds and Indians alike to consider themselves as black. It was in their interest to splinter these groups into Africans, Coloureds and Indians, and to split them further into Cape Coloureds, Other Coloureds, Cape Malays, Xhosas, Zulus, Sothos, Tswanas, Tamils, Hindus, and so on. This was why the ideas of Steve Biko were so refreshing. By referring to ourselves as black, it meant that we opposed the apartheid government's definitions of ourselves.

Throughout the seventies and eighties, I was accepted by the majority of South Africans as a black South African. In the nineties, however, after we had won our freedom, I noticed a disturbing trend. Among those people who used to accept me as black, I was now only a coloured. I had gone from being part of the majority to being part of the minority.

Part of the reason for this, I believe, is economic. For many years, coloureds in South Africa had special privileges under apartheid. For instance, the Western Cape was considered a coloured labour preference area. That meant that if you started a business in the Western Cape, you would have to employ only coloured workers. African workers had to apply for special permits or passes to be allowed into the Western Cape.

Coloured people also had access to better social and welfare services than Africans in the Western Cape. Part of the government's divide and rule strategy was based on the homeland system, which meant that Africans had so-called self-rule in homelands, which were normally far away from the industrial heartlands of South Africa. These homelands were normally in semi-rural or rural areas, and had no real prospect of offering jobs to the people who lived there. As a result, many Africans had to travel to the cities to look for jobs. Because they needed permits and passes to be in the cities, many African men went to these cities by themselves and left their wives in the homelands.

Now that the economic pie is open to all, there is a logical sense among some Africans that coloureds and Indians should be excluded from acquiring wealth, because they were not as oppressed under apartheid as Africans were. Their feeling is that the less people who benefit from the new economic pie, the more there will be for everyone in this smaller group to share.

There is also a sense that the majority of people classified as coloured feel more comfortable interacting with whites than they do with Africans. This is seen as one of the reasons why the African National Congress failed to win the Western Cape in the last two elections. Coloured people supposedly felt threatened by Africans, because they did not know what to expect from African rule, and voted for the whites based on this fear. In Trevor Oosterwyk's words, it was a case of "better the devil you know than the one you don't know".

Now I want to read you a bit of the book that was actually cut out. In the editing process I had to cut the book from about 130 000 words to about 90 000 words. If I did not do this, the book would have been about 500 pages long and probably also prohibitively expensive.

This piece is called “The Western Cape dilemma”.

A few years ago, we embarked on a major project called “True Colours” at the Cape Times. We sent our special assignment team, photographer Benny Gool and writer Roger Friedman, around the country to speak to people about issues such as race and racism.

They traveled to some of the remotest and most insignificant towns in South Africa, asking people the same questions and we published their findings in a 16-page broadsheet supplement in the paper.

One day, the two of them came into my office and told me that they had just interviewed the most racist person in the country. I asked them where and they said in Manenberg on the Cape Flats.

Their comments did not come as a surprise to me because there has been a perception for many years that some of the most racist people in South Africa are found within the coloured community in the Western Cape.

The Western Cape, because of its peculiar history, will always be different to other provinces. This is, after all, the only province where there was a coloured labour preference policy which involved making Africans feel unwelcome in the province.

Whether the perception, that most coloureds are racist, is true, is debatable and one of the issues that I asked the interviewees about.

For instance, the racism of whites, who used their power to oppress people and even to kill people in certain instances, is surely much more serious than the racism of coloured people, who have only words, and no real power, at their disposal.

It could be argued that racist language, while it can be hurtful, is not as hurtful as the racist actions carried out routinely by some white South Africans during apartheid and is still being carried out by some white South Africans, especially in the rural areas of South Africa.

Some people will also argue that racism on the Cape Flats in the Western Cape cannot compare to the racism in the rural areas, where most black people are still on a daily basis subjected to racist behaviour by whites.

The reason I quoted the two pieces I mentioned is to indicate to you how I grappled with the issue of race in the Western Cape and how, ultimately, I realised that racism is based on economics.

We cannot begin to talk about bridging the gap between whites and blacks without talking about the gap between the rich and the poor. In the Western Cape, as is in the rest of South Africa, the gap between white and black almost mirrors the gap between rich and poor. In other words, most white people are rich while most black people are poor.

Some economic crumbs have been made available to the majority of people in our country, who happen to be black. It is remarkable how, in their attempts to get their hands on these economic crumbs, people resort to all kinds of things, such as blatant racism.

It is not unusual in the Western Cape for coloureds to point fingers at Africans and vice versa. It is also not unusual for people to point fingers at each other based on religion. For instance, in the Western Cape there are sometimes serious differences between Muslims and Jews or even Muslims and Christians.

There are also differences based on class, irrespective of race, where black people who have a bit of disposable income look down on those without any disposable income.

But this conference is about ethical leadership, so I would like to pose the question: do our leaders realise the potential danger of the tensions between coloureds and Africans, or between other groups? And what are they doing about it?

Surely ethical leadership means not exploiting these tensions but rather seeking ways in which to address them. Are we doing enough, as leaders, to make sure that we are addressing these issues?

I am not an elected leader but I realise that all of us who have the ability to influence people should play a role in addressing these issues.

So while I was editor of the Cape Times, I launched One City Many Cultures, which was meant to encourage and promote a more tolerant and inclusive city. One City Many Cultures still lives on today in the Cape Town Festival and, I am glad to report, that the message of One City Many Cultures will feature very strongly in future Cape Town Festivals.

One City Many Cultures essentially was an editorial project meant to promote a more tolerant and diverse city.

We have realised that, almost ten years after we launched One City Many Cultures, the problems that we addressed initially still exists. There needs to be a continuous focus on issues of racial, cultural and religious differences and the potential hatred that can come about by people misusing and misrepresenting these differences.

Even my book, *Race*, attempts to deal with the differences that we perceive we have. I try to point out how often we highlight the differences between us but not the similarities.

But it is difficult to confront an enemy if you cannot see him or her. So it is difficult to confront the enemy of racism if you do not know it exists. This is why, in my talks, I encourage people to express the racism that they harbour towards others. By raising their racism publicly, they are giving us something to work on and confront.

If they harbour their racism inside them and only express it to their closest confidantes, we will never know how serious the problem really is.

In my book, I do not try to provide answers but I try to ask interesting questions about race and racism, questions often asked by ordinary people in whispered tones.

One of these questions is whether coloureds in the Western Cape are the most racist people in South Africa.

And while acknowledging the racism does exist in the coloured community, one has to admit that racism exists in other communities too. Only people who are from those communities and who are privy to these racist comments, will really know about the racism that exists.

This perception of coloured racists probably has its roots in the fact that the Western Cape is the only area where coloureds are the majority and where coloureds have over the years enjoyed privileges, often at the expense of Africans.

For instance, coloureds benefited from the Western Cape being a coloured labour preference area. They also benefited from certain social benefits such as social grants for single mothers, something which Africans did not have until a few years ago.

Now that South Africa is a democracy, one cannot entertain a situation where some groups have benefits that other groups do not have. All benefits have to be shared by everyone.

Some coloureds, rightly or wrongly, could feel that they are being disadvantaged in the new South Africa, and the people who are benefiting are Africans. This could be one of the reasons for the apparent racism of coloured people towards Africans.

However, some Africans also display racism towards coloured people because they believe that, in the Western Cape, at least, coloureds seem to have more benefits than them.

While it is clear that racism is everywhere, it is necessary to know where it is most prevalent in order to be able to deal with it.

While it might not be certain whether the Western Cape is the most racist place in South Africa, there is definitely a perception, at least among some people, that it is. This could mean potential problems for the people and the government of the Western Cape if not handled properly.

The people at this conference are in positions of leadership and it is incumbent upon all of you to act against racism in your daily lives. In fact it is incumbent upon you to act against all “isms”.

I believe that one cannot say one is against racism but then one tolerates sexism, for instance. What also needs to be mindful of the impact economics on issues such as racism and sexism.

I believe South Africa needs to go back to being a rights-based society instead of one where the colour of money has become most important. Everyone chases a fast buck in South Africa. This is probably understandable in a society where most people never had money and have only been exposed to the possibilities of making money in recent years.

I also believe that dealing with racism should not be a job left to governments. It is something that should be tackled by everyone.

On a personal level, I am trying to deal with the legacy of apartheid on a daily basis. For instance, I continue to be involved in projects trying to promote greater tolerance and understanding among South Africans, especially those living in Cape Town and the Western Cape. One such project is of course the Cape Town Festival.

But at a micro-level, I have also been trying to deal with the legacy of apartheid in Hanover Park, the area where I grew up, where the unemployment rate is easily at around 60 per cent.

Recently we formed the Hanover Park Foundation which will provide bursaries for deserving students from the area. I chair this foundation which will hopefully make a difference through our bursaries. Ultimately, the best way to liberate yourself from poverty is through education.

The best way to liberate ourselves from racism is probably also through education.

Often, racism is due to ignorance. Because people don't know each other, they don't understand each other. Because they don't understand each other, they don't trust each other. Because they don't trust each other, they start saying hateful things about each other.

So deal with racism by first admitting that all of us contain elements of racism. Then start taking an interest in people who are different to you, find out about their lives and their histories, find out about their interests.

But ultimately, just talk, talk and talk. This is, I believe, the main way in which we will be able to deal with racism. In South Africa, we spent decades fighting, and it was only when we started talking that we could begin to sort our problems. I think there is probably a lesson in there for the rest of the world.

And quite often when we talk, we talk past each other. We need to learn to talk with each other and not to each other. In that way, hopefully we will all be able to learn from each other.

I thank you for this opportunity to share some of my views with you. I will gladly take questions in the time available.

 [To Contents Page](#)

📍 Karl Cloete:

A South African Communist Party Perspective

Preface

The SACP in the Western Cape wish to extend its appreciation to the organisers of the conference who thought it necessary to obtain the views of the South African Communist Party in a subject matter which has occupied our national liberation movement since the moment that we resolved to engage in an all round assault on Colonialism of a Special Type (CST) and Apartheid Capitalism.

This brief input draws inspiration from and is dedicated to the courageous women and men of our country who dared, in the face of extreme danger to

themselves and their future, to map out a path which found expression in the Freedom Charter as adopted on 26th June 1955. The records show that of the total of 2884 delegates, 721 were women, 2186 were African delegates, 320 Indian delegates, 230 Coloured delegates and 112 were White delegates. There can be no better study of the subject matter than the revolutionary outlook of the Freedom Charter which is based on the interconnectedness of the national, class and gender contradictions in our society.

As the SACP in this Conference we would therefore proceed from the point of locating the subject matter in its historical premise in the context of the National Democratic Revolution and the democratic breakthrough in 1994.

The Freedom Charter And Its Outlook On Equality And Freedom:

As we said before, it is appropriate that we remind ourselves of a critically important development which brought together a conscious layer of freedom loving people who in 1955 amongst other things declared that in a liberated South Africa:

- ◆ all people shall have equal rights to use their own language and to develop their own culture;
- ◆ all laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed;
- ◆ the preaching and practice national, race, or colour discrimination shall be a punishable crime.

Jack Simons in March 1985 wrote a piece in which he presented a compelling argument on this subject matter when he said that:

- (1) The closer South Africa advances towards a unified society the greater will be the resistance from divisive forces represented by tribalism and racism;
- (2) Racism and tribalism occur in a class society in which differences of language and culture become an appendage to the primary cleavage between the owners of property and the propertyless workers.
- (3) The exploiting class trading in South Africa as a national or racial category perpetuate their supremacy by dividing the disposed into competing groups fighting one another for land, jobs and power instead of combining their forces for united action against oppression (prejudice and stereotypes)



On the question of race, class and culture we must therefore be firmly located and grounded in the historical situation in which reality our people have been robbed of their birthright to land by a form of government founded on injustice, inequality, oppression and exploitation.

Compatriots who have gone before us such as Mzala declared on the 30th Anniversary of the Freedom Charter that:

“the words, ‘South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white’, embody the principle that all people can live in South Africa whatever their colour and that this is their right that will be dependent constitutionally, not a mere privilege to one section, to another South Africa shall not be a country divided unto itself and dominated by a particular national group.”

A leap forward and a Waltz or Tango to the side “to the left to left to the right to the right”:

Through fierce revolutionary struggle our society has undergone significant changes since 1955 when the Freedom Charter was adopted through to the democratic breakthrough in 1994.

At this point we want to pay tribute to the likes of Walter Sisulu, Oscar Mpetha, Ray Alexander, Chris Hani, Basil February, Neil Aggett, Ashley Kriel and many other fallen revolutionaries who remained true to the ideals of the Freedom Charter for which they were prepared to give their lives.

In addressing the subject matter at hand, some of the key challenges that we must be upfront about is the fact that we have gained political freedom but economic power remain firmly in the hands of a white monopoly capital.

In our country today, poverty, joblessness and inequality are still largely confined within and amongst the black majority. Even progress by the black middle class is constrained by the reality that whites still disproportionately control the economic and senior positions in the economy.

Unemployment is at about 40%. Income inequality remains high. One of the measurers of these inequalities is the fact that the workers’ share in the national income has been on the decline since 1981 and has continued to decline in the first 12 years of democracy. The share of profits continues to increase. Poverty remains the reality of between 40% and 50% of the population.

It is from this perspective that we must examine the realities of the race, class and culture in the context of the Western Cape realities. The current atmosphere in the Western Cape, particularly since 1994, reflects a serious meltdown of African and Coloured solidarity if we consider some of the following developments in the recent past:

- ◆ The contestation over the distribution of resources particularly as they relate to the provision of housing with regard to:
 - ⑥ concerns relating to the housing lists and a perception that “people” (i.e. Africans) from outside of the province are overtaking “others” (coloureds) who have been on the waiting lists for many years;
 - ⑥ the temporary relocation of victims from the Joe Slovo disaster;
 - ⑥ Resistance to the perceived entering of Africans into the Bokmakierie School Hostel whereas “coloured people are living in back yards”;
 - ⑥ The perceived targeting of black people for the N2 Corridor housing development as prioritizing African needs over that of Coloureds;
- ◆ The perception that the job market accommodates Coloureds faster and better than Africans;
- ◆ The perception that coloureds are sell-outs when it comes to elections and therefore a view that mobilization for government elections must be resourced and focused on the trusted African support base to the exclusion of coloured working class areas;

For those who believe in the emancipation of the working class and the philosophy of a non-racial and non-sexist society, it is painful to see the racial stereotypes and prejudices that still play themselves out between coloured, and African workers in our working class communities – whether subtle or in a disguised forms.

