UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU–NATAL

Ethics and Leadership: A Critical Analysis of Cultural Resources for Ethical Leadership in Southern Africa

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DECLARATION

I, Martin Chedondo declare that,

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ii. The thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other institution or university.

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Signed:…………..……………………… Date:……………………………..

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my wife Benedicta, children and grandchildren for their undying love and unwavering support during the long course of this study. I love and cherish you all.

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ABSTRACT

There is no doubt that there is a leadership problem of crisis proportions in Southern Africa and in Africa in general. This leadership crisis is not exclusively in the realm of politics, it can be found in business and even in some religions. Our media is usually replete with stories about unethical leadership that in most cases manifest itself in the form of corruption in government, companies, schools, universities, sporting organisations, just to mention a few. In all these instances there is no doubt that unethical leadership implies eroded integrity, insatiable accumulation of wealth and a general lack of concern for the wellbeing of others. Whilst Southern African cultures are endowed with traditional ethical resources such as *Ubuntu/Unhu* this study contents that our vital resource for ethical leadership undoubtedly will only come from traditional cultures of the indigenous people in Southern Africa.The main presumption of the study is that by employing traditional ethical resources for ethical leadership, a successful leader should be someone who is able to provide comprehensive wellbeing to those under his or her leadership. This shall be elaborated by drawing on some examples from traditional Zulu, Sotho and Shona cultures mainly cherished features of ethical leadership. With the main aim being to demonstrate that in these cultural traditions ethical leadership converged on the principle that one should live and lead in a way that gives primacy to the good of others where the final aim is to maximise inclusive well-being and social well-being and social harmony.

With the above in mind the study comparatively analysed the contemporary conception of Western models of leadership, power and ethics with a view to assess their relevancy and applicability to Africa. In the process it was observed that the foundation for contemporary Western leadership practice, ethics and power discourse were deeply embedded in their cultural foundations of individual and atomistic views which primed the individual rights over general societal or community consideration unlike the African cultural heritage of Ubuntu which primes community over individual. The end result of the comparative analysis pointed to deficiencies in the adopted leadership frameworks of the West hence the resultant critical analysis of traditional cultural resources for ethical leadership. The analysis while noting the need and potential for usability of the traditional cultural resources also noted the practical globalisation trend as calling for innovation, independence of thought and ingenuity in the application of Ubuntu philosophy in modern society with its current trends and challenges. Ubuntu7 philosophy was concluded to undergird the new framework for A new paradigm of ethical leadership in Southern Africa in particular and Africa in general.

KEY TERMS

Ethical leadership, Traditional cultural resources, Ubuntu, Retraditionalisation

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CMP	Common Moral Position
NGO	Non- Governmental Organizations
STEM	Science Technology Engineering and Mathematics
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Brief Motivation/Background of the Study

There is no doubt that there is a leadership problem of crisis proportions in Southern Africa in particular and Africa in general. This leadership crisis is not exclusively in the realm of politics alone since it can be found in business and even in some religions. Our media is usually replete with stories about unethical leadership that in most cases manifest itself in the form of bad governance and corruption in government, companies, schools, universities, sporting organisations, just to mention a few. In all these instances there is no doubt that bad and unethical leadership implies eroded integrity, insatiable accumulation of wealth and a general lack of concern for the wellbeing of others. Whilst Southern African cultures are endowed with traditional ethical resources such as *Ubuntu/Unhu,* these are unfortunately not being used to improve the leadership praxis and this proposal will content that our vital resource for ethical leadership undoubtedly will only come from traditional cultural values of the indigenous people of Southern Africa.

The main presumption of this study is that by employing traditional ethical resources for ethical leadership, a successful leader should be someone who is able to provide comprehensive wellbeing to those under their leadership. I shall try to elaborate the above presumption by drawing on some examples from traditional Zulu, Ndebele, Sotho and Shona cultures mainly cherished features of ethical leadership. Here the main aim is to demonstrate that in these cultural traditions ethical leadership converged on the principle that one should live and lead in a way that gives primacy to the good of others where the final aim is to maximise inclusive wellbeing and social harmony. The resources that are identified in the study as embedded in Southern African cultural traditions on ethical leadership are *Ubuntu, Ukama* (all meaning relatedness and communal belongingness), *Mwoyo murefu* – being endowed with a magnanimous spirit, *Kunzwira* (Shona)/*Uzwelo* - having a sense of concern for the wellbeing of others, *hlompo* (Sotho)/*inhlonipho* (Zulu)/*Kuremekedza* – deep respect for persons. This study is mainly based on Southern African social understanding of a human person. On the basis of this social understanding of a person the writer will construct what Southern African traditional cultures presume to be ethical leadership. Drawing from Southern African traditional resources for ethical leadership, the premise of this study is that ethical leadership is that type of leadership that fosters inclusive wellbeing and common belonging.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

There is an ethical leadership deficiency of crisis proportions in post-colonial Southern Africa. In order to mitigate the problem, what are the pre-colonial traditional cultural resources which could be employed for good leadership and why have those Africans in leadership positions across the board not incorporated these traditional cultural resources for the promotion of a culture of ethical leadership.

1.3 Research Objectives

The objectives of this study are:
1. To explore the theoretical perspectives of leadership.
2. To examine the elements of power and how they link with leadership.
3. To critically evaluate the ethical frameworks and ethical traditions and their impact on leadership.
4. To investigate African traditional resources for ethical leadership in Southern Africa.
5. To explore the dimensions of Ubuntu and investigate contemporary challenges to African ethics.
6. To come up with a comprehensive paradigm for ethical leadership that draws from traditional resources for ethical leadership in Southern Africa.

1.4 Research Questions

1. What are the theoretical perspectives and frameworks governing contemporary leadership?
2. What are the key tenets of power and their connection to leadership?
3. What are the key ethical frameworks and ethical traditions and their impact of leadership?
4. What are the traditional resources for ethical leadership in Southern Africa?
5. What is Ubuntu and what constitutes contemporary challenges to African ethics and leadership?
6. What is the possible comprehensive paradigm for ethical leadership that draws from traditional resources for ethical leadership in Southern Africa.

1.5 Preliminary Review of Literature

Whilst there have been many schools of thought in the discourse on ethical leadership in post-colonial Southern Africa, this study shall be confined to those schools of thought which are deemed to be dominant in the discourse on ethical leadership. According to Mogobe B. Ramose in African Philosophy Through Ubuntu (1999:1), ethics is defined "as the science of morality that is the study of the meaning of good and bad with reference to human behavior" and in the same context Martin Prozesky observed ethics

> [m]ust answer three questions namely; what should we understand by goodness, how we should live if we would give effect to the good and deny the bad and why should we do so. In answering the above questions, moral goodness is living in ways which promotes durable, inclusive wellbeing through generosity, harmlessness and truthfulness and to achieve this we must assign to the interests of others an importance we assign to our own which ultimately is the only long lasting way to achieve maximum, sustainable, inclusive wellbeing (Prozesky, 2016:7).

Stemming from the above ethical leadership therefore is that type of leadership that fosters inclusive wellbeing and common belonging, According to Mandivamba Rukuni it must have the ability to sponsor peace and harmony through love and in Anthony D Manning's words, it must foster change and create the future. Ethical leadership must be people centered, have a sense of community and be able to create durable ethical support structures with a thorough and robust knowledge of the cultural resources of the community in question. Ethical leadership must aim to achieve successful outcomes for the good of the followers. It must however be remembered that ethical leadership is relative to cultural expectations and perceptions of different communities hence what is deemed ethical in the West may be different from what is expected in an African environment. Whilst the above is a clear explication of ethical leadership and morality in general, the situation in leadership in post-colonial Southern Africa in the main is a total negation of all the expected norms and goodness. In an effort to unravel challenges to post-colonial Southern African Leadership which have manifested in bad leadership, post-colonial scholars have emerged with many schools of thought, a few of which will be examined in this study as reflective of the prevailing discourse on the subject. Traditionalists and Reconstructionists on one hand have emerged with a view of proffering possible remedies as a distinct school or grouping on the one hand whilst Modernists on the other suggest that the only way for fixing African Leadership is by moving with global trends and modernity based on science and technology. More of this will be discussed in following paragraphs.

The first school of thought arises from Southern African political discourses in which it is maintained that colonialism or apartheid in the case of South Africa was a system that was barren of ethical leadership in the sense that leadership during this epoch was primarily based on exclusion and systematic oppression of the majority of the African population in favour of a few white population that inhabited Southern Africa (Tutu 1999: 99; Meredith 2005). It is on the basis of this argument that Frantz Fanon argued in his book '*The Wretched of the Earth*' that African leaders who inherited from colonialism did not do much except imitating what the colonial master was doing. Africans wanted to remove the colonial master with the aim of solely imitating what the colonial master was doing, that is, the systematic oppression of the people they led. For example, Kwame Nkrumah justified his repressive measures against the values of political liberalism on the grounds that even in Western democracies, these governments "have been compelled to limit their citizens freedom" during times of national emergency (Nkrumah 1970: 165). In the same vein, Kamuzu Banda had this to say, "If to maintain the political stability and efficient administration l have to detain ten thousand or one hundred thousand I will do it" (cited in Meredith 2005: 176). This was the same rationale which was appealed to by colonial or apartheid politicians as a justification for suppressing fundamental freedoms to the majority of the African citizens (Giliomee 2012).

The witting or unwitting initiation and subsequent assimilation of post-colonial African leadership into the colonial leadership mode has consequently resulted in a systematic perfection of bad leadership manifesting in grand looting of state resources, plunder, repression, deprivation of the majority in favor of a few through patronage and a total disregard of constitutionalism with leaders ending up as despots. This therefore is among the many inherited tragedies of colonial rule. This situation is further exacerbated unconsciously by the unquestioning pliancy and docility of the African people inherited from our golden past where leaders were good and there was no rationale for questioning. In order to reconstruct the African leadership narrative, there is therefore a need for a shared responsibility between the leaders and the led so as to come up with a new paradigm for change with adequate checks and balances to prevent excesses. In the same traditionalist line of thinking post-colonial Africa is presented as a victim of colonialism. This school of thought was articulated by Abiola Irele as follows, "the establishment of colonial rule in Africa brought with it a drastic re-ordering of Africa societies and human relations….and created in varying measure all over Africa a state of cultural fluctuation" (Irele 1963: 52-53). In similar vein, Wamba-dia-Wamba argued that "we must, therefore, move away from the

process of moving away from traditional society and internalizing the colonial state (Wamba 1992: 32). Wamba-dia-Wamba's argument was reiterated by Mogobe Ramose when he said that "the colonial state is both symbol and reality of an alien culture injected into the indigenous African tradition.

The alien culture has become an intrinsic part of the African experience of the indigenous conquered people of Africa" (Ramose 2009: 414). In light of the above quotation it is clear that Ramose saw the African socio-political condition as that of victimhood. As he puts it, "The crucial point of dispute here is that the European understanding of the human being and the universe has been forcibly imposed upon the people of Africa", (Ramose 2009: 415-416). This school of thought has been further enhanced by other scholars who have argued for the need to revisit African traditional values as resources for the reconstruction of ethical leadership in post-colonial or post-apartheid Southern Africa (Munyaka and Motlhabi 2009: 61-80; Shutte 2009: 89-91).