In dealing with this reality, it is instructive to draw on an observation made by Murphy Morobe, former Publicity Secretary of the UDF in the Mail & Guardian of 4-10 July 2003 on the question of non racialism's long journey in South Africa:

“ It has never been suggested that reversing more than 300 years of racially defined political and economic relations would be easy.....”

The problem is that when racialism is dressed up, its carriers are often unaware of it. Racialism is often like an odourless, colourless poison – dangerous but deadly. When it comes in this guise it has the propensity to be patronizing and self righteous while seeking to advance itself for selfish ends.....”

All that 1994 did was to provide us with the rules of the road as we march towards a vision of non-racialism and non sexism.”

Objectively therefore we must accept that Apartheid is responsible for the kind of legacy we are confronted with today.

What Apartheid Did

Reminding ourselves of apartheid history can help us understand the extent to which the regime divided the lives of people from different race groups:

“In furtherance of its policy of divide and rule, the Apartheid regime attempts to play off the main black groups against one another by a system of differential levels of oppression and the imposition of separate sham constitutional “solutions.” Within the black groups it tries to win over collaborators and agents so as to separate them from the mainstream of the revolution.”

The Green Book Report of the Politico-Military Strategy Commission to the ANC National Executive Committee in August 1979

At workplace level the regime's Manpower Act and Training Boards created divisions between white, coloured and African workers. It allowed white workers to become artisans while excluding coloureds and Africans from this training. Gradually coloureds were let in and almost as an afterthought Africans were allowed to get training to become artisans.

In the Western Cape, the regime went further to divide the working class. Declaring the province a 'coloured labour preference area', it ensured that coloured workers stood to gain more than African workers.

How Do We Deal With The Past?

In dealing with the national question the same Green Book Report of the Politico-Military Strategy Commission to the ANC National Executive Committee in August 1979 articulated the following position;

“The main content of the present phase of our struggle is to achieve the aims of our national-democratic revolution whose essence is the national liberation of the black oppressed. Among the black oppressed it is the African majority which, as a community, suffers the most intense forms of racist domination.

... The victorious outcome of the present phase of our struggle will create a people's power whose main immediate task will be to put an end to the special form of colonial-type oppression, guarantee democratic rights for all South Africans and place the main means of production into the hands of a people's state.

The aims of our national-democratic revolution will only be fully realized with the construction of a social order in which all the historic consequences of national oppression and its foundation, economic exploitation, will be liquidated, ensuring the achievement of real national liberation and social emancipation. An uninterrupted advance towards this ultimate goal will only be assured if within the alignment of revolutionary forces struggling to win the aims of our national-democratic revolution, the dominant role is played by the oppressed working people."

Almost 30 years later, the ANC has changed the lives of our people with the provision of water, health care, electricity, housing, education, safety and security.

Our constitution with its bill of rights, guarantees both human and socioeconomic rights. The world regards it as a progressive model. And yet, despite this progress the Western Cape remains the most racially segregated province with socioeconomic disparities and inequalities continuing to block significant redistribution and transformation.

Whilst this national context is an important point of departure to analyse where we are and how we ought to deepen the NDR for a thoroughgoing and radical transformation, we dare not lose sight of regional dynamics which play an important part in how we apply tactics and strategies so as to rally our people against ignorance, prejudice, exclusion and marginalization.

Learning From Joint Struggles Against Apartheid

Since the establishment of the ANC in 1912 a plethora of organizations located in the White, Indian and Coloured communities worked side by side in an alliance with the ANC to overcome the apartheid monster and to put in its place a democratic, non-racial, non sexist and prosperous society.

People's organizations such as the Congress of Democrats (COD – White democrats), Natal and the Transvaal Indian Congress (NIC & TIC – Indian democrats) and the Coloured People's Organization (CPO – Coloured democrats) were in the trenches of our liberation movement to destroy the apartheid regime and to install in its place a democratic state where "the people shall govern in a country who belongs to all who live in it".

The Coloured and Indian communities actively participated in the national liberation struggle. Testimony of this is captured in the ANC Strategy and Tactics document of 1969:

"Historically both communities have played a most important part in the stimulation and intensification of the struggle for freedom. It is a matter of proud record that amongst the first and most gallant martyrs in the armed combat against the enemy was a Coloured Comrade, Basil February.

The jails in South Africa are a witness to the large scale participation by Indian and Coloured comrades at every level of our revolutionary struggle.

From the very inception of Umkhonto they were more than well represented in the first contingents who took life in hand to help lay the basis for this new phase in our struggle.

The stirring demonstrations of the fifties from the Defiance Campaign to the Congress of the People, to the general strike, and peasants revolt and mass demonstrations saw many examples of united action by all the oppressed people.

Memory is still fresh of the outstanding response by the Coloured workers of the Western Cape to the 1961 call by the ANC for a national general political strike."

The launch of the United Democratic Front (UDF) on August 20 1983 in Mitchell's Plain, in the Western Cape saw a broad front of different communities, organizations and strata throwing their weight in with the struggle

for the eradication of the apartheid system and ensuring that all segments of our communities actively partook in the national democratic struggle.

The UDF mobilized all communities (White, Coloured, African and Indian) and class formations together against the apartheid state.

Through campaigns such as rent boycotts, consumer boycotts, sports boycotts, cultural boycotts and protests against the tricameral parliament, the rallying cry of the liberation movement was heeded and rooted in all black communities.

This is not to suggest that the entire coloured community was always together in their association with the liberation movement. In the same way that some in the African community supported the Bantustan system and undemocratic town councils, some coloureds also saw their salvation in the white minority regime's apartheid institutions such as the Coloured Representative Council.

If through the ANC, UDF, SACTU, SACP and other allied formations there was an acknowledgement on the contribution and role played by Coloured and Indian people, why do we today have a denial and a refusal to apply the tactics and strategies that would advance and cement the support that we enjoyed over many decades within this community in the Western Cape and within the fold of the liberation movement?

Some developments since the unbanning of the ANC and dissolution of the UDF require very serious and honest interrogation of where we made strategic errors in the manner in which we approached this question including understanding the nature of racism.

How racism manifests itself in our society:

Prejudice along racial lines has found a safe haven within many spheres in our society. It finds expression where one group wants to yield power over others and where there is a scrambling over positions and resources. Whilst we are not born racist, this phenomenon comes as a result of society's influence on us over time.

We must accept that if we want to defeat racism, racial prejudice and racial stereotypes at the point of production we must raise the consciousness of our workers to understand that they are historically tied and bound together as a component part of the working class who are exploited by the capitalist class, who knows no colour when they seek to maximize profits.

In Conclusion:

For the South African Communist Party we must address the following issues if we are to bridge the Race, Class, Cultural Differences and Poverty in the Western Cape"

- (1) We need government intervention in the economy to ensure that redistribution of wealth addresses the distortions of apartheid colonialism, which guarantees economic inclusion and material equality. Given the scrambling for resources, we cannot unite our people unless we return to the noble principles of the Freedom Charter wherein we:
 - ◆ Share in the country's wealth – the national wealth of our country shall be restored to our people – the mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;
 - ◆ The land shall be shared amongst those who work it – restrictions of land on a racial basis shall be ended and all the land shall be re-divided amongst those who work it to banish famine and land hunger
- (2) In our endeavors to build unity we must ensure that transformation, which is fundamental if we were to reverse the legacy of apartheid, must mean wiping out poor delivery of basic services such as an affordable and safe public transport, a public health system which is caring and efficient to the working class and the poor, integrated housing that overcomes the apartheid spatial development patterns and free and compulsory education. Again the Freedom Charter is instructive on what must be done:

- There shall be houses security and comfort – all people shall have the right to choose where they choose, be decently housed and to bring up their family in comfort and security;
- Free medical care and hospitalization shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children. A preventative health scheme shall be run by the state;
- Slums (read squatter camps) shall be demolished and new suburbs build where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, crèches and social centres
- Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children

(3) If we are to build real unity transformation of the workplace and our industries are critical. Employment Equity as a tool to correct the distorted labour market must be sharpened as a tool. In this regard the Freedom Charter says:

- There shall be work and security – The state shall recognize the right to work and duty of all to work and to draw full unemployment benefits
- Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work
- Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished

The SACP wish the organisers of the conference well in their future endeavors and trust that we shall re-commit ourselves to the fundamental perspectives of the Freedom Charter.

 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 5: Transformation Through Land Redistribution In The Western Cape

Fatima Shabodien

I was asked to speak on the topic of Transformation and Land Redistribution in the Western Cape. I have chosen to change my topic slightly by replacing the word and with through. While I this change may not seem significant, it underscores a belief of my organization (Women on Farms Project -WFP - is a Stellenbosch-based NGO focused on the rights of women who live and work on farms in South Africa. WFP has a vision of an engendered society that treats women who live and work on farms with dignity and respect in accordance with the constitutional rights



guaranteed to all South African citizens. WFP strives to realise this vision through strengthening the capacity of farm women to claim their rights and fulfill their needs. For more information visit: www.wfp.org.za) that transformation in the Western Cape (and indeed in our country) can only be achieved through a radical land redistribution program. Land redistribution cannot be reduced to merely one of the many ingredients to our transformational approach. It has to be seen as the key strategy around which other interventions may be structured given the fact that the history of our country can very well be written as a history of land occupation and dispossession. The fact that the extreme inequity in land distribution persists along racial and gender lines even fourteen years after the dawn of our democracy, should present a profound a moment of crisis for us as South Africans.

In the Western Cape the primary target of land redistribution in rural areas are farm workers who comprise the majority of the rural black population. This is significant as we know that farm workers have weak historical social and political capital as a demographic group. Today, more than 30 years since the legalization of trade unions in the agricultural sector, farm workers remain the lowest unionized sector in our country with less than 5% of farm workers unionized (CRLS, 2003).

In this talk I will focus on four areas: I will start off by presenting an historical overview of commercial agriculture and the location of black farm worker families within this structure. This will be followed by a reflection on the distinctive features of the Western Cape in relation to land reform. Thirdly, I will present a brief overview of land reform to date and conclude by presenting our vision of what is needed to realise transformation through land reform in the Western Cape.

UNDERSTANDING FARM WORKER LIVELIHOODS

The structure of labour and power on commercial farms today can be traced back to the systems of slave plantations under colonialism. A typical commercial farm in South Africa today is owned by a white man, managed by the farmer and a white male relative (or contracted white manager) and staffed by a pool of black farm worker families. Through this system approximately one million workers are directly employed in the agricultural sector, with a further six million livelihoods estimated to be directly and indirectly dependent on the agricultural sector (CRLS, 2003).

Before the South African transition to democracy, there were no laws governing the relationship between farm worker and farmer. In a system bearing all the hallmarks of a traditional feudal relationship, the farmer assumes the role of the ultimate patriarch, ruling every aspect of farm worker lives.

Women's position on a farm is largely determined by her relationship to a male farm worker. Women are seen in very literal terms as an extension of the male labourer and represent an auxiliary source of labour to

be drawn on as needed during high seasons. This means that there exists a de facto restriction on a women's ability to engage in off-farm employment in order to ensure her availability as per the needs of the farm.

While these feudal labour practices are not formally written into any contracts, there is an established pattern of labour engagement where certain, mostly higher paying positions, are reserved for men. Just as is the case for women's reproductive labour, her labour on the farm is valued less than that of men and is generally not accorded a high status within the farm labour hierarchy.

Because their work is seen as low-status, unskilled labour, it is valued in monetary terms well below the work of men. But even in cases where men and women work along side each other fulfilling identical work functions, the patriarchal world view that informs the farmer justifies the payment of women well below the wage accorded to their male counterparts.

Access to farm worker housing has historically been tied to permanent farm labour contracts, which, in turn, have historically been filled by male farm workers. This means that in cases where the male worker loses his job, the entire family can be left homeless (Umhlaba, 2004). While new laws introduced since 1994 prohibit linking employment contracts with housing, the practice is still common today.

In a study by WFP into the living and working conditions on wine farms in the Western Cape (Behind the Label II, 2005) we could not find a single case of a housing contract being in the name of a woman worker. We believe this to be the norm in the sector. Even in cases where women also hold permanent employment contracts, housing contracts were still held in the names of male partners. Access to housing is thus secured through a relationship with a male farm worker.

In a context where the physical and emotional abuse of women by male partners is rife, this systemic discrimination against women further compromises women's abilities to leave abusive relationships and further undermine the safety of women and their children. In light of the known intersectionality of gender-based violence and HIV/AIDS infection rates, this blatant discrimination against women has far-reaching consequences.

The social and living conditions in which farm women are located is thus extremely harsh: sexual harassment and abuse are common experiences for women farm workers, the incidence of single parenting amongst farm-women is high, with few mothers receiving maintenance from the father of the child. Attributable to low nutritional levels, exposure to pesticides and limited access to health care services, the general health of farm workers is poor. And while women farm workers tend to be responsible for all expenditure in the household, most women are excluded from long-term financial decision-making.

As a sector, commercial agriculture has also faced a number of challenges stemming directly from South Africa's signing on to the World Trade Organization's Agreement on Agriculture in 1994 and the rapid liberalization of the sector that followed as a result. One of the biggest challenges faced by South African farmers in this regard is the challenge faced by all Southern farmers exporting to the North: unequal terms of trade within the export supply chain in having to compete against highly subsidized producers in the North. The concomitant drought in the region and the strengthening of the South African currency are further exacerbating factors.

However, it is difficult to assess exactly how industry is doing as farmers have a reputation as being ever-apocalyptic about the state of the industry: even at the height of protectionist measures by the apartheid state in the 1980's farmers were predicting the pending demise of agriculture.

What we do know is that South Africa's exports of agricultural produce increased from a value of 2,250 million US\$ in 1994 to 3,750 million US\$ in 2004. It is also known that the fortunes of the different agricultural commodities have unfolded unevenly in this post apartheid-era (Moseley, 2006)

The wheat producers who were arguably the most protected commodity under apartheid have been hard hit by cheap imported genetically modified yellow maize from the United States. On the other end of the spectrum, wine and fruit has been the biggest gainers by far in this export drive. By 2004 almost one third of all wine and fruit were produced exclusively for the export market. Wine exports grew by more than 1000% in the ten years since democracy.