The justification of revisiting the African moral compass arises from fact that African moral values have withstood the test of time after being burstadised through the so called Civilisation, Christianisation and Arabisation. The pillars of African culture as espoused in Ubuntu which have led Africans through the fires of decolonisation must therefore be reconstituted, reconstructed and reinforced to shape and even more, build a solid foundation for African ethical leadership. The second school of thought comes in the form of postmodern reconstruction of ethical leadership in post-colonial Africa by revisiting some African traditional resources for ethical leadership with the aim of incorporating them in the current socio-economic and political terrain in post-colonial or post-apartheid Southern Africa. In this regard, the concept of Hunhu (Shona) Ubuntu (Zulu/Xhosa)/Botho (Sotho Pedi and Tswana) has been applied as the concrete foundation for African traditional resource for ethical leadership in politics and the business spheres (Naussbaum 2009; Dandala 2005: 259; Wiredu 1997: 307-308). Stanlake and Marie Samkange applied the concept of Hunhu with the aim of arguing that the post- colonial Zimbabwean socio-political society should adopt the virtues enshrined in the traditional concept of Hunhu as a resource for ethical leadership (Stanlake & Marie Samkange 1981: 38, also see Kaunda 1967, Zvobgo 1979: 93; Okere 1985: 145). Whilst African traditional resources for ethical leadership such as Ubuntu/Hunhu/Botho are pivotal to ethical leadership in post-colonial or post-apartheid Southern Africa, this study argues that an appeal to these past traditional values should be

coupled by creativity and improvisation in the light of contemporary challenges to ethical leadership.

Whist the above cited schools echo the Traditionalist and Reconstructionist approach which seeks to erect the edifice of African philosophy by systematising the African cultural world views, they also aim to retrieve and reconstruct presumably lost African identity from the raw materials of African culture. Their concern is to build and demonstrate unique African identity in various forms (Asiegbu 2016: 2). A few of the scholars popularing this line of thinking include among others Leopold Sedar Senghor, Julius Nyerere and John Mbiti. It is from this school that a uniquely African ethical leadership paradigm must be constructed to serve the future needs of the continent. However in contrast to the traditionalists, there is a professional/modernist school which is advocated by Paulin Houtongji, Kwasi Wiredu and Richard Wright, just to name a few. These scholars seek to deconstruct and demote the work of traditionalists on the grounds that

> …their raw materials were sub-standard cultural paraphernalia. They are opposed to unique African identity or culture bound philosophy and prefer a philosophy that will integrate African identity with the identity of all other races in a common universalism. Unfortunately they are yet to build this counter philosophy of cross cultural endorsement of ethical leadership to fulfill their dream (Tuggy-Tuggy 2019).

1.6 Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework that is applied in this study is two pronged. It is two pronged in the sense that in the investigation of Southern African resources for ethical leadership, the study will be based on the post-colonial theory of retraditionalisation. The concept of retraditionalisation within the discourse of ethical leadership is about applying ethical principles that are found in African traditional culture. In this regard recourse is made to traditional ethical principles that are found in the culture of Southern African people. In the retraditionalisation discourse, traditional cultures of African peoples in Southern Africa are Ubuntu/Botho/Hunhu (humanness, respect, relatednality and community) (Senghor 1964: 72-73; Kaunda 1966: 27-32; Mazrui 1969: 217-218: Setiloane 1986: 9-15; Prozesky 2016: 2-4). Proponents of retraditionalisation of ethical leadership maintain that traditional African ethical principles imply that authentic leadership should be inclusive and enhance human wellbeing. Such leadership is required to avoid selfishness and adopt an attitude that shows a deep sense of respect for human dignity and maximization of support for communal wellbeing.

Related to retraditionalisation is the concept of leadership through improvisation and creativity. Retraditionalisation on its own is not sufficient to effect a relevant ethical paradigm for ethical leadership in post-colonial Africa. Improvisation or creativity is a deliberate application of Southern African traditional resources for ethical leadership in our post-colonial Southern African societies that are experiencing an acute lack of ethical leadership. It is imperative that the Southern African traditional understanding of persons which comes from the concept of Ubuntu should be reinterpreted in a way that answers our problems of ethical leadership (Boon: 2007, Mbigi: 2005, Dandala: 2009). Martin Prozesky puts it well when he said, "Adopting a helpful, supportive way of relating to others is of course not automatic. It must be chosen, which brings it into the domain of the ethical, which is universally understood as requiring the freedom to act" (Prozesky 2015: 5). Traditional resources of ethical leadership such as having a sense of concern for the community and common belongingness have a contribution to make when individuals in positions of leadership make a conscious decision to apply them in the light of leadership crises that are being experienced in the Southern African context. The effort towards improvisation was discussed by Mazrui (2009) when he discussed virtues such as tolerance, economic wellbeing, social justice, gender equality, environmental concern, inter-faith relations and understanding as critical towards ethical improvisation (Mazrui 2009: also see Mnyaka and Motlhabi 2009).

1.7 Methodology

In light of the orientation of this study, the method that is adopted is that of reconstructionism. The study draws from the Southern African traditional sources for ethical leadership. In reconstructing sources for ethical leadership resources such as Ubuntu/Hunhu – African humanism, the traditional concept of *Dare/Imbizo* – traditional gatherings that were aimed at entrenching the practice of decision making through consensus will be critically applied. Other sources of ethical leadership that will be used in this study come from the concepts such as communitarian common belonging which usually finds its expression in Shona/Zulu concept as *kunzwanana/ukuzwana* - a concept which in African modes of thought implies fostering harmony and mutual understanding within the sphere of ethical leadership. Lastly, another critical concept that I intend to apply in the reconstruction of ethical leadership from Southern African traditional ethical sources is that of *Kuremekedza/inhlonipho* which means treating each person with a deep sense of respect.