Between 1995 and 1998 alone, deciduous fruits had increased exports by 32.7 % while only increasing planting area with less than 11%. In 2006, CapeSpan, the leading South African fruit exporting body reported a 112% year-on-year increase, more than doubling its post-tax profits to tax to R98 million in a one year period (CapeSpan, 2007). Europe remains the biggest export destination for South African agricultural produce even though exports to China and India have started increasing.

Yet, despite the fluctuations in fortunes across the commodities, there have been no fluctuations in the fortunes of workers: It has been one steady downward spiral across the commodities with few exceptions. This had led us to conclude that despite all the farmer rhetoric to the contrary, with few exceptions, for as long as the livelihoods of farm workers are in the hands of farmers who refuse to share a transformational visions of the country side, there is nothing to indicate anything other than increased hardships. And I will fail in my responsibility if I did not point out the exceptions to this rule. The farm managements of farms such as Simonsig and the Ernie Else farms in Stellenbosch have been such exceptions. On these farms workers are all paid significantly above the legal minimum wage; women receive a maternity bonus contribution; all workers receive a contribution to medical fees; workers not resident on the farms received a travel allowance; and most significantly, all workers have been offered permanent work contracts.

Sadly, these examples remain few and far in between and are exceptions in an industry where the recommended minimum wage proclaimed through the Sectoral Determination for Farm Workers have become the de facto industry standard.

As farmers face tougher competition in the global markets, the efforts by farm-women in particular for fair working and living conditions becomes progressively harder. As the group who makes up the bulk of the ever-growing casual labour force, it is women farm workers in South Africa who bear the brunt of this unequal trade and labour regimes. Despite their multiple burdens as mothers, care givers to the aged and sick (increasingly those suffering from HIV/AIDS related illnesses), these women have become the temporary, casual workers with no long term security and weak bargaining positions as labourers.

Farmer backlash to the introduction of the range of laws introduced by the post-apartheid government aimed at protecting the rights of farm workers have been severe. Farmers responded with an unprecedented spate of farm worker evictions in the run up to the introduction of the law aimed at enhancing the tenure rights of farm dwellers.

This trend continues alongside the dramatic increase in casualization and feminization of the agricultural labour force. Despite an extensive system of subsidies under apartheid to farmers towards the social development and labour costs of farm workers, most farmers now see the investment in social development as the exclusive responsibility of the state.

And while the fact that a range of farm worker laws have been promulgated that did not exist before 1994, many of these legislative provisions have often fallen significantly short in its intended objectives. One example in this regard is the Sectoral Determination for Farm Workers (SDFW). The current SDFW was announced in 2006 and set the annual minimum wage increases for the 3-year period between 2006 and 2009. This took place in 2006 when there was an expectation that the CPI would remain below 4.5%, and as such, the annual increases were set at exactly 4.5%. In reality we now know that this has not been the case.

Between January and April this year alone, the CPI (without food) was 5.5% (already one percent above the predicted CPI). The food index itself rose to 8.4%. Poor households are particularly hard hit as they spend on average 71% of their incomes on food, compared to 24% and 28% on the part of the middle strata and the rich respectively (UNISA Bureau of Market Research, 2006). In real terms therefore the wages of farm workers have been decreasing at the same time as they are spending larger percentages of their wages on food.

Organizations working at farm level, are reporting a disturbing increase in poverty and hunger at farm levels (Campaign meeting of 15 farm worker trade unions and NGOs, Women on Farms offices, 21 August 2007). We believe that this is directly attributable to the fact that the wages of farm workers have decreased in real terms, coupled with a farmer backlash against the provisions of the Sectoral Determination for Farm Workers aimed at protecting the rights of workers in agriculture.

This back lash has taken several forms, but the most notable of which includes:

- ◆ Removal of non-wage benefits (including: crèche facilities, food rations, wood, access to transport etc) formally allocated
- ◆ Casualization (insure contracts without non wage benefits) & feminization of the labour force as a cost saving strategy
- ◆ Evictions – usually goes hand in hand with casualization
- ◆ Contracting through labour brokers – a concentration of labour rights violations can be found among workers contracted in this manner.
- ◆ Deepening of poverty on farms, exacerbating of existing social problems on farms such as violence, substance abuse, child neglect, lack of organization etc.

For all of these reasons it is our conclusion that farm workers are in fact worse off than they were before the SDFW was introduced and the conditions are worsening day by day.

By 2007, even in the face of a plethora of labour and tenure laws aimed at protecting the rights of farm workers and dwellers, conditions remain much the same and farm life continues to be characterised by an extreme power imbalance between the commercial white farmer, and his work force. Despite all the undoubtedly positive developments in South Africa, people who live and work on farms, especially women, still suffer precarious livelihoods of profound insecurity and are likely to continue to do so for the foreseeable future. The particular lack of industry driven transformation has led farm worker organizations to conclude that, despite all the farmer rhetoric to the contrary, with few exceptions, for as long as the livelihoods of farm workers are in the hands of farmers who refuse to share a transformational visions of our countryside, there is nothing to indicate anything other than increased hardships without a radical program of land transformation.

WHAT IS DISTINCTIVE ABOUT THE WESTERN CAPE?

There are a number of distinctive provincial features worth taking account of as a basis for developing a realistic strategy for transformation through land redistribution.

◆ **1. Highest concentration of farm workers of any province**

The last census of South African Agriculture conducted in 2002 reported a national farm worker population of 940,815 on a total of almost 46,000 commercial farming units. The Western Cape has the single highest concentration of farm workers of any province with 22,5% of all farm workers (or 211,808 workers) to be found here. Roughly half of this workforce is permanent and the other casual or seasonal. And while the gender breakdown reflects the national workforce average of 58 % men and 42% women, significantly, 70% of all men employed were permanent compared to 30% of women in permanent contracts. The next agricultural census will be undertaken in 2008 and it will be interesting to see if the data will bear out the extent of the perceived casualization and feminization of this labour force.

◆ **2. Significant Contribution to Provincial GDP**

Nationally agriculture's contribution to the South African GDP fell from 9.12% in 1965 to less than 3% today (OECD, 2006). The jury is still out on whether this can be explained as a sector with decreasing turnover, or if in fact other sectors (such as tourism, manufacturing etc) have been growing relative to agriculture.

Regardless of the explanations, agriculture remains a significant contributor to the provincial economy. As a sector its products directly or indirectly constitute over 40% of total exports from this province. The Winelands District Municipality alone accounts for 68% of all wine production in the country.

The implications of this are that the provincial political leadership would appear reluctant to tamper with this important export sector for fear of declining provincial revenues. This is especially the case if one considers the lack of political capital on the part of the rural poor.

At the same time agriculture is a significant employer of the poor. Despite its declining contribution as a percentage to, almost 10% of the South African labour force is located within commercial agriculture (OECD, 2006). For this reason the sector remains a vital one in supporting (or undermining as the case may be) the livelihoods of the rural poor in general, and specifically in the lives of women. In an analysis of the distribution of risks and profits in the fruit export value chain for example, it is clear that the profits have increasingly become concentrated in massive amounts at the top end of the value chain (European retailer monopolies) while the risks are pushed down the chain to women casual workers at farm level (WFP, 2003). A well targeted intervention in support of the sector can therefore make significant inroads into poverty alleviation among the rural poor.

◆ 3. Redistribution, not Restitution

The Cape was the first point of colonialism occupation in South Africa. And while land dispossession was extensive, most of the rural dispossession took place long before the Restitution Act cut off date of 1913. For this reason the transformational potential of the restitution program is limited in terms of the livelihoods of the rural poor in the Western Cape.

This is significant in terms of the political will required to realise transformation through redistribution. Restitution is politically construed as a program of political redress aimed at addressing the injustices of the past. Land redistribution on the other hand is seen almost in social upliftment terms – a great achievement if it can be accomplished, but not a political obligation on the part of the state. The former is an obligation on the state over which there is no political negotiation, while the latter is the kind of program implemented at the behest of the state, especially the treasury.

◆ 4. Established Estates: Prime Agricultural Real Estate

For the same historical reasons cited above, the commercial agricultural estates of the Western Cape present the most established ones in the country. This factor coupled with the coincidence of the Western Cape also being home to significant amounts of the most fertile South African agricultural land, has significant implications for a market-based land reform program. Agricultural land prices on the open market is acknowledged to be some of the most expensive in the country and the start up cost of establishing new orchards or vineyards for example have proven prohibitive for new entrants in a context where very little state assistance is available to emerging farmers beyond assistance in acquiring land.

In addition to the high establishment costs to new farmers, the threat presented by the existing unequal trade regime to established commercial white farmers, presents an effective block to the development of new black entrants into agriculture through land reform. Emerging black farmers are therefore unable to compete with the economies of scale already attained by most white farmers. For this reason is quite ironic that white South Africans today bemoan the continued state drive of affirmative action, when very few of the farmers will today acknowledge the role of apartheid-style affirmative action in support of white farmers.

This accounts for the high number of farm worker equity schemes (FWES) realised through the land reform program in the province. In a FWES no actual land transfer is affected. Instead, farm workers use their land reform grant to purchase a share in an existing agricultural enterprise. FWES have been widely criticised for their lack of transformation. Not only is transformation not affected, these schemes often serve to reinforce existing relationships of paternalism. Ewert & Du Toit (2005) concluded that:

These schemes, which involve various strategies for allowing workers to buy into ownership, very clearly do not represent a radical break with the traditions of the past: indeed, they bear many resemblances to the innovations of 'neo-paternalist' initiatives

In most instances, while share acquisition in theory also entails integration into management responsibilities and decision-making, in most cases decision-making and management structures continued just as it had before the implementation of the FWES as workers are rarely empowered resulting in pre-existing power inequities prevailing, especially with regards to decision-making.

In addition, FWES creates a tension between workers rights as workers within the labour rights framework and the responsibilities as “owners”. Can a shareholder go on strike when an urgent order is due for export?

5. Severed Links with the Land

With the exception of small pockets of rural church land areas, the only relationship rural black people have had with the land in the Western Cape for at least the past two hundred years has been as labourers on someone else’s land, for someone else’s profits. Even the highly exploitative labour tenants system so prevalent in KwaZulu-Natal is not to be found here. While the terms of “exchange” between labourers and land owners under the labour tenants system is highly unequal and exploitative, in some small measure, it still provides a space for black people to nurture a direct independent relationship with the land, albeit in a limited form. Most farm dwellers in the Western Cape do not even have a small garden plot allocation for domestic food production.

It is therefore no uncommon for farm workers to have quite literally nothing to show for generations of toiling someone else’s land. This is most visibly illustrated during forced eviction cases when we find farm workers quite literally next to the roadsides with black bags of clothing and a few pieces of furniture acquired on higher purchase.

This has implications for land demand. In fact, when farm workers are given livelihood options, many indicate only a need for housing rather than land for production. This is hardly surprising given farm workers historical relationship with the land and has everything to do with the association with farming as hardship on behalf of someone else. The political question that begs asking though is: Why this sudden obsession with the articulated desires of the poor? Are poor women in urban working class areas asked if they want to become a machinists in a garment factory before the factory is build?

LAND REFORM TO DATE

When the white paper on land reform was released it set a target of 30% of transfer of white owned agricultural land to black owners within the first five years of the program. This target timeframe has since been pushed back by a further seven years to 2014.

To date 3.9% of land has been transferred (Lahiff, 2006). However, a large part of this represents state land in the former homelands and represents a restoration of land rights rather than an actual land transfer. This means that this did not really made a dent in the racial patterns of land ownership in our country (Lahiff, 2006). The reality is that at this stage no one knows exactly how much white owned agricultural land has been transferred and how far we still have to go.

However, is we took this figure of transferred to date at face value and used it as a basis for planning the pave of land reform needed in order to meet the target, we will have to increase the existing rate of transfer dramatically. We will have to come close to transferring the total amount of land transferred to date, on an annual basis. This has significant implications for staffing (numbers, skills and ideological orientation) and budget allocations.

While DLA staff undoubtedly requires the technical skills needed to make work of land redistribution, they also need the relevant ideological orientation. Land reform is a radical act of transformation and many land affairs officials simply do not seem to comprehend the historical weight of this mandate. Many officials employed have town planning qualifications but very little development experience or orientation. In addition to planning, sub division and business plans, land reform is also about hopes, aspirations and dreams, not only of rural people, but of a nation.

Land reform is the centerpiece of our vision of transforming the country side. In interacting with many of the officials charged with carrying our land reform one is left with the distinct impression that they certainly do not grasp the political magnitude of the task at hand. It will therefore be important to get the right kinds of officials to drive the land reform program.

All of this assumes of course that the existing land transfers have been successful in developmental terms. After all, land reform is not only about changing the racial ownership patters of land; it is more significantly about building sustainable livelihoods of the rural poor. In this regard, there is great cause for concern. In a

recent assessment of rural land restitution projects by the Department of Land Affairs, the study found that out of a total of 128 projects, 83% has not achieved their development aims, 9% did in part. Just 5% were partially realizing their aims and were generating some income, but none were making a profit and none were financially sustainable (Hall, 2007)

Given the growing political pressure on the DLA to “deliver” in terms of land reform, there exists the real danger of playing the numbers game and completely losing sight of the intended objectives of land reform. This is not to say that the two (speed and impact) is mutually exclusive. On the contrary, if there had been a greater willingness on the part of the DLA to take on board the feedback from the landless and civil society organizations in its policy formulation processes, then we could already have been at a very different place. So many of what we will propose in the next section is not completely new and have been argued for by civil society organizations in various forms for at least the last ten years.

WHAT IS NEEDED TO REALISE THIS VISION THEN?

◆ 1. Willing Buyer –Willing Seller has got to go!

The arguments for relinquishing this obsessive unrealistic commitment to a willing buyer willing seller (WBWS) land reform approach has already been extensively argued for many years. I won't recount these arguments here save for saying that a blind commitment to WSWS will effectively make land reform unworkable at a purely logistical level. In a context of a single buyer (the state), and many sellers, the prices can be set by the sellers. The good news is that there is finally acknowledgement from the state at the highest levels that the WBWS approach has got to go. This announcement was made by the then Minister of Land Affairs, Minister Thoko Didiza in the presence of President Mbeki at the historical national Land Summit of 2005. This final realization was reached after the results of a market-based approach to land reform over a ten year period yielded such a miniscule amount of land transfers at such a significant cost. It is clear based on the South African experience to date that the market on its own is incapable of bringing about the kind of land transfers required.

Sadly, more than two years have passed since then and we have yet to see an alternative approach being implemented. Given that we seem to have consensus on this point, the only argument to be made is for the DLA to be transparent and inclusive in its formulation of the alternative and to then implementation of this alternative with the necessary sense of urgency.

◆ 2. Moratorium on Evictions

While a moratorium on evictions is not strictly speaking a component of land redistribution, we have argued that it is vital to safeguarding the constitutional tenure rights of the dispossessed, which in turn is a crucial precondition for stabilizing the kind of environment in which land redistribution can effectively take place.

The first ever national survey on farm dweller evictions conducted by Nkuzi Development Associates in 2005 provided compelling evidence that the motive force behind evictions was indeed a political one and not an economic one as claimed by farmers.

The introduction of this range of progressive laws such as Basic Conditions of Employment Act, the Labour Relations Act, Employment Equity Act Sectoral Determination for Farm Workers, Extension of Security of Tenure Act etc actually saw perverse outcomes as agriculture opted to flex its muscle to illustrate (quick successfully) that it will not be forced to abide by new laws. The Nkuzi survey found a dramatic spike in evictions in the run up to the introduction of laws aimed at enhancing farm worker/dweller rights (2005). Interestingly, the same trend has not unfolded in the equally hard-hit mining sector.

It is now well known that the DLA is in the process of revising the existing tenure laws for farm dwellers. It can be assumed that this is what accounts for the current spate of evictions. Without the introduction of an effective interim protective measure, the DLA is in effect hanging farm dwellers out to dry!

While the infamous property clause is often cited as the reason for the state's unwillingness to interfere with the constitutionally guaranteed property rights of the land owners, it is rarely

acknowledged that the South African constitution in fact contains nine clauses related to property rights of which only one is focused on the rights of land owners, with the remaining eight clauses focused on the rights of the dispossessed (Hall, 2007). It is not a coincidence that the other clauses are rarely referred to. Like many other arenas of contested rights, in balancing the rights of the poor against those of the rich, it is ultimately political will that determines on which side the state will weigh in.

◆ 3. Perpetuating Women's Inequality through Land Reform

We cannot treat the landless like a homogenous mass. Women are one of the main casualties of the current willing-buyer-willing-seller approach to land reform. It not only perpetuates gender inequality, but also entrenches it and creates new versions of marginalization. The sellers of land in the WBWS approach are all men (with very few exceptions). It can further be assumed that in the absence of a gendered approach aimed at protecting and promoting the right of women, these decisions and processes on the land reform "beneficiary" side are similarly located within the prevailing framework of gender relations – viz.: patriarchy. Hence the decision-making on the willing buyer side reflects this male bias too. We can therefore argue that the existing WBWS approach is in fact a willing male buyer, willing male seller approach to land reform.

We have to move beyond the rhetoric of "prioritizing land for women" and also develop our alternative to the existing WBWS approach in a way that lead to genuine women's empowerment. Initially when the land reform program was conceived of, there was a significant focus on women's empowerment as a stated objective of land reform. This was however soon abandoned when the DLA could not figure out what this meant in terms of the implementation of such a program. Even if it did, it was settled with an implementation team who lacked a fundamental understanding of what women's empowerment meant.

So as the program progressed, the objective of women's empowerment was reduced the head-counts of women headed households as if this represented the sum-total of women's empowerment.

For women not "fortunate" enough to be the single head of a household, a woman is settled with sharing her land reform grant with her husband or common law husband. In the absence of an ante nuptial contract – which can be assumed to be the norm among the poor – people are married in community of property and the land reform benefit is similarly shared. This means that in the case of the relationship breaking down, the assets are supposed to be equally shared. How does one share a piece of land without the help of attorneys? In the absence of the required legal resources, it is the patriarchal social norms of inheritance that prevails. So in most cases, it is the woman who leaves the house/land and her entitlement to land reform is therefore lost in the process.

It should not be assumed that a women's lot is tied to that of her partner. In fact, in terms of spreading the risk for an already vulnerable family, it's probably important that women and men's lots not be tied together. The approach as it currently stands assumes the household or family unit as a natural building block of community. However, we know that the interests of households are transient over time and that the different interests within a household are not singular and in many cases, may even be contradictory.

In this regard, the formation of women's agricultural cooperatives as a form of land reform community should be explored as an alternative to the current household model schemes. Through this process, it's the interest of women that can be clearly identified and privileged.

In reality women may even be resistant to the idea of gender as a basis of land ownership or management as we have found in our own women's agricultural cooperatives program. Lots of investment needs to be made in re-socialization of values in terms of orientation to land. Attributable to generations of alienation from the land, the myth prevail that black people in general and women in particular cannot successfully manage land on their own. Nowhere is this belief perversely more deep-seated than in the psyches of black women ourselves. So a large part of women's agricultural cooperative building is about reconstructing consciousness on how perceptions of competence and ability are deeply politically constructed.

4. Location of Land Reform within Local Government

At the moment land reform is driven through “decentralized” DLA land reform district offices. Considerable resources were invested in firstly decentralizing to provinces, and then again to these district offices. So I assume the DLA may not be too excited by what I have to offer next.

The only practical alternative to the current DLA-driven approach would be a relocation of land reform to municipalities. This planning and implementation of land reform should be located within the Integrated Development Planning process. This does not mean that the actual driving of the land reform program should be vested in the municipalities, whom we all know to be heavily stretched, under-resourced and lacking many core skills. Instead, the DLA needs to decentralize itself to within the municipalities.

At this stage the IDP can be said to be a pro-active development approach. Communities – at least in theory – come together and with the local functionaries of the state, identify their core development needs. Why should an approach to identifying land needs and planning land reform implementation be located outside of such a process? When land reform is planned on its own, it also does not bode well for the service delivery requirements of communities in the post settlement period.

This will also compel municipalities from fulfilling their responsibility towards landless communities, especially farm dwellers, in terms of service delivery. If we look at the example of the Stellenbosch Municipality, it clearly illustrates how this silo approach to planning ultimately does the municipality in.

Stellenbosch is an award-winning municipality. They are the recipients of numerous South African Local Government Association (SALGA) awards, including an awarded for the highest housing delivering municipality in the country. However, when one analyses the plans its clear that these plans are aimed only at addressing the existing backlog within townships around the dorp, without any provisions for housing of the majority of the citizens of the DM which is in fact located on farms. It deals only with the existing informal settlement residents and the back yard dwellers. The planning further reinforces apartheid spatial planning patterns with all development taking place in the townships and no low cost housing developments in the former white areas (or the “dorp”) and non-whatsoever on farms. And this is an award-winning municipality.

5. Locally-Defined Land Reform Approach

While a broad framework should be defined at a national level (a pro-active people driven, state-assisted land reform program located within local development planning processes), the details of what form this should take should be determined by what is possible and desirous within the local context.

I think even the existing shopping list of land reform options biases the choices (if we can call them that) ultimately made. FWES for a long time proves so popular here in the Western Cape, not necessarily because it was the best option for farm workers, but for various reasons of expedience. And today workers are living the consequences of badly managed and thought through FWES. This does not mean that good case practices should not be recorded and shared. But it's the approaches and methods that should be shared, not the land reform product.

6. Hands off State Land!

There is a growing demand by farmers (and impatient rural poor) for the state to make state land available to black landless South Africans through land reform. However, the reality is that all countries have some form of state land for good reason. State land is a national resource for the benefit of all citizens and should only be factored into land reform unless there is no practical state use for such land parcels. Redistributing state land will not significantly affect the racial patterns of land ownership, especially not prime agricultural land concentrated in the hands of white farmers.

This does not of course rule out the urgent need to have the most comprehensive and accurate account of state land – a land register is of urgent need, especially where it concerns the municipalities ruled by political parties and alliances not supportive of the national land reform program. Municipalities such as the Stellenbosch remain one of the biggest agricultural land owning municipalities in the country. But there has been little transparency about the extent of land holdings.

While we don't have access to documentary evidence in this regard, it is believed that large farms of prime agricultural land is currently on long term lease to established white commercial farmers at nominal rental rates in a municipality where black people have almost no access to land for agricultural production.

◆ 7. Enabling Civil Society Participation

The work of a developmental state is based on an assumption of a strong state-civil society-labour-business partnership. It is based on this agreed conception that government facilitated the establishment of NEDLAC nationally, and the Provincial Development Councils at provincial levels. This approach requires as a pre-condition that each of these sectors is well organized and able to articulate its needs within these multi-sector dialogues.

We know that we have an effective state in place. Business is even better resourced and organized. It is the labour and civil society sectors that remain extremely weak within the context of rural development dialogues.

As already argued, rural civil society, especially farm workers, remain largely unorganized. Of the 5% of unionized workers in agriculture, the majority are men in permanent positions, leaving the most vulnerable group (women temporary workers) completely exposed and unprotected.

In recognition of the fact that an organized civil society is a vital component in realizing a participatory democracy, there should be more wide spread state support for the development of civil society structures, especially those working with marginalized communities. This kind of support should not be strictly in relation to legislative engagements, but more general government commitment to enabling a thriving civil society (through the National Donor Agency and the National Lottery Fund for example). This kind of support should not be treated as acts of patronage and should not be used as a leverage to silence civil society. WFP's own experience in this regard has been quite distressing. In recognition of the valuable work we do as one of the only women's organizations of farm workers, WFP was awarded financial support from the Department of Agriculture in the Western Cape. However, when we started voicing positions critical of this department, our funding was threatened and then eventually withdrawn. The minister attacked us through the media and argued that government could not support organizations critical of government. To this our response was: If government chose to partner only with organizations who are in complete agreement all its policies, it would be hard-pressed to find one such an organization of credibility and standing.

The strategy for enabling participation must target specifically marginalized groups such as women and provide the extra kinds of support that groups such as this require in order to effectively participate. If seasonal women farm workers are required to attend meetings during the day (for example), they have to forfeit a day's precious wages in order to do so. It is a common trade union and NGO practice to pay workers loss-of-income compensation on such occasions. Government does not make allowance for this. The same is true for child care facilities at government process. At the March 2007 provincial congress of the Women in Agriculture and Rural Development (WARD) where the participants were almost exclusively rural women, there were no child care facilities at all. For this reason, women are often not active in these processes and the existing power hierarchies are reinforced.

With regards the nature of civil society government engagement, the track record of government is largely dismal in this regard. The processes of engagement are often skewed on favour of civil servants au fait with techno speak and bureaucratic process knowledge. Beyond this technical knowledge, the attitude of government representatives, both in the legislature and administration often border on a level of aggressive disregard towards civil society. There is often a sub text in which NGOs in particular are labeled as ideologically anti-government when exercising our constitutional right (and developmental obligation) to be critical in contexts where we disagree with government approaches. This prevailing approach is not conducive to the kind of rigorous but health state civil society engagement so essential for land reform.

CONCLUSION: THE NEED FOR A SHARED VISION OF THE ALTERNATIVE

The World Social Forums have adopted the slogan: Another world is possible. In a local interpretation of this, Alliance of the Land & Agrarian Reform Movements (ALARM) is focused on realizing countryside. We believe not only that is other countryside possible, but that it is also urgent and critical.

But what is this vision of another country side? Is it enough to replace white farmers with black ones? Or are we seeking a more fundamental change? If our argument is that the existing commercial agricultural system is unsustainable in its various dimensions – poverty, gender inequality, environmentally, efficiency – how radical are we willing to be in our alternative vision?

We have to challenge ourselves to transcend the classical small- versus commercial scale farming efficiency debate. This mirage of a pristine modern agricultural sector is a myth. When tourists come here as they see our fields they are shocked because it defies the stereotype of an African field and resembles more closely the lands of the rich subsidized North. However, we know that as it stands, the farms are historically and in current times highly subsidized in a number of ways that is not counted because it does not constitute an obvious direct subsidy from the state. So we have to ask ourselves, are we prepared to quite literally change the face of agriculture?

Farm worker households are today experiencing hunger at an unprecedented scale. This food insecurity is especially marked in female headed households. If it is going to serve the goals of food security first and foremost, then we are going to have to come to terms with a landscape that looks very different from the one we are now used to. And that alternative should not automatically be assumed to be inferior. If we end up with smaller family plots of farm land with greater varieties of crops alongside each other, instead of the current mono-cultured rolling hills of vineyards in the Boland, would that be so bad?

While this is not an automatic outcome, are we willing to live with decreasing? How do exports benefit the poor now in any case? Since 1994, wine exports have increased ten-fold. Have the workers on wine farms fortunes increases by even a fraction of this export figure? If anything, farm worker livelihoods have become more eroded. Are we willing to have less well-stocked granaries and more food on tables of the poor?

The question remains then: What does this alternative vision look like and for us, this is at the heart of the challenge in realizing land reform. What are we aiming for? And more importantly, when we are done with our task and have reached our target, what does this countryside look like? When we all close our eyes, what image do we conjure up of this transformed landscape? And this is where we are adrift. If I asked everyone in this room to draw a picture of this new landscape, I am sure we will get as many different pictures as we have people in this room.

If the existing 3.9% of land transferred is anything to go by, then land reform in its current form will yield a fundamentally untransformed landscape. We will end up with a landscape in which the 30% of commercial land may have black ownership, but the abuse and exploitation of black workers, women and the environment on which the system is built with will remain as is.

There must be an acknowledgment that it has been the exploitation of workers in general and women temporary workers in particular that has made this system possible in much the same way as apartheid enabled a “successful” mining industry.

It has further been the extreme unsustainable environmental practices that have made commercial agriculture in its current form possible. Extensive reliance on pesticides, lack of any significant kind of crop rotation system to allow the land to replenish itself, almost complete reliance on mechanized irrigation in a drought-prone country where agriculture accounts for almost 80% of our water usage.

If the current focus on exports for profits rather than production for food security as a priority will continue, we will sustain a paradox of hunger within a context of plenty. In the current campaign by farm workers challenging the poverty minimum wage level decreed through the Sectoral Determination for Farm Workers, workers defined the campaign slogan as follows “Why do our children go hungry when we feed the nation?”

We cannot allow the myth of large scale commercial agriculture efficiency to remain intact through land reform. How can the system be efficient when the majority of those engaged in the sector does not reap its benefits?