This study is a comparative ethical study in the sense that it will compare the current dominant discourse on ethics and leadership which arises from the Western ethical tradition in post-colonial Africa and that which also ascends from traditional Southern African resources of ethical leadership. Within this ethical comparative mode, critical issues such as the human rights discourse will be compared with the African discourse of *kuremekedza/ihlonipho* with the aim of establishing whether these discourses do share the same concerns with regards to the issue of ethical leadership. This comparative approach to the study of ethical leadership is partly intended to demonstrate what Southern African traditional resources for ethical leadership can contribute to a common resource for ethical leadership in our contemporary world which is currently engulfed by leadership crises.

In the light of the foregone, it can be deduced that the approach that is adopted in this study is part of the genre of applied ethics in the sense that it applies African traditional concepts that arise from Southern Africa in the reconstruction of ethical leadership in our contemporary post-colonial Southern African context. The study will also adopt a multi-disciplinary approach in the sense that the issue of ethical leadership covers other disciplines such as politics, psychology, sports, religion and sociology, among others. The study uses libraries and internet sources for the collection of data.

1.7.1 Desk Research

Desk research is another name for secondary research which involves using the information that others have gathered through primary research. This information can be found in document form. Guba and Lincoln (1981) defined a document as "any written or recorded material prepared for the purposes of the evaluation or at the request of the inquirer". In light of this, it involves the summary, collation and or synthesis of existing research documents that were conducted by others. The study is hinged on document analysis which can be as described "the documentary review method as the technique used to categorise, investigate, interpret, and identify the physical sources, most commonly written documents whether in their private or public domain" (Monageng Mogalakwe, 2006; 221). In this particular study data was derived from books, journals, periodicals, newspaper articles and the internet in relation to their relevance to the issues of resources for ethical leadership. In defining document analysis existing records often provide insights into a setting and or a group of people that cannot be observed or noted in another way (Guba and Lincoln, 1981).

The researcher used written records because the process is relatively invisible to and requires minimal co-operation from persons within the setting being studied (Westat, 2002: 58). In

addition, existing documents can be useful for making comparisons. As such the study made some comparisons on the strategies used by the different successful leaders in the Southern Africa region in the leaders such as Mwenemutapa, Moshoeshoe and Tshaka Zulu. The study relied on document analysis because the information already exists and it is readily available in the libraries and on the internet. It is also quick and low cost as it helps to guide the focus of any subsequent primary research being conducted.

1.7.2 Data analysis

Data analysis is defined by Marshall and Rossman (1999) as the process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of collected data. In this scenario, raw data from the various documents or secondary sources are processed and changed into information useful in making decisions for users. Data analysis does not however proceed in a linear fashion, it is the activity of making sense of, interpreting and theorising data that signifies a search for general statements among categories of data (Schwandt, 2007:6). Data analysis by and large consists of "examining, categorising, tabulating and recombining the evidence obtained from the research, thus it is concerned with the organisation and the interpretation of information in order to discover any important underlying patterns and trends" (Amaratunga, Baldry, Sarshar and Newton, 2002: 18). The data that would have been gathered is then used to provide explanations, understanding and interpretation of the phenomena, people and situations related to the issue of traditional resources for ethical leadership. The study used content and thematic analyses as techniques for analysing data.

1.7.3 Ethical Considerations

Ethics have been defined by John Sinclair in the Collins English Dictionary (1994) as the philosophical study of the moral values of human conduct and of the rules, principles that ought to govern it. In this regard, the researcher really identified and observed the ethical issues. The author took was careful to acknowledge all the sources used in the study this was useful in addressing issues of plagiarism The study made sure that there was consistent citation of the original sources.

1.8 Delimitations of the Study

According to Simon (2011), delimitations are those characteristics that limit the scope and define the boundaries of the study and are thus controlled by the researcher. Delimiting factors as noted by Leedy (2010) include the choice of objectives, the research questions, variables of interest, theoretical perspectives that were adopted by the researcher. The first

delimitation in this study was the choice of problem itself, there are other related problems that could have been chosen but were screened off hence the study zeroed in on the cultural resources for ethical leadership in Southern Africa. In this perspective, the study resonated around the content or scope perspective of the demarcations of the study. In terms of geography, it can also be noted that the nexus between ethics and leadership with the notion of cultural resources for ethical leadership can be attributed to the vast expanse of the African continent as there are some Kingdoms and Empires that have similarly contributed immensely to traditional or cultural resources and their impact towards ethical leadership. In light of this, it can be noted that whilst the study is focused on the Southern African context where ethical leadership was explored *vis-à-vis* the Mutapa State in Zimbabwe, Moshoeshoe Empire in Lesotho and the Zulu Empire under Tshaka, it can also be of general common application to the rest of the continent. The study relied on the cultural resources which have evolved over time in the history of the African continent.

1.9 Limitations of the Study

The topic of this study is too wide to be comprehensively covered in a doctoral study. Certain issues will not be given adequate attention which they deserve. These limitations are beyond the researcher's control but they will affect the quality of the study. The study relied on historical documents that capture the leadership practices and qualities of the prominent Southern African leaders in the pre-colonial and partly colonial era. Accessing these archives proved to be a challenge. However, the researcher had to rely on the available archival sources from the museums and libraries in capturing the pre-colonial empires and kingdoms that exhibited excellent ethical leadership qualities and traits. On this score it has to be noted that the area of African ethics and leadership is under searched as evidenced by the preponderance of Western ethical and leadership literature versus authentic African world views.

1.10   Structure of the Study

The study consists of the following eight chapters:

Chapter One: Introduction

This is an introductory chapter of the study which provides a brief background to the study by capturing the historical evolution of the research problem. In addition, the chapter defines the problem of the study where issues relating to unethical leadership have affected sound

governance systems in Africa. In the process, the chapter sets out the research objectives which the study seeks to fulfill or satisfy. In addition, the chapter presents the research questions which are to be addressed and answered by this study. The chapter also made a preliminary review of literature where it noted that colonialism or apartheid were systems that were barren of ethical leadership as leadership during these times was primarily based on exclusionary tendencies and systematic oppression against the majority of Africans. The chapter draws focus on the need for reconstruction of ethical leadership in post-colonial Africa by revisiting some traditional sources of ethical leadership with the aim of incorporating these resources in the current socio-economic and post-colonial or post-apartheid Southern Africa.