If we have to think of an analogy of the current farming system, think if you will, of a very sleek luxurious expensive car with an empty tank. That's our farming sector. Inside this car, sits all the white land owners – protected from the elements and giving instructions. On the outside of this car – pushing and pulling it up steep hills and through deep valleys, through storms and droughts are the one million or so farm worker force and the almost 6 million farm dweller community.

If we dare to set off on a path to emulate this current system by merely replacing white farm bosses with black ones, then we would have failed dismally in realizing the objective of transformation which is not only about changing the racialized land ownership patterns, but also the power relationship that belies it. It is not only about replacing white commercial farmers with black ones. Not even with black women farmers. It is about eradicating poverty and restoring dignity to people in the land of their birth.

 [To Contents Page](#)

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 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 6: The Provincial Growth And Development Strategy – The Vision Of IKapa Elihlumayo

Ms Lynn Brown (MEC)

As a government leader, I am aware that every day people look up to us as their champions and their guide. It is a weighty burden for sure, but one that I wear every day with pride, having chosen to serve.

For me, being an ethical leader in and through politics is all about good governance. It is about ensuring that the business of government is run fairly, efficiently in our use of public money and effectively in achieving the targets we set out in our electoral promises to the people, that is delivering on a better life for all.



What does this mean for us living in the Western Cape? It means understanding where we have come from in the past, what our present challenges and opportunities are, and where we would like to see ourselves in the future.

Visioning the future and making it happen for the people in our communities is the business of ethical governance.

In our Provincial Growth and Development Strategy, iKapa Elihlumayo (the Growing and Sharing Cape) we say that “By 2014 the Western Cape will be a sustainable ‘Home for All’ its citizens, whether rich or poor, boy or girl, regardless of mother tongue, race or creed and whether living in a suburb, township or informal settlement. The Western Cape will be an empowering place to live with improved opportunities through shared growth and integrated development. “

As the Provincial MEC for Finance, it is my job to make sure that we direct the resources that we get from national government to policies and programs that deliver education to our children, health care to our families, shelter in safe neighbourhoods that are happy places to live, work and play, accessible and safe transport, and vibrant communities which are abuzz with economic activities and social life.

We advocate a shared growth and integrated development path for the Western Cape as we believe that higher levels of economic growth in the region of 6 to 8% are needed to generate sufficient investment, particularly in economic infrastructure (our roads, Port, airport, etc), and create enough jobs for our growing population in the Province.

A shared growth path underpins our vision. Our economy grew at about 5,5 per cent last year, slightly higher than the country as a whole (5%), but our research shows that it is not sharing the benefits of growth to rich and poor alike.

About 5 million people live in the Western Cape, the majority (78%) within the city itself. While South Africa does not have an official poverty line, we estimate our annual 2005 Provincial Economic Review & Outlook research that using a low poverty line of R174 a month, about 8 per cent of our people are ‘poor’. If we use a slightly higher poverty line of R322 a month, this figure climbs to 28 per cent.

The business of government is about changing those trends over time, making a real difference in people’s lives, making ‘a shared and integrated future’ in the Western Cape happen.

Our strategy is based on a developmental state that intervenes decisively to shape a future based on economic and social inclusion. A shared growth and integrated development approach recognizes that environmental, spatial, social and institutional factors are key drivers in the Western Cape.

A fundamental aim of iKapa Elihlumayo is to reconfigure spatial relations and implement spatial priorities in a manner that radically changes the apartheid spatial economy. We want to see people, rich and poor, different ethnic groups and linguistic preferences living side by side in communities, using the same schools, libraries, churches and shops.

The strategy places particular emphasis on sustainable resource use, given regional environmental imperatives and trends. Climate change is impacting on our rainfall patterns – the Province will become hotter and drier over the years. With the economic base of the Western Cape lying in tourism, agriculture and coast-based economic activities, constraints on the natural resource base, particularly energy and water, will define future economic growth paths.

While the broader SA economy's fortunes are reliant on rich commodity resources, and associated industries and services, the Western Cape's robust economic performance has been based on a more diverse array of agriculture, construction, wholesale & retail, financial & business services, niche manufacturing activities as well as property development and tourism. The Province's unique economic structure calls for a particular blend of industrial policy under the broader national ambit, as proposed under its Microeconomic Development Strategy (MEDS).

While provincial unemployment at 25,5 per cent in 2005 was lower than the national rate of 39 per cent, it has risen sharply over the past five years due to natural population growth and in-migration. Similar to the national picture, unemployment is particularly stark among the youth, contributing to fragmented social capital, and notably increased drug use, gang and criminal activities among young adults. Unemployment rates also continue to be higher among women than men.

What is perplexing is that our economy is creating jobs, but not enough jobs and not at the lower to medium skill level where we have many unemployed people. This heightens the importance of investment in education and training among our youth.

Our youth are also bearing the brunt of poverty, unemployment, crime and violence in communities, raising the importance of policies of social inclusion and addressing vulnerability as integral to a shared growth and integrated development approach.

Responding to the spatial, environmental, economic and social situational scan is a suite of iKapa Elihlumayo lead policies and interventions. We have identified making public transport work in an integrated way is the 'path-breaker' to shared and integrated development in the Province. A working public transport system is essential to realise urban agglomeration benefits. It also increases people's mobility between communities and improves spatial 'inter-connectedness, particularly within the city.

Supporting public transport, are interventions that will help to boost Provincial growth and development. The most well-known is World Cup 2010. Other include energy and water (including sanitation) infrastructure projects and implementing a scarce skills strategy to attract and retain good people in the public service.

Further base interventions aimed at underpinning the Province's shift to a shared growth and integrated development trajectory include sustainable and integrated human settlements; implementation of the Province's Strategic Infrastructure Plan (particular, bulk infrastructure); economic sector support under the Western Cape Microeconomic Development Strategy, rollout of the Social Capital Strategy and implementing the Province's Human Capital Strategy.

Making these strategies happen in real life requires resources – staff, systems and finances. Every year, we budget about R21 billion for services delivered in our Province.

The annual budget process is a challenging process, as we have to make difficult decisions as to where monies may best be used and have the greatest impact on improving people's lives in the Province, both now and into the future.

Making difficult decisions based on just and ethical principles and leadership in respect of a shared vision is precisely the business of good governance. Our legacy is not measured in profit. Rather, the laughter of children playing, their eyes sparkling with hope for the future is our hoped for return. Good governance and ethical leadership is not easy. But it is one that we must continue to strive for – stretching our capacities to the limit and ensuring a legacy for the future.

Thank you.

 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 7: A Developmental State-Cross Sectoral And Integrated Approach In 15 Priority Areas In The Western Cape

6 Sifiso Mbuyisa

South Africa's economy has been growing at higher levels than ten years ago. With all the macro-economic fundamentals in place the country has set itself a target of 6% consistent annual economic growth by 2010 (National Framework for LED in South Africa 2006-2011, 2007:15). However, underlying socioeconomic challenges threaten to undermine such projected economic growth. Such limitations include amongst others, poverty and inequality, household and community assets, health, education, safety and security.



In a nutshell, the current economic growth has had its limitations in that half of the population exists outside of this economic boom. In essence, the economic growth has been slow to share the benefits to rich and poor alike (Western Cape Provincial Economic Review & Outlook 2007: 1).

There is currently a growing shared understanding amongst South Africans, that after having achieved political democracy, the focus should now be on ensuring the attainment of economic democracy and thus, social justice. In February 2003, President Mbeki articulated the challenge when he mentioned that Government recognized South Africa as a dual economy (State of the Nation Address, Parliament February: 2003). In his analogy, the President presented a picture of a double storey house. In the top floor are the rich, living well. In the bottom, with no ladders to access the top floor, are the majority of South Africans who are poor. The challenge is compounded by the fact that at the bottom floor of the two-storey economy is the marginalized, non-working economies of the black townships and rural areas. The second economy is dependent on the first economy, for jobs, goods and services (National Framework for LED in South Africa 2006-2011, 2007: 17).

The above mentioned lack of economic participation by the majority of the population threatens to undermine the political gains made thus far. In recognition of these challenges, governments Ten Years Review of Freedom state the following, "the advances made in the First Decade by far supersede the weaknesses. Yet, if all the indicators were to continue along the same trajectory, especially in respect of the dynamic of economic inclusion and exclusion, South Africa could soon reach a point where the negatives start to overwhelm the positives. This could precipitate a vicious cycle of decline in all spheres" (Towards Ten Years of Freedom-Progress in the First Decade-Challenges of the Second Decade, SA Government: 2003).

The indicators we are currently witnessing include social abnormalities such as intolerable high levels of social contact crimes, current wave of community protest over poor service delivery and racial intolerance largely due to the dynamics of social and economic exclusion.

At a provincial level, trends highlight the severity of the problems facing different groups and suggest stark labour market that feed into social and economic arenas. In 2005, broad unemployment in the Western Cape was highest amongst Africans at 35,9 per cent, compared to 26,1 per cent amongst coloureds and only 7,5 per cent amongst whites. Reflective of national trends, unemployment is more severe among women and the youth ((Western Cape Provincial Economic Review & Outlook 2007: 26).

This paper reviews the role of the state, in our case, the role of provincial government in addressing the above socioeconomic challenges that threatens social fabric and thus, our fledgling democracy.

The Premier, Mr Ebrahim Rasool, highlighted in his State of the Province Address 2007 (available at www.capegateway.gov.za), 10 focus areas (1. Climate Change, 2. World Cup 2010, 3. Property Development, 4. Human Settlements, 5. Public Transport, 6. Drugs and Gangs, 7. EPWP, 8. Scarce Skills, 9. Home for all, 10. Governance) for the year 2007/2008 to give effect to the set goals within the PGDS. One of these relates to gangs and drugs and the ability of intermediary structures to mobilize communities around these issues and thus facilitate social transformation. The identification of the 15 areas is based on statistics showing that those areas have the highest incidents of crime, gang warfare and drug trafficking.

In addition, those communities are marked by poverty, high unemployment and deep social problems as evidenced through overlaying the poverty index prepared by the Department of Social Development. These communities are the most vulnerable communities within the Western Cape Province. The areas identified are Mitchell's Plain, Khayelitsha, Manenberg, Hanover Park, Nyanga, Elsies River, Bishop Lavis, Delft, Kleinvlei, Gugulethu, Phillipi, Muizenberg, and in the rural areas Vredenberg, Paarl, and Oudtshoorn.

My presentation will firstly outline the current theoretical understanding and assumptions that should guide a developmental state, and will then locate such theories to the current project on the fifteen areas. A brief update on current achievements on the project, challenges and envisaged roll out of the project will then conclude the discussions.

As the accounting officer for the Directorate: Social Dialogue and Human Rights, I have been intimately involved in the project since its inception. The description and assessment presented is therefore reflective in nature and does not claim objective distance.

THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS

National policy has moved considerably towards the notion of a developmental state. This shift is largely informed by the frustration that although we have economic growth and economic fundamentals in place, growth has not translated to employment for a large section of our population. The presumption that markets should be left alone to maximize profit, that government's role should be minimalist, merely to safeguard political and social rights and that through such an arrangement, markets will 'trickle down' and ensure equal economic participation by all is clearly not having the desired outcomes for the country (National Framework for LED in South Africa 2006-2011: 22-23).

The belief in a developmental state, a state that is decisive and unapologetic in its mandate to shape the economic destiny of its country is rooted in various sources.

Four of these sources are discussed in short, namely Peter B. Evans; *What will the 21st Century Developmental State Look Like* (2006), Adrian Leftwich; *Development States: Bringing Politics Back In* (2000), Thandika Mkandawire; *Thinking about developmental states in Africa* (2001) and Amartya Sen; *Development as Freedom* (1999).

The first theory presented by Peter Evans argues for a developmental state that is modern, with a bureaucratic capacity with an even greater role to play in societal success in the twenty first century than it did in the last century. Although advocating for "embeddedness" (state/society synergy) or dense networks of ties connecting the state to business elites and other societal actors Evans proposes that the twenty-first century state should do more. Specifically, that the quality of institutions should be good, "the quality of institutions 'trumps' everything else (Evans: 2006:7). Lastly, Evans advocates for a state that is going to maximum opportunities for people or citizens to access intangible assets or tools for further expansion of knowledge. To achieve this, the state will often have to ignore the interest of private owners so as to achieve the better good for citizens (Evans: 2006:33).

Adrian Leftwich the second theorist to be discussed argues that between 1965 and 1997 many developing states (mainly but not only in Africa) registered negative annual rates of growth. However, handful developing countries, namely, Botswana, South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, China, Indonesia, Thailand and Malaysia achieved the opposite and managed annual economic growth rates in excess of 4 per cent over the same period, 1965-1997 (Leftwich: 2000: 153). What is observable from these states is that apart from their

geographical concentration in East and South-east Asia, these countries have little in common. For example, China and Indonesia has huge populations. On the other hand, Botswana and Singapore are the opposite. Botswana has diamonds while Thailand and Korea do not. Others like Botswana and Thailand are culturally more homogeneous (comparatively so) while others like Malaysia and Indonesia can be defined as more varied culturally. Others like Botswana can be defined as open democracies while others like China are not.

The question to be answered then is how can these states explain their success? According to Leftwich (2000), governments in these states were able to adopt “a developmental regime” that involved the principles of power and action. In all these, the state was at the core.

In promoting this view point, specifically of having the state as the core in achieving social development, Leftwich makes reference to Japan, notably it's Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI). In Japan, MITI was at the core of the developmental state, characterized by agreed policy goals, driven by single minded bureaucratic elite at the centre of decision making than the political or legislative elites. The argument here is that Japan's developmental state was driven politically, with a nationalistic objective of promoting and protecting itself from a hostile world (Leftwich: 2000: 158).

The mentioned countries were able to achieve above average economic growth when others were registering negative average annual rates of growth because of the following:

◆ **Incorruptible Developmental elites**

In the forefront were determined developmental elites, relatively uncorrupt, at least in comparism with for instance, Mobutu in Zaire. Key figures included Sir Seretse Khama in Botswana and Lee Kuan Yew in Singapore. These leaders managed to oversee shifting and diverse interest. Be it socioeconomic changes, intro-elite political and policy conflicts. They were able to stay the course.

◆ **Relative state autonomy**

Elites in these countries were able to retain relative autonomy of special interest, be it class, regionalism, or sectoral interests in the national interest. Leftwich (2000) makes a distinction between 'autonomy' and isolation from society. He argues for 'embedded autonomy' which “entails ties with both non-state and other state actors (internal and external) who, collectively help to define, re-define and implement developmental objectives (Leftwich, 2000:162).

◆ **Bureaucratic power**

Bureaucrats in these states were determined, very professional, highly competent and career-based civil servants with authority to direct and manage the broad shape of economic and social development.

◆ **Weak Civil Society**

Civil society was flat and in many instances, weak or in the control of the state. In Botswana, civil society was negligible while in Korea, Indonesia and China it was smashed or penetrated by the state.

What is accepted is that developmental states have been infamous for their human rights practices or lack of. Such states have been atrocious in their treatment of, for example, political and religious movements, and student and labor formations. Such disregard for human rights in the quest for a developmental state is well captured in the position by Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore who stated thus:

“Every time anybody starts anything which will unwind or unravel this orderly, organized, sensible, rational society, and make it irrational and emotional, I put a stop to it and without hesitation”

(cited in Harris, 1986:61)

This is not to say these states did not experience internal opposition (think of Indonesia). What is however noticeable, is that despite such challenges, few developmental states experienced direct challenge to their constitutional or political legitimacy.

In sum, Leftwich (2000) argues that developmental states were characterized by elites who were determined and committed to push through economic growth and transformation-at whatever the price.

The third theorist, Thandika Mkandawire challenges the literature that was dominant in the 1980's and 90's which argued that developmental state's were impossible in Africa because of the culture of Africans, specifically, that Africans were corruptible, with weak structures and institutions and that African states were dependent on international markets and institutions to survive. ((Mkandawire, 2001: 289). Mkandawire argues that the developmental state in Africa was never given a chance because:

“By the 1990s, the African state had become the most demonized social institution in Africa, vilified for its weaknesses, its over-extension, and its interference with the smooth functioning of markets, its repressive character, and its dependence on foreign powers. While in Asia the state's role in promoting growth and social development was praised, in Africa the opposite was happening. The state was being told to stay away from the markets”

(Mkandawire, 2001: 293)

Mkandawire is very scathing on his criticism of those he feels, deliberately marginalized and undermined the moral and legitimacy of the state in Africa. For example, because it was felt that African states were weak, neo-colonial proponents took it upon themselves to promote non-state actors such as non-governmental organizations, the private sector, and local communities arguing that such non-state actors were better equipped to manage larger societal issues compared to the African state which was 'parasitical', 'over-extended' but also a 'daily nuisance' in the life of its citizens (ibid).

Mkandawire quotes from John Sender (1999) who bemoans the characterization of the African state and how it is held in disdain. Sender states:

“It is hard to find an economist, social scientist, or journalist who does not take a jaundiced, indeed a tragic view of development in sub-Saharan Africa. People at all ends of their ideological spectrum appear to agree on a pessimistic prognosis. They commonly use a language that evokes disappointment, moralistic outrage, repugnance and a barely concealed, if not overt, contempt for African barbarism. The predominant and stomach – churning metaphors are medical/biological: blood, rot, scars, mutilation, plagues, deterioration, starvation, and pathological crises are said to be endemic”.

Because of the above, the African state is incapable of effective macroeconomic management. Such marginalization and disdain was underlined by the understanding which argues, that is the way 'Africa works' (ibid).

Mkandawire's criticism questions the view, promoted in some literature that what has worked in some countries, such as in Asia can not work in Africa because African states are dependent, lack ideology, have soft and weak institutions, are prone to corruption, lack technical and analytical capacity that are not suitable for current international industrial environment.

In sum, Mkandawire argues that developmental states are not alien to Africa. What the continent needs is a social construct to consciously and deliberately construct such a state. He argues against the myth which says Asian bureaucracies were achieved because of a Confucian culture and that African civil services can not achieve the same because they are, by nature, susceptible to corruption and incompetence.

Quoting from Evans (1997), Mkandawire states:

“The new way forward does not lie in the wholesale neglect of existing capacities in the quest for new ones, rather, in the utilization, retooling and reinvigorating of existing capacities including reversing the brain drain and in the rebuilding of the educational and training institutions for long term development needs rather than the ad hoc manner encouraged by new 'capacity-building' fads”

(Mkandawire, 2001: 309)

Moreover, although previous developmental states such as those in Asia were achieved through authoritarian means, the new ones will have to be democratic. In this case, Africa has examples in the form of Botswana and Mauritius.

The last theory we will evaluate is that of Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom* (1999). In sum, Sen contextualize his argument on the fact that the world has and is currently experiencing unprecedented opulence, established democracies that promote participatory decision making processes, human rights and political liberty. This has ensured that populations live longer and has brought all the people of the world closer through technology, commerce, trade, communication and the sharing of ideas and ideals (Sen, 1999: XI).

A challenge still remains however, in the form of endemic deprivation, destitution and oppression. Levels of poverty and the growing divide between the rich and poor, and other unfulfilled basic human needs, the violation of basic liberties including the neglect and violations on the rights of the most vulnerable in our societies including women and children continue to pose a threat to rich and poor countries alike (ibid).

Sen argues that until we have succeeded in making a connection between development and creating/ expanding the 'capabilities' of people to lead the kind of lives they want or value we can not claim to be free. For Sen, development should be accompanied by the ability of citizens to have, amongst others, food and to be active participants in their communities. To achieve these, development should provide, amongst others, basic education, health care and social safety nets. Although growth of incomes will and can expand people's capabilities, Sen argues this can not be used as the ultimate yardstick for development or state of well being and thus freedom.

I have, over the above few pages, given some background on topical theories on the definition of a developmental state.

Peter Evan's defines a developmental state as a state that is modern with a bureaucratic capacity to play a greater role in societal success.

Adrian Leftwich argues that for a state to be developmental, it has to be managed by developmental elite with relative state autonomy and bureaucratic power to govern over a weakened civil society and to push its policies, at whatever costs, including the suppression of human rights.

Thandika Mkandawire challenges the view that African states, by their very nature, can not be developmental because they are susceptible to corruption, have weak institutions and are dependent on international markets. He argues that states in Africa can be developmental if they can be left alone to strengthen existing capacities, reverse the brain drain and rebuild educational and training institutions.

Lastly, Amartya Sen argues that development has no meaning if citizens continue to be marginalized and are not able, as individuals or as a collective to actively participate in their communities and to have the capabilities to access basic human needs.

We may now, against this background, consider the Provincial Government of the Western Cape project of assisting in the establishment of intermediary structures to mobilize communities around issues of underdevelopment, social exclusion, gangs and drugs and thus facilitate social transformation in the identified 15 areas based on statistics showing that those areas have the highest incidents of crime, gang warfare and drug trafficking. These communities are the most vulnerable communities within the Western Cape Province. Thus, the program focusing on the 15 priority areas can be linked to a developmental state, albeit at a local or regional level.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

The following paragraphs focus on the theoretical background of the Social Transformation program.

Social Transformation seeks to foster a social change through integrated social support structures. Social Transformation recognizes that the individual must be supported and integrated within support structures, and empowers the community to actively engage the state and other institutions including the private sector.

It addresses accessibility of knowledge and networks that will provide citizens with the knowledge and resources they need. The term social transformation acknowledges that change takes time.

For social transformation to be successful the different stakeholder groups must define their own future, the options available to achieve that, and the collective plan to implement the transformation. This requires platforms of dialogue, trust, and a sense of cohesiveness around a common purpose.

The approach therefore requires sustained focus on local groups and even individuals.

Social transformation is inherently an attempt to address social and economic exclusion. It is not merely about the implementation of small-scale poverty reduction initiatives, but a longer terms sustainable intervention that put people at the centre of development. A people-centred approach recognizes the inherent worth and strengths of poor citizens and how they get by. It then goes down to the grassroots locality, maps the existing strengths, especially with regards to 2nd economy activity, and audits the contributions required to harness the inherent skills and capacities for people towards a sustainable livelihood.

Once a proper contextual understanding of the local strengths and weaknesses in a particular locality has been gained, one is better positioned to ascertain what kind of assets are required to enable citizens to engage in the market. Government would then also be in a position to harness the existing human, economic, and social capital.

Social capital is the substance that holds institutions together. It is based on trust and shared values that enable exchange of goods and services in a reciprocal relationship. The existence of a dense web of networks enables individuals, groups, and communities to have access to resources and information that enable them to better manage challenging situations. Social capital is not only about the trust and relations between individuals and communities but also about how to link individuals and communities on a basis of trust bottom up and top down with government institutions and the private sector.

In addition to discussion and decision-making, the social capital strategy is about finding ways in which government can work together with different parts of society to deliver services and give effect to the creation of a developmental state.

The Community development approach speaks to development that addresses the needs of communities through a bottom-up approach. Communities themselves need to be able to express their own needs. Government and other societal stakeholders will need to create an environment that enables the development identified by and in collaboration with societal actors.

Such an understanding of community development immediately challenges the complex bureaucratic make-up of the government sector. It will require political will, mindset changes of officials, innovating budgetary systems, and the willingness to adopt new work approaches if government wants to position itself to go where the people lead and not impose blanket solutions to generic problems as was done in the past.

In order to achieve the desired outcomes of the program, one immediate objective has to be met: the creation of a sustained, well resourced and capacitated intermediary structure in each of the identified communities.

Some examples of current functioning intermediary structures include for example, Proudly Manenberg and the Khayelitsha Development Forum. The KDF and Proudly Manenberg consist of people who hold an array of positions in society, but, as part of their own plough-back investment, participate in these structures in various capacities.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

What is or has been lacking in these 15 communities is a recognized mechanism that can act as a VOICE for the community and that can link communities up with government. An umbrella organization such as Proudly Manenberg; Khayelitsha Development Forum, provides an opportunity to target communities more purposefully, eases the coordination of service delivery through a targeted approach by all organs of society, and facilitates a comprehensive integrated response to the needs and aspirations of communities.

It also closes the gap between communities and government enabling linking social capital to realize. Through the establishment of an intermediary mechanism it becomes possible to pull non-governmental organizations, the religious sector, the business sector, community-based organizations, formal and more informal fora into a network that strives towards the achievement of a common purpose in a collective manner, i.e. social transformation.

PROGRAMME OBJECTIVES:

- (1) To facilitate the establishment of 15 intermediary organizations in the communities identified.
- (2) To ensure a needs-based and integrated delivery of public sector services in the prioritized 15 areas.
- (3) To facilitate an integrated response from the business sector in the prioritized 15 areas.
- (4) To build internal social capital within the PGWC in order to facilitate integrated service delivery through the roll-out of the social transformation program.
- (5) To institutionalize structures and processes within PGWC in order to facilitate the implementation of the social transformation program.

INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

Social mobilization of communities forms an integral part of participatory governance. A cursory audit of community-based structures in some of the 15 areas revealed how the implementation of a bottom-up approach assisted communities in mobilizing its inherent resources in dealing with their developmental challenges. The bottom-up approach typically has street committees at its base which are then organized into ward committees (Concept and roles of Ward Committees stated later in the document. Currently the CDWs are the substitute for Ward Committees) and area committees. This is the approach followed by Proudly Manenberg, the Khayelitsha Development Forum, and to some extent also Delft. In Drakenstein District Municipality, development forums exist on farms with one representative per farm. Each of these representatives reports into a network that results in the formation of a regional development forum.

The 15 geographical areas provide an excellent opportunity to the Provincial Government of the Western Cape to respond to these areas in an integrated and holistic way. It provides the opportunity to ensure that Ikapa Elihlumayo finds a synergistic and integrated expression in the 15 areas. It provides the opportunity to showcase how the provincial government can through its own institutional arrangements, networks, partnerships and from the perspective of a seamless government, respond to the large-scale inequality experienced by these areas.

The current institutional arrangements of government compound its ability to respond to the needs of citizens in a holistic and integrated manner. Silo-planning and implementation of programs and projects remains one of the major challenges.

The notion of an intermediary structure provides the opportunity for the creation of a platform where these forums and organizations can share knowledge, ideas, and experiences on the developmental challenges of the community. In addition, it provides a platform where solutions can be generated for the developmental challenges and where the community needs and aspirations are clearly articulated. The mechanism for such a platform could be an umbrella network constituted of the chairpersons of various community-based organizations, political representatives, faith-based sector, business sector, ward committees, ward councilors, existing forums such as police forums, health forums, cultural and sport structures and initiatives, etc.

The information gathered and shared could inform Local Economic Development Plans and local Integrated Development Plans for each of the communities. Through the councilors these are then factored into the municipality's overall Integrated Development Plan.

At the same time, government's representatives in these communities need to organize themselves into an integrated government team. Their main responsibility would be to "listen" to the umbrella network as the

“voice” of the people. The government representatives would then filter the needs and aspirations of the communities up to their respective line managers in both the municipality and province/national.

Over the short-term it is proposed that government forms a network in each of the 15 areas consisting of role-players from each national, provincial department and local authority with a presence in these communities.

In addition, project leaders responsible for up to three geographical areas will need to be appointed to manage operational functioning of the intermediary mechanisms on ground level. Their responsibility would be to coordinate the efforts on the operational level, feed back into the project office and render the necessary support to the mechanism.

The responsibility of the project office would be to coordinate the overall implementation of the social transformation program on a provincial level and advise the Sector Coordinating Committee on the alignment of departmental Annual Performance Plans with the expressed needs and challenges of communities. It will report against set indicators for impact assessment in collaboration with the Chief Directorate Monitoring and Evaluation, Review and Reporting. It will also ensure the appropriate interventions for capacity building of both government and civil society actors.

In so doing, spatial budget planning would be possible and a more focused resource allocation would be possible to ensure local economic and social development in the 15 areas. Government then becomes the lever that can unlock blockages and facilitate business, state-owned enterprises, and other initiatives as required.

In conclusion, the program on the fifteen areas recognizes the fact that current economic growth has been to the exclusion of the majority of citizens. It acknowledges that such exclusion is reflected in race and geographical location. The program challenges the state to address current social and economic exclusion that threatens constitutional democratic gains. It calls for a determined unapologetic state intervention to address the unacceptable levels of unemployment and poverty. The Social Transformation Program is therefore a project or community-government initiative that aims to empower citizens by utilizing local capacities and knowledge to build community competence and capacity. It is a development state in action albeit at a local level.

 [To Contents Page](#)

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 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 8: Integrated Sustainable Home Settlements With Developmental And Well Governed Municipalities With Effective Service Delivery

🗣️ Mr Richard Dyantyi (MEC)

- ◆ What are the challenges?
- ◆ What are the successes?