The study is hinged on the post-colonial theory of re-traditionalisation premised on ethical leadership. Traditional resources of ethical leadership such as having a sense of concern for the community and common belongingness have a contribution to make when individuals in position of leadership make a conscious decision to apply them in the light of leadership crises that are being experienced in Southern Africa. The chapter also presents the methodology. In which case, the approaches, strategies and instruments that were used in the collection, analysis and presentation of data were explored. The study uses the qualitative research design as the overall plan upon which the study is premised. The study being desk-research used secondary sources of information which include books, journals, government publications, archival sources among other secondary sources in the collection of data. The study also relied on thematic and content analyses to process the data into information on the analysis of the cultural resources for ethical leadership in Southern Africa. The study also observed some ethical considerations where the issue of acknowledging sources in a bid to avoid plagiarism was given primacy.

Chapter Two: Exploring the Theoretical Perspectives of Leadership

This Chapter will explore the definitional and theoretical perspectives of leadership with particular attention to the comparison between the contemporary western theoretical model which place primacy on the leader as an atomic individual and the Ubuntu leadership theory whose primary focus is on collective communitarian leadership. The Chapter also proceed to analyse the leadership roles, qualities and styles prevalent in both the western and Ubuntu theoretical models before it concludes. The Chapter will therefore attempt to unpack the prevailing leadership dynamics and how they relate with the undergirding theories and wider application of the concepts to contemporary situations of a dynamic globalized environment

being articulated. The Chapter will also proceed to analyse the leadership roles as well as capturing the following leadership styles: Laissez Faire, Autocratic, Democratic, Transactional and transformational leadership styles. Respect, serving, justice, honesty and community as leadership qualities will also be analysed. Lastly, the chapter captures the notion and practice of leadership in Africa and what leadership really is in the African context.

Chapter Three: Contextualising Power with Reference to Leadership

The chapter will define the concepts of power and proceed to examine the predominant theories of the subject. It will also examine the forms, bases and sources of power from a comparative perspective between the classical Western thinking and Afrocentric Ubuntuism. The chapter will attempt to provide the connectedness between power and leadership. The chapter will proceed to examine the democratic plurality theory of power, the elite theory of power, Marxist class theory of power and gender theory of power. Authority, influence and force will also be examined as sources of power. The chapter will also examine the forms or bases of power namely reward power, expert power, legitimate power, coercive power and referent power. In light of this, the chapter will provide the connectedness between power and leadership. In the process, the chapter will exhume the African conception of power.

Chapter Four: Examining the Need for Ethics in Leadership

This Chapter examines the concept and theories of ethics from a comparative perspective of the classical Western and African ethics where it defines the term ethics as a concept where it is a philosophical term meaning custom or character. In addition, the theoretical foundations of the ethics will also be explored. An examination of the great ethical traditions will be made and these include Buddhist ethics, Indian ethics, Islamic ethics and Chinese ethics. The chapter will conclude by exploring the relationship between ethics and leadership.

Chapter Five: African Traditional Cultural Resources for Ethical Leadership in Southern Africa

The chapter will explore the African resources for ethical leadership, in which case the key tenets of traditional leadership which include humanity, politics, justice delivery system, governance, economics and religion will be examined. The chapter will conclude by exploring the nexus between traditional resources and current leadership practices.

Chapter Six: African Ethics (Ubuntu) and Challenges to Contemporary Leadership

This chapter will explore the challenges of Ubuntu in ethical leadership. This will start by exploring the definition of Ubuntu or African ethics which implies humanity or humanness. In addition, the origins of Ubuntu will also be captured where it will be noted that during the decolonization era, Ubuntu was increasingly described as an African humanist philosophy. The chapter will highlight that Ubuntu was used in the 1960s as a term for a specifically African kind of socialism or humanism found in blacks but lacking in whites. From the 1970s it was described as a specific kind of African humanism. The meaning of Ubuntu becomes illuminated when the core values will be expressed which include survival, respect, dignity, sharing love, empathy, solidarity, communitarianism among others. The chapter will also proceed to capture the values or the guiding values of Ubuntu which include survival, spirit of solidarity, respect and dignity, compassion, negotiations or diplomacy, appreciation of traditional values, behavior, sharing, jurisprudence and governance and selflessness. Lastly, the chapter will present the challenges of Ubuntu in ethical leadership.

Chapter Seven: Towards a New Paradigm of Ethical leadership Embedded in Cultural Resources

This chapter is premised on articulating the new paradigm of ethical leadership in the Southern Africa region which borrows from the traditional or cultural resources. The chapter will also dissect into the notion of African rebirth as an effort to shift from the classical Western way of leadership. It will also capture the reconstruction of cultural practices by highlighting the educational and social practices of leadership whereby some inherent flaws regarding leadership which denigrated Africa as unique and inferior. The chapter will also proceed to explore the pillars of authentic African ethical leadership as well as the leadership perspectives as espoused in the Ubuntu wisdom and how they relate to ethical leadership. The chapter will therefore conclude by presenting a new paradigm of ethical leadership with its respective attributes as distilled from the cultural or traditional resources of Ubuntu.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion and Recommendations

This chapter will consist of a summary of each chapter and thereafter make recommendations. In light of this, the chapter concludes the study by giving a synopsis of the chapters that constitute the study as well as proffering recommendations. The chapter concludes the study by giving recommendations that can be adopted in a bid to strengthen the cultural resources for ethical leadership in Southern Africa.

CHAPTER TWO: EXPLORING THE THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES OF LEADERSHIP

2.1 Introduction

The discourse on leadership has been so extensive to the extent of being punctuated with theories, concepts and ideological underpinnings which sometimes end up contradicting and even confusing readers. Leadership is about people, events, situations, places, and outcomes. Each nation, grouping or civilization has produced its own leaders at different times of history and in different circumstances using their own benchmarks hence the adage that one men's hero is another's villain or one men's liberator is another's terrorist. Yaser Arrafat was a leader and liberator to the Palestinians and yet he was regarded as an arch terrorist to the Jews of Israel. Mahatma Gandhi and Nelson Mandela are revered iconic leaders who influenced the course of history of their countries at different times and under different circumstances even though they were regarded as political agitators by their colonial governments. Leadership is a construct of society and as such it can be constructed relative to the expectations of the specific cultures and the expectations of the people led.

It is therefore a paradox that African leadership discourse continues to be approached as a subculture of euro centricism regardless of the fact that African leadership culture as espoused in Ubuntu was in existence and had flourished for many centuries before the advent of colonialism. The great civilization of Egypt and the Nile Valley, the civilisation of the Munhumutapa empire and the epic leadership of King Moshoeshoe of Lesotho are all evidence of great African leadership which need to be revisited for posterity with a view to identify peculiar features from traditional African practice which can be reconstructed in order to develop an ideal African leadership model compatible with the new global dispensation. The chapter will critically discuss the meaning of leadership with the aim of showing how African traditional resources for ethical leadership can contribute towards a new leadership model of leadership in our contemporary times. The chapter will be organized into sections dealing with definitions, theories, roles, styles and qualities of leadership before it concludes. Ubuntu leadership and the African leadership experience will receive special attention with the aim of showing the deficiencies in African leadership practice emanating from the wholesale use of and adoption of foreign or alien leadership models.

Before one can unpack the concept of leadership, it is imperative that one explores what a leader is and what they do in the process of effecting leadership. Goddy Osa Igbaekemen and

James Odivwri, 2015: 1) define a leader as "someone who has the authority or power to control a group of people and get it organized for a particular task or goal. The Leader must have a clear vision for the welfare and development of his organization". Thus, leadership implies the ability to lead the team or group to achieve the desired goals (Bass, 1985: 243). According to Ogunbameru (2004: 233), as a term, a leader is one who leads, plans, organizes, controls communicates, delegates, and accepts responsibility to reach the societal goals. Bass (1985) and Ogunbameru (2004) converge on the notion of the intended purposes that should be achieved after all the leadership interventions have been undertaken with the aim of achieving the desired societal goals. The implication here is that a leader is governed by a set of goals that they should purposefully aim and strive to achieve and fulfil. Furthermore it can be noted that leaders are there to show the way to their respective followers (which as noted by Bass 1985 include teams or groups) as such, they perform the leading role in guiding the followers towards the attainment of the desired goals. In this vein, leaders are responsible for communicating and clarifying on the organisation's vision to their followers.

In the pre-colonial era in Southern Africa, chiefs were the leaders of their respective communities. Accordingly, Siamonga (2017: 3) defines a chief or a traditional leader as an individual who, by virtue of his or her ancestry, occupies a stool of an area. This individual has traditional authority over the people who live in that area. These chiefs were traditional leaders. These traditional leaders, were crucial in providing some leadership styles and patterns for a given sphere of human endeavour, be it family, society and or state. These traditional leaders controlled virtually all the spheres of lives of the people in their localities, states or jurisdiction. In light of this, it can be noted that in the traditional set ups we had Kings (*Madzimambo*) who were viewed as the sources of all power and leadership acumen. However, despite their existence in our modern day local governance structures their roles are no longer as defined and as profound as they traditionally used to be. For example in Zimbabwe, these kings and chiefs are now regarded as the custodians of the traditional systems within the local arenas. Their roles are no longer as defined as they used to be since there are now modern systems and structures that have superseded and seemingly overshadowed these traditional set ups.

Regardless of the emergence of these modern systems ahead of the traditional systems one can acknowledge these traditional leaders still have the ability to organize, control and influence their followers towards the attainment of common societal goals. Apparently, it can be noted that whether one is the president of a nation, a manager of an organization, a leader

of a community, a family head their functions or roles of the leaders tend to be similar. In reinforcing this the above view, Ogunbameru (2004: 233) summarizes the roles of the leaders as those who lead, plan, organize, control communication, delegate, and accept responsibility to reach the societal goals. Whilst the functions of leaders tend to be similar, what might differ is the nature and size of organizations, levels of modernity and the complexities of the systems in which they are expected to lead. According to Joseph Ebegbulem (2012: 218),

> …a leader must be a good manager as well as an individual who is able to effectively coordinate the activities of followers or a team towards pre-agreed or pre-determined goals or objectives within the limits of available resources. He or she must possess the ability to create in the followers the necessary enthusiasm/motivation to put in every necessary effort to deliver on set goals.

In this scenario, it can also be noted that King Moshoeshoe stimulated the much needed enthusiasm among his followers to create a successful and peaceful empire. In addition, Tshaka the Zulu consistently attained his goals of defeating his rivals simply because he was a strategic military leader who motivated the Zulu warriors to be focused.

2.2 Defining leadership

After, capturing what a leader is and the respective functions that they do perform it is prudent to define the term leadership. From a classical perspective as posited by Hermann (2005: 453), leadership is the process by which an executive imaginatively directs, guides and influences the work of others in choosing and attaining specified goals by mediating between the individuals and the organization in such a manner that both will obtain maximum satisfaction. Similarly Northouse (2013: 21) defines leadership as a process whereby an individual influences a group of individuals to achieve a common goal. Defining leadership as an influencing process implies that it is neither a trait nor an ability residing in the leader, but rather an interactive undertaking that occurs between the leaders and followers. Lynch (1997: 433) observed that leadership means the influence of a leader, the ability, the art or process of influencing people so that they will strive willingly and enthusiastically towards the achievement of the group's mission. In this definition, Lynch captures the different dimensions of leadership which include the traits that are possessed by the leader, the abilities of the leaders to lead as well as interactive process between the leader and the followers that enables the followers to achieve the prescribed organizational goals.

There are a number of qualities or traits and abilities that leaders should possess. To mention but a few, good leadership involves such qualities as emotional stability, dominance,

enthusiasm, conscientiousness, social boldness, tough mindedness, self-assurance and compulsiveness (Ebegbulem, 2012: 220). In addition, Bass (1985) notes that "leadership has six basic personality traits named as, self-confidence, ambition, drive and tenacity, realism, psychological openness, appetite for learning, creativity, fairness and dedication". Good leaders must be able

> …to tolerate frustration and stress; overall, they must be well-adjusted and have the psychological maturity to deal with anything they are required to face. Conscientiously, leaders are often dominated by a sense of duty and tend to be very exacting in character. Usually, they have a very high standard of excellence and an inward desire to do the best in an orderly and self-disciplined way. Beyond these essential traits and abilities, leadership today requires qualities which will help leaders to spur others and lead them in new bearings. https://www.justanswer.com/homework/22rvl-leadership-styles-this-assignment-meant-provide.html.

Leadership also entails good leadership skills and behavior which influences employees' commitment and satisfaction. One most important leadership skill is the ability to motivate and inspire followers in order to achieve desirable organizational goals. An effective leader must be someone who can provide the followers with all that is needed so that they can be productive and be able to share the same vision with the leader.

However, Ubuntu Traditional leadership implies leadership which appeals to the conscience of the followers with the aim of inculcating a culture of community which harnesses collective synergies for successful task accomplishment for the benefit of all concerned. Ubuntu leadership therefore thrives on people centeredness, solidarity, harmony and collective wellbeing. The Ubuntu leader regards himself as a team player and in the process undertakes to serve his followers first. It is argued that to be a true African leader one has to be a true servant of the society one live in (Mzila, 2015: 2). Ubuntu leadership is not about romanticizing leadership culture nor a display of lack of resolve but rather a solid call to duty for all with the full consciousness that each and every player contributes maximally for the achievement of required goals for the group. No team member is of greater or lesser importance than the other, rather each member's contribution whether leader or follower is valued equally. The distinct difference of significance in the two approaches is therefore that in the Classical context, leadership is leader or person centered whereas in the traditional context it is community centred with emphasis on purposeful mutual interaction. In the classical context it's common to attribute success to the leader as a person, whereas in the

Traditional sense it's always appropriate to apportion or attribute the success or accolades to the community or team/group.

Leadership entails focusing on the followers' needs both within and outside the organization to keep them moving ahead consistently. Kouzes and Posner (2007: 190) developed a straight forward series of leadership behaviors. They argued that ethical leaders inspire the vision, model the way, challenge the status quo, encourage the heart and enable others to act. Leaders who are effective at inspiring and encouraging others have a high level of energy and enthusiasm. They energize their team to achieve difficult goals and increase the level of performance from everyone in the team. As Burkus puts it,

> …effective leaders invest in their followers' strengths. Where mediocre managers seek to get followers to take responsibility for their weaknesses and devote themselves to plugging these gaps, great leaders seek to manage around these weaknesses and invest their time and energy understanding and building on followers' strengths. Leadership involves understanding the needs of subordinates. Employees follow leaders for a variety of reasons, some more common than other. Most significantly, leaders are followed after building levels of trust, hope, and optimism by understanding the unique attributes of followers (Burkus, 2011: 57).

With the acknowledgement that leadership is an influence process, its success is dependent on a number of critical factors of which main is to achieve legitimacy. Leadership becomes legitimate when accepted by those affected by it. In pre-colonial Africa, leadership was attained through a culturally accepted principle of heredity or appointment with the full blessings of spirit mediums, the Kings counsel and the people. The institution of leadership was supreme and divinely ordained through spirituality, hence its authority authenticity and legitimacy was unquestionable. In turn the incumbent leader entered into a spiritual covenant (*mhiko*) to save the people according to the dictates of the spiritual world; therefore as a consequence leaders were invariably in harmony with the people and the spiritual world – a scenario which created an atmosphere of purposeful unity, cooperation and collaboration in pursuit of the common good. This traditional order was disturbed and decimated and ultimately replaced with a new one during the colonial period. The so called civilization of the 'pagan natives', Christianization or Arabisation through force resulted in the introduction of an acquired culture of servitude, submission and inferiority whereby the natives were dehumanized and regarded as not deserving rational human treatment. The colonizer exuded the stature of a valiant, conqueror and redeemer with the unquestionable authority to chart the destiny of the Africans. The colonial leadership was illegitimate and immoral and consequently was resisted by the Africans who ended up undertaking various forms of

resistance against colonialism. It is the decolonization process which brought about the new breed of leadership which is neither traditional nor colonial but rather adulterated prototypes of colonial metropolitan institutions which have now been tailored to meet the insatiable needs of individuals rather than communities or the people at large. With the above in mind it is convenient to now look at leadership theories and assess their relevance to the African context.

2.3 Theories of Leadership

Predominant Western thoughts on early leadership theories focused on the qualities that distinguished between leaders and followers. On the other hand the predominant discourse in contemporary Africa is gravitating towards reconstructing Ubuntu leadership with focus on community and humanistic values. Whilst leadership theories are not exhaustive and are continually evolving, the common feature is that they all want to expose the full range of attributes and abilities which should be available to leadership. The paragraphs will unbundle some of the prevalent leadership theories which have profoundly influenced the discourse of ethical leadership.

2.3.1 Trait theories

With foundations in the Great man theories which emphasized that leaders where born and not made. Trait theories have been studied, developed and refined for over a century. The main object has been to find what distinguishes leaders from non-leaders (Ban 1990; Jago 1982). Whilst the debate on leadership traits tendered to die because of observed weaknesses it has resurged as a result of contemporary political developments, especially the rise from obscurity of people like Barrack Obama to the Presidency of the United States of America as well as the meteoric rise of charismatic pastors and prophets who have established followerships running into millions across the globe. These include the likes of TB Joshua from Nigeria and upcoming Emmanuel Makandiwa from Zimbabwe. All these Christian Pentecostal leaders have an extraordinary pull effect uncommon among their followers and hence the interest in what causes people to follow these leaders. A study by Stogill identified common traits in leaders as follows,

> Drive for responsibility and task completion, Vigorous persistence in pursuit of goals, Risk taking and originality in problem solving, Drive and initiative, Willingness to take consequences, Readiness to absorb stress, frustration and delay, Ability to influence other peoples' behavior (Cited in Northouse 2010: 45)

Resulting from further studies, major traits commonly identified were summarized as intelligence, self-confidence, determination, integrity and sociability. Whilst these traits can be found in any person it is more about how they are exploited to influence the course of history and events that differentiates leaders and non-leaders. Whilst the trait approach has enjoyed wide scholarly followership, it has been criticized for overemphasis on the role of the leader whilst ignoring the role of followers and influences of situational factors which too can have a profound effect on leadership outcomes.

2.3.2 Skills Leadership theory

More often it has been noted that the paralysis of development in Africa emanates from the facts that those with ideas and knowledge have no power and those with power having no idea nor knowledge. Since leaders have the power which they must exploit to move institutions forward they too need skills, abilities and knowledge. This primarily is the Basic premise of the skills leadership theory which postulate that in order for leaders to be successful they need technical, human and conceptual skills. Based on field research, in administration and observation of executives in the work place, (Katz 1955: 34) suggested that effective leadership depends on three basic skills which are emergent and learned in a conscious developmental effort. The skills as cited above are Technical in the sense that they imply being knowledgeable and proficient in specific types of work or activities. Technical skills are vital especially in a fast changing technologically developing world. Leaders need a basic level of competence in basic life skill technologies in order to cope and be on the same plane with followers. They also need sharpened human and people skills in order to mobilise and motivate followers towards mission or goal accomplishment. Human skill is the ability to work with people and not things (Northouse 2010: 65). According to Kartz (1955: 34) cited in Northouse (2010), human skill are people skills and abilities that help a leader to work effectively with followers, peers, superiors and stakeholders to accomplish organisational goals. Lastly, leaders need conceptual skills which enable them to think big and integrate ideas with technical and human capability in a synchronized.

2.3.3 Behavioral Leadership theory

First formulated by researchers from Ohio state and Michigan Universities and later reported in the works of Blake and Mouton (1964, 1978, 1985) the behavioral approach seeks to integrate the elements of task orientation, relationship management and leadership practice. It

emphasizes on what leaders do and how they act as they strive to make sense of achieving successful outcomes by utilizing available resources.

2.3.4 Situational Leadership Theory

Emanating from the works of scholars in the mould of, Hersey, Blanchard, Zigarhi and Helson to name a few, the situational approach focuses on leadership in situations. "The premise of the theory is that different situations demand different kinds of leadership. From this perspective, to be an effective leader requires that a person adapt his or her style to the demands of different situations" (Northouse, 2010: 118). The situational approach stresses the existence of both a directive and supportive function of leadership based on the competency levels of followers. The Situational leadership continuum ranges from delegation, supporting, coaching and directing and the degree and emphasis of the chosen style is dependent on many variables which include the nature of the task, the time limitations, the resources available, the skill levels of the followers or team members and the degree of motivation in both leaders and followers. In essence the bottom line in situation theory is that leadership is not a one size fits all. Leadership has to be adaptable, practical, rational, flexible and responsive to changing situations in the workplace environment.

2.3.5 Transformational Leadership

Transformational leadership is concerned with the ability to inspire followers to accomplish great things (Alan Bryman et al, 1992: 1). According to Northouse,

> Transformational leadership is a process that changes and transforms people. It is concerned with emotions, values, ethics, standards, and long-term goals. It includes assessing followers' motives, satisfying their needs, and treating them as full human beings. Transformational leadership involves an exceptional form of influence that moves followers to accomplish more than what is usually expected of them. It is a process that often incorporates charismatic and visionary leadership (Northouse 2013: 185).

According to MacGregor Burns, the concept of transformational leadership tries to establish the symbiotic between the leader, followers and the vision of the organisation. According to Burns Transformational leadership is

> …the process whereby a person engages with others and creates a connection that raise the level of motivation and modality in both the leader and follower. Significant factors which are unique to Transformational leadership include idealized influence and charisma, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation and individualised consideration (Burns 1978: 20).

Idealised influence which is often associated with charisma is the emotional component of leadership (Antonokis 2013). It is associated with leaders who act as role models for followers with a high degree of moral and ethical conduct. Whilst charisma is religiously understood as a natural gift from God, its strong features are seen in terms of self-motivated conviction to a cause. When people are convinced that they can become the key drivers for moving the vision of the organization forward, such conviction arises from how the leader motivates his or her followers. Mandela and Mahatma Gandhi are examples of extra-ordinary charismatic leaders who taught and convinced the world that love, non-violence and reconciliation could overcome all forms of adversity.

Inspirational motivation is usually inherent in leaders who communicate and inspire their followers to aim for higher outcomes in their day to day organizational commitments. Through emotional appeals, followers become committed to and share in the organizational vision because followers are usually motivated to do more than the call of duty in a quest to surpass organizational targets. Intellectual stimulation challenges both leaders and followers to be creative, innovative and it nurtures the urge to create change as well as to challenge the status quo. Further, it is presumed by scholars that this intellectual stimulation can only be possible if leaders consider and support individuals