This brief speaks to our endeavours to arrive at integrated sustainable human settlements with developmental and well governed municipalities at the helm, effectively delivering service that make up human settlements. The expectation is to hear what the challenges are and what successes can be spoken of. Over the last



two years there have been a series of successes, but it must be noted that the types of challenges faced far exceed the successes that we have achieved. This is based on the notion that the resources one has never meet the demand that there is.

Without ethical governance, notwithstanding a degree of stability within municipalities, the challenges of delivering sustainable settlements in an integrated manner by the very same municipalities will never be achieved. Ethical governance is concerned with the standards of conduct of all holders of public office, including arrangements in relation to financial and commercial activities since 1994. High ethical standards are a cornerstone of good governance, the importance of the ethical agenda has lead to an ethics component being included in the auditing assessment of all spheres of government in the annual assessment of what we term: the use of resources.

Having established this, in answer to the question at hand, shelter is one of the basic necessities of life and occupies, without doubt, the largest proportion of any human settlement. A human settlement has shelter as its primary component; it must be a space that is rich in facilities. As we establish communities, there must be shopping centres, opportunities, libraries, clinics, etc. We have gone beyond the stage where government thought they were delivering when building toilets, and beyond the stages of creating places such as Delft and Westbank, that actually contribute to crime and a lack of cohesion and related issues. We now have a responsibility in the way in which we go about bringing shelter, ensuring that it contributes towards other important issues.

In Mr Dyantyi's view, home ownership promotes social cohesion, and citizens' participation in other developmental activities. One can continue blaming a single person for not being able to deal with the rate of crime, but one fails to ask what the contributors to the crime rate are. One of the contributors would be the conditions in which people have to live in: the types of houses that were built, that feed into what we are dealing with. We sometimes leave these facts aside and concentrate on what police are doing about the situations that arise from these conditions.

In what way does the health department help with the burden of diseases? Some of the diseases faced with are caused by living conditions. We cannot work alone; we need to find a way to work together in the creation of solutions. The rate of T.B in Khayelitsha is increasing, and as a result the health department

spends a lot of resources in dealing with the problem, yet a preventative approach could be used to deal with the health situation there, in the terms of how people live and so forth.

In view of the increasing demand and the huge back log, in the Western Province this back log is over 4000, there has been innovative policies that we introduced in 2004, The Breaking New Ground attempt. The Western Cape Human Settlements Strategy, Isidima, was given this name because when one travels across the province, you come across challenges in the back log; these challenges are made up of historical factors. This is a province where certain communities were never accessible to housing opportunities. It is a legacy that stays with us to this day. Some people are living among pigs, in the periphery in the municipalities, not in the inner centre. These are the kind of challenges that we have to and continue to deal with. Mr Dyantyi says that part of the back log has been created by the growth rate of people's movement has not been matched with government's ability to deliver services. He stated that it may come as a surprise that he as a government official brings this up, but emphasizes that government do speak about their own weaknesses and challenges.

Socio - economic conditions also contribute to the problem. People come to the Western Cape for various reasons: education, facilities, jobs, opportunities, health facilities. Some people leave beautiful homes looking for work, this migratory pattern is not only taken by black individuals, but white too. White retirees also move to the Western Cape, these factors need to be understood and confronted in context.

As a result of the strong linkage between housing and the economy, the income multiplier is generally very high and the private and informal sector play a vital role in provincial and national development. Housing development generates direct employment, including the following: absorbing rural migrant labour and providing seasonal employment for farm workers, housing participation of women workers and activating small scale and self – employed including building construction, but some of the challenges that are faced in this province in relation to human settlement housing would include: households being below the poverty line.

There is an issue of housing the rural population which has not necessarily received the kind of attention that it deserves, but we also know that the generation of houses that we have built since 1994 needs repairs. Therefore we need to learn about that, because what we have done is focus on quantitative access. Because people did not have access to houses, we had to create numbers; we are speaking of millions to focus on that target. The mistake we made was to focus on quantity, while neglecting quality. It is a lesson that quantity and quality need to be combined so that what we do is sustainable. Otherwise we will be merely vote –catching, i.e. building in order to gain votes. We need to go beyond that and deal with some of the fundamental issues at hand. We also agree that traditional approaches of reliance on government have not resulted in increased provisions to meet the need that we have.

The biggest challenge in the Western Cape is not only the physical delivery of houses, but the political challenge which is a result of the province's unique political context. In a province with no clear majority, the chill of political power is a reality which local municipalities have to function within, often having a negative impact on delivery on a local municipal level where the most fluctuation takes place.

The Local Government and Housing department have three pillars that it is driving: service delivery's acceleration, ensuring quality settlements, and the importance of good governance and accountability and public participation. Chairs may change, mayors may change, but service delivery has to remain relevant. At the end of the day, people want service delivery. To deal with this, administration needs to be strengthened. The department's role is to monitor and support municipalities, or integrated human settlements will never be achieved. Part of the problem with municipalities is that cheap land has been used, the population is growing, but there is limited land. We need to be creative in dealing with this issue.

In terms of successes, the department's response is that they have not been successful in many instances. Isidima is ensuring that the department puts into place, together with municipalities, issues to ensure they are addressed differently. The department expects second generation IDP's from municipalities. These IDP's embarked on by them are meant to be consulted on by communities, to ensure they have an IDP in office that they want. The department wants to see whether public participation has taken place and whether everything has been budgeted for, whether issues have been raised and how they have been responded to. It's been fashion to have listening campaigns, IDP processes, but in the end we never do what the people asked for. Therefore we expect a chapter on human settlement, the budgeting and integrating the

communities, we want to see a chapter on disaster management, because the Western Cape is a disaster prone area, and how infrastructure is being maintained. Part of the problem is that many townships and in the Cape flats the homes built are never maintained.

With all these issues, what is government doing to intervene to turn the situation around? The battle we have is multi- faceted; it is made up of people who are unemployed, who only rely on government subsidy, and people who can afford housing. There is a mixture of people with different needs. There is no one –size fits all, we must be differentiate in terms of intervention. We have to ensure that there is high density because of the shortage of land, bringing people closer to work opportunities; we are also building on partnerships. Government alone is not going to meet the task alone, other role players have to be mobilized. The housing department produces six thousand houses a year out of a subsidy, the budget has to be spent 100% every year, there is no point in calling for partnerships when you cannot spend what you have. The demand is 30 000 so the department always has a deficit.

Lastly, people have to begin to understand the IGR process and partnership. We have started a process with the Northern and Eastern Cape which we call the inter - provincial collaboration. We believe that the Western Cape economy benefits from the young people from the Eastern Cape who study and work here, who when they have completed their studies return to their provinces. There is an inter dependency among the three provinces; we need to share the knowledge, expertise and joint strategies.

 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 9: Challenges Of Health Inequality Between The Private And Public Sectors

Dr Lydia Cairncross

In our country the consequences of extreme levels of poverty and interpersonal violence bring people to the doors of our public health facilities. The end result of desperate lives leading to stabbings, gunshots, rape victims, gangrene from disease and personal neglect, ulcers from drug abuse, homeless people exposed to the cold, shack dwellers burnt at paraffin stoves, young children suffering the end results of malnutrition, cancers from smoking, asbestos, poor diet and of course our latest epidemic, HIV/AIDS. Health workers in hospitals and clinics are picking up the broken pieces of a ravaged society. Public health facilities sometimes offer marginalized people some access to the resources and support of the state. Sometimes this is enough, but often it is too late.



Sometimes this is enough, but often it is too late.

I will be addressing the ethical issues relating to health as a basic human right, the ethical dilemmas posed by the commercial exploitation of injury and disease and the extreme inequalities between private and public health care in South Africa.

There is a broad consensus in the medical profession that service providers and health centres have a duty to care for any patient regardless of their race, colour, religion, sex, sexual orientation or ability to pay. In the past Apartheid discriminatory practises in healthcare were rife. In its place we have a new ethical and moral climate, one that values equality and human rights. The current imbalance between the private and public sector health care violates this sense of universal justice and right and wrong.

Rather than addressing these issues in abstract, let me relate a few examples from my personal experience. While working in the Eastern Cape, a previously fit and healthy young man was brought into casualty with a perforated stomach ulcer. He had been ill for many days but did not have transport to come to hospital. He was in septic shock and, though a successful operation was performed, he needed intensive care support (ICU) for a few days in order to survive. There were no ICU beds available in the entire Nelson Mandela Metropole. Or let me rephrase, there were no ICU beds within the domain of the public sector hospitals. While desperately searching for a place for him, it became clear that several private ICU beds were empty within a 20 km radius. They would not accept the patient without financial authorization from our public hospital. Our superintendent was not authorized to do this and refused the necessary consent. The patient died eight hours later. We failed to provide appropriate medical care not because it was not available, but because he could not pay for it.

It was also in the Eastern Cape that I witnessed the devastation of AIDS first hand. AIDS before antiretrovirals were available in public hospitals, and health workers were in fact forbidden to use them. Yet, while we literally watched, helplessly, while patients died or sent them home to die with their families, those who could afford to were accessing lifesaving drugs. More recent examples are from Cape Town. While working in the trauma unit, I have admitted patients inadequately stabilized and transferred from private hospitals. Or medical aid patients transferred from private ICU's the minute their medical aid funds dried up, but not a minute before. With our extremely stretched theatre time, I have seen patients needing cancer operations cancelled while private patients with less urgent problems receive operations immediately. On one particular day this year a public theatre list was cancelled due to staff shortages but staff were found for

a private list, done in the same hospital in the very same theatre. I failed to convince myself that the patients were from two separate systems of health making this technically acceptable.

Is this, however, acceptable ethical practice? Can we turn a blind eye to these tensions? Is it valid for us to see the private sector as something completely separate, inviolate and irrelevant to what is happening in the public sector? Even when they often share the same space and the same health workers?

The Statistics Of Inequality

(From SA Health Review 2006 (1))

South Africa spends approximately 8.6% of its GDP on health care. 58% of this is spent within in the private sector which caters to 15% of all South Africans. Put another way only 42% of our health resources are spent on 85% of the population. The per capita spending on a patient in the private sector is 7.2x more than that spent on a patient in the public sector.

Of the 34 324 registered doctors in SA, only 9959 work in the state sector. Only 43% of nurses are in the public sector. There are 42 000 unfilled nursing posts in the Department of Health. 31.2% of all health professional posts in the public sector are vacant. This is a human resource crisis, a crisis of maldistribution.

The total population dependent on the public sector has increased by 7 million from 1995 – 2005, effectively eliminating any increase in expenditure on health. The population covered by private medical aids has dropped from 17 – 15% over the same period.

These startling numbers do not begin to reflect the effective they have on ordinary users of the health system. In the public sector, patients wait days, weeks and months for out -patient appointments, for elective surgery, for specialist visits, they wait outside clinics for hours, are subjected to the effects of medication being out of stock, skills shortages and staff shortages. Sometimes these delays are just an annoyance and cause frustration, but they usually cause unnecessary suffering and in the more critical cases, cause preventable deaths. With two parallel systems of health care, your ability to pay can literally buy you a better quality and longer life.

The History Of The Right To Health

The idea that people have the right to health and health care has a long history.

The first recorded writings of a physician are those from an Egyptian genius Imhotep who lived 2600BC in the 3rd dynasty. This polymath was also a brilliant architect, politician, priest and adviser to the king. He designed the first pyramid Saqqares. His medical contribution was the documentation 200 diseases, several operations and the treatment for various forms of trauma.

Imhotep preceeds the conventionally recognized father of medicine, Hippocrates (400BC), by more than 2000 years. (2) Hippocrates was the first Western physician to apply the scientific method to the management of disease. He is best remembered for the 'Hippocratic Oath'. This is the first formal recognition of the responsibilities of the doctor and the rights of the patient: to adequate care, confidentiality and respect. The 'Hippocratic Oath' (in a modern version which does not make reference to ancient Greek Gods!) is still made by medical students all over the world when entering the medical profession. It outlines our responsibility to the individual.

At the time of the French Revolution, philosophers such as Jean Rousseau popularised the then new idea that 'every man naturally had a right to everything he needs for his subsistence'(3). This implied collective responsibility on the part of society for providing for minimum needs. The last few centuries have seen the expansion of the recognition of what it is to be human. This is evidenced by the abolition of serfdom with the French Revolution, the abolition of slavery, the right to vote for men, the right to vote for women. In 1870, the US, after a hard fought public campaign, granted the recognition of the universal right to education.

After the second world war these ideas were consolidated through a number of international declarations:

In the 1948 United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights: everyone ' has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services'. (4)

1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights mandated governments to:

- (1) The provision for the reduction of the stillbirth-rate and of infant mortality and for the healthy development of the child.
- (2) The improvement of all aspects of environmental and industrial hygiene.
- (3) The prevention, treatment and control of epidemic, endemic, occupational and other diseases.
- (4) The creation of conditions which would assure to all, medical service and medical attention in the event of sickness. (5)

The specific right to health is reiterated by the WHO 1948 in the preamble to its Constitution :

'The enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health is one of the fundamental rights of every human being without distinction of race, religion, political belief, economic or social condition.'

And the WHO definition of health:

'A state of complete physical, mental and social well-being' (6)

This means not just access to hospitals, doctors and medicines but also clean water, sanitation, adequate housing, a safe working environment.

The WHO Alma Ata Declaration of Primary Health Care (1978 in the USSR):

'An acceptable level of health for all the people of the world by the year 2000 can be attained through a fuller and better use of the world's resources, a considerable part of which is now spent on armaments and military conflicts.' (7)

Our South African Constitution 1996:

'enshrines the rights of all people in our country and affirms the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom'

Everyone has the right of access to:

- (1) Health care services, including reproductive health care
- (2) Sufficient food and water, and
- (3) Social security, including, if they are unable to support themselves and their dependents, appropriate social assistance. (8)

These socio-economic rights however, often do not have the same status as civil and political rights. They are limited by resources and have been challenged in court in South Africa. While they are not absolute rights, within South Africa they are broadly accepted as guiding principles in order to attain a dignified and healthy life for all.

Health As A Commodity

Juxtaposed to the above is the concept of health as a commodity i.e. a willing buyer, willing seller basis for the transaction. The US is probably the best example of this form of privatized health care. Everyone in the US must have health insurance to access medical care, unless it is emergency care. Health insurance must be paid for or provided for by an employer. In 2004 45 million US citizens were uninsured. At least the same number had inadequate insurance. Over a two year period up to 3 in 10 US citizens are uninsured. (3)

In the USA, the right to health as a principle is hotly contested. Many vehemently oppose the concept that every human being has the right to health care. In 2005, the UN Commission for Human Rights resolved 'the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health..' Member states were encouraged invest the necessary human and material resources towards the progressive achievement of this goal. 52 countries votes for this resolution, one country, the US, voted against. (3) The US spends 15% of its GDP on health yet still has a higher infant mortality rate than Cuba a small, relatively poor country. 66% of health expenditure in the US is private. (9)

The great American civil rights activist Martin Luther King was prompted to say on health: 'of all forms of inequality, injustice in health care is the most shocking and inhumane.'

South Africa – Inherited Inequalities

Apartheid as a system of oppression and exploitation denied people healthy lives on several levels. On the basis of skin colour, people were denied dignity, education and the power to determine their own destinies. The Apartheid government policies were complimented by the exploitative practises of big corporations such as the gold, asbestos and diamond mines which contributed to the disease burden in the form of mines injuries, asbestosis, silicosis and tuberculosis. (2) Black and white South Africans were not equality exposed to these health threats and did not have equal access to the means to redress them.

Post 1994 we inherited a fragmented health system. A total of 14 separate departments of health had been set up to serve different Bantustans and artificially created racial and ethnic groups. This created an expensive administrative nightmare. There was also a strong private sector catering mainly to white South Africans. Within the public sector, the Apartheid government created a few centres of excellence, catering for white South Africans only. World-class health services for a small minority flourished in the major cities. The phrase 'islands of excellence in a sea of need' sums up this phenomenon.

I was not just access to health services that created health inequalities. The burden of disease for South Africa's poor, black majority was and is far greater than that of the wealthy minority. Health threats also take the form of occupational hazards, shack fires, overcrowding, poor sanitation, poor nutrition, lack of education, unemployment, drug abuse and interpersonal violence. These affect those who can literally least afford to be sick.

Health rights formed part of the important ideas during the struggle for liberation.

Freedom Charter (1955):

*'A preventative health scheme should be run by the state.
Free medical care and hospitalization shall be provided for all, with special care for
mothers and young children.
Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting,
playing fields, crèches and social centres.
The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state.'* (10)

RDP promised (1994):

*'The government will develop a national health system offering affordable health care. The
focus will be on primary health care to prevent disease and promote health, as well as to
cure illness.'* (11)

Positive Steps In Health Since 1994

There have been some gains. We have a single Department of Health. 13 000 new clinics and 18 new hospitals were built by 2004. New legislature has given pregnant women and children under six access to free health care. The Termination of Pregnancy Act allowed women access to safe abortion. After a prolonged struggle by civil society, >100 000 people living with HIV now have access to ARV's in the public sector. Progressive changes have brought in community service for categories of health workers bringing human resources to distant rural areas that are in desperate need. The recently finalized Patient Charter sets out the rights of all patients laying the foundation for the empowerment of users of the health system.

Despite these legislative changes, a number of factors have hampered any real impact on the health of the nation:

◆ Financing of Health Care

- ⑥ A period of fiscal discipline with the advent in GEAR in 1996 led to a decrease in the per capita spending on health for several years
- ⑥ This is only now plateauing and will start to correct over the next 2- 3 years
- ⑥ The decreased health expenditure went together with an aggressive period of retrenchment of health personnel, decrease in number of nursing training colleges and the emigration of many skilled health professionals
- ⑥ Many hospitals experienced crippling budget cuts and bed closures with no visible primary level development to compensate for this
- ⑥ The inequalities between the private and public sector has widened with a smaller number of the total population covered by medical aid than in 1994.
- ⑥ The ratio of per capita spending on private/public sector patients has increased from 4.5/1 in 1997 to 7.1/1 in 2003. (12)
- ⑥ The estimated extra cost of HIV/AIDS treatment and management is approximately R6 billion. (12)

Fiscal constraints in the 1990's, an expanding population, a huge burden of disease backlog, inadequate infrastructure and the explosion of the AIDS epidemic has meant that public health is hopelessly and chronically under funded despite small increases in recent years.

◆ Burden of Disease

This continues to be enormous with the HIV epidemic and ongoing social and economic inequality.

- ⑥ In 1990 HIV prevalence among pregnant women was 0.7% in 2005 it was 30.2% (1)
- ⑥ HIV has emerged as the biggest single cause of death in South Africa
- ⑥ Infant mortality is high 59/1000 (IMR in Sweden 6 – 7/1000)
- ⑥ Under five mortality is 87/1000 for those in the lowest wealth percentile and 21/1000 for those in highest wealth percentile. (9)
- ⑥ Other markers of social development remain poor: 63% of the population are in formal housing, only 51% use electricity for cooking, and 16% of the population still have no access to piped water. (12)

Interactions Between Public And Private Sector

There is a school of thought that believes that the private sector and public sectors are completely separate and solutions should be found internally for both. The perspective then follows that there should be an increase in the number patients in the private sector to 'relieve the burden' on the public sector.

However, the private sector is not independent and self-contained. There is a constant flow of resources from public to private. The most glaring is the human resource drift. The high vacancy rate, poor working conditions and poor remuneration in the public sector results in a constant flow of health professionals from public to private. The majority of health professionals work in the private sector and many of those in the public sector do substantial amounts of private work. Yet it is the state that funds the training for all health professionals. Nursing staff often work in both sectors, 'moonlighting' to improve their remuneration. This results in overworked, tired health workers who are able to contribute less in their daily work.

Medical aid contributions are tax deductible. This decreases the total tax contribution to the state (public funds) and encourages expenditure on medical packages (private funds). Hundreds of thousands of public sector workers receive government subsidies to buy private medical care, a direct subsidization of the private sector. This is particularly ironic for public sector health workers who are encouraged not to use the very system in which they should be providing a quality service.

The final and most direct way in which the private sector uses the public sector is by the 'dumping' of patients on the public sector. Medical aid patients are allowed to access the services of the private sector until their medical funds have run dry. They are then shunted to state hospitals which bear the cost of completing treatment without the benefit of the medical funds already spent. Because the private sector has no ongoing responsibility to its patients, every patient in the country, in particular those on cheaper medical packages, is ultimately the responsibility of the state. Having more patients in the private sector is not going to lighten the public sector burden.

The government has been looking at different ways of interacting with the private sector and funding health services:

◆ **Private-Public Partnerships / Interactions**

The stated aim with PPI 's is to harness the efficiency and resources of the private sector to provide a better service in the state sector. There are a number of potential problems with this. Crucially, the philosophy of running a health service as a business is accepted. The private partner has an interest in making a profit through access to state resources. The public partner has primarily an interest in service delivery. Perceived efficiencies in the private sector are not measured against health outcomes, but rather against monetary outcomes. Also, the state partner usually takes most of the financial liability. These interactions are a form of insidious privatization. Within state hospitals where these PPI's are functioning, private/semi-private patients use the same resources e.g. CT scan, theatre staff and radiotherapy equipment etc as state patients. This is increasing the waiting time for these scarce resources.

◆ **Social Health Insurance (SHI)**

With SHI, every employed person will make a 5% contribution to a medical scheme. This will fund a state owned medical aid. Patients can then use this fund either in the private or public sector. There will be 'semi-private' sections in state hospitals where the fund could also be used. The idea behind this is to increase the number of people who have access to medical aid cover and gain revenue for the state.

There are a number of problems however. The 5% will become an extra tax burden on already strained working people. This system will not challenge but strengthen the commercialization of health services. Health care will still be bought, but through the state owned medical scheme. There are also a number of problems for SHI as a long-term solution. South Africa has a very high unemployment rate which will exclude many from this scheme. Job insecurity, contract work and work in the informal sector will mean many workers will not have stable and secure access to medical aid. Lower cost medical schemes may run out sooner, with patients once again becoming the responsibility of the state.

◆ **User Fees**

With the exception of pregnant women and children under six, state patients are expected to pay when they seek treatment at a health facility. In recent years there have been increasing attempts to recover this fee from patients. Hospital fees are also charged for admissions and procedures on a salary scale. In real terms, these fees are an added burden on already impoverished communities. Most worrying is the fee charge for low income workers. Unable to afford a medical aid, these workers can receive huge hospital bills if admitted for any major procedure. For example, a mother of three working at Woolworths for R3500/month was charged R2500 for her in hospital treatment. She self discharged early fearing the escalating bill.

User fees at public hospitals are not a reliable or sustainable source of funds in our context. They tend to discriminate against low paid workers who are not exempt from fees, cannot afford medical aid and are already living just within their means. There is a danger that some members of society will fall between the cracks between the public and private sector.

Alternative Health Systems

What alternative is there to a two tier system of health care? Is any other model possible?

Canada and the United Kingdom both have very strong public health systems. Services are free and accessible to all citizens. Canada spends 9.6% of its GDP on health, and the UK 8.1%. There are some problems with long waiting times for elective operations such as hip replacements and increasing privatization is a risk. However, on the whole, these systems provide a safe and quality service. It could be argued that we cannot match this performance as these are both wealthy nations. Cuba however is a relatively poor country yet it has some of the best health statistics in the world. They have a unitary system based on a primary health care model. In Cuba the infant mortality rate is 6-8/1000 and they have 5.9 doctors/1000 population. South Africa has 0.31/1000 in the public sector with an infant mortality rate of 59/1000. (9) Cuba only spends 6.3% of its GDP on health but has equitable distribution of its health resources. (9)

Towards A Unitary System Of Health For All

The ethical and moral imperative to provide access to quality healthcare for all, demands a better solution than just fine tuning a grossly unequal two tier system. The resources spent on health, if pooled and appropriately distributed can move us rapidly towards realizing the goal of universal access to health services. If healthcare is a right, no citizen should be asked to pay at the door when needing care.

A two tier system of health care entrenches a form of social Apartheid that is contrary to the spirit of our Constitution. User fees, private-public partnerships and the proposed Social Health Insurance plan maintain the current commercial relationship between ill, vulnerable patients and the services that they need to access. These strategies do not move us in the direction of a unitary, free system.

South Africa has the material and human resources to make a unitary, free system of health care from a single tax base possible.

We can explore intermediate steps that take us towards a single public system. For example, not constructing PPI's, but rather clustering resources within cities. This could be through a legal obligation on the part of the private sector to assist in the event of a life threatening lack of resources in the state sector. No patient should die for want of treatment while the resources are available somewhere. Access to proper emergency care at private facilities could also be enforced by law.

There should be a conscious injection of resources into the public sector. We must aim to build up a quality public primary, secondary and tertiary service that all patients can be comfortable using. In other words, we need to win back the more affluent patients from the private sector. Pushing everyone into the private sector can only set up a vicious cycle of deterioration in the public sector with deepening inequalities. We must build, strengthen and maintain the assets within the public sector and keep them public.

Virchow, a brilliant 19th century doctor, pathologist and anthropologist said: 'Health is a social science and politics is nothing more than medicine on a large scale.' If we can change the way we treat our ill and vulnerable, we can begin to change the very essence of our society. We need to first know the principle, the right to health for all, imagine the ideal as possible, a single, free health system, then develop the policies and strategies that put us firmly on the path towards that goal.

 [To Contents Page](#)

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 [To Contents Page](#)

Chapter 10: Ethical Leadership In And Through Politics: Perceptions And Reality

📌 Bennett Joko

Conceptual clarity of what we are dealing with has to be established. African people come from more than 300 years of colonization and apartheid. What are leadership and its role, politics and morality?

Leadership: we identify leadership by what they say and not say. Those in government tell us that we have to be patient things will change for the better. What they don't say is that they are better off. The people have to tighten their belts while they loosen theirs.

- ◆ What they do and what they don't do. They build match box houses to better the lives of people and they don't stay in those houses.
- ◆ What they write and what they don't write. They write about economic growth reaching 5% but what they don't write about is that it is of no benefit to the African people. They write about 20 people who died in Iraq and nothing is written about 1 million people who died in Congo between 1996-2007.

Once we identify the leadership we also need to define it.



In April 1949 A.P. Mda visited Fort Hare and for the first time he met Sobukwe and he said "He impressed me as a man with a deep love for his downtrodden African people, and he appeared to be one with them in every way".

- 📌 A leader is one of us, there has to be identification with the people you lead.

The second observation of Mda on Sobukwe "He impressed me as a man who was very clear on the issues of national struggle towards final victory".

- 📌 A leader is the best of us, best qualified to achieve transformation.
- 📌 A leader is the most sincere of us, must always maintain principled positions in the face of adversity.

The last impression of Mda on Sobukwe "He believed that leaders themselves must be in the forefront of the struggle".

- 📌 A leader is the most fearless of us. There are three forms of cowardice:
 - ◆ Physical cowardice: afraid of any contact with anything.
 - ◆ Intellectual cowardice most prevailing in our academic institutions.
 - ◆ Morale cowardice.

Politics is generally defined as the science of government. It is also defined as the art of government. In some cases it is defined as both science and art of government.

The Pan Africanist view is that politics is the science of obligations to control facets of communal life. Politics is therefore a natural outcome of people's effort to:

- a) Organize economic activity,
- b) Set laws to govern behaviour (that we should not set laws to decrease sex trade by 2010 but we should set laws to completely eliminate it).
- c) Establish an education system to socialize community-(socialized to fit in particular social order). When Piet Rietif met Dingaan he wanted to introduce the concept of private ownership of land against the communal ownership. He was never socialized to fit in that African social order.
- d) To have a leadership to facilitate command structure.(even in animal kingdom there is that structure, a group of baboons will always have a leader at the front and will be held responsible for what ever might happen.)
- e) Prepare and organize defence for its community. (Crime situation which is getting out of hand. Teachers are killed in school grounds. Young children are raped and killed.)The question is do we have defence organized for us, the answer is no.

Pan Africanists cannot have politics without morality. Rights without obligations. Whose criteria are we using to measure ethical leadership in political formations? We should use universal values not the values which have corrupted African systems. Honesty, sincerity best service, fearlessness are just some of those values. The role of Pan Africanist leadership has always been to project those values .P.A.C has been led by ethical leadership in pursuit of its political objectives. South Africa is an African society and the role of its leadership has to be in line with that.



[To Contents Page](#)

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[To Contents Page](#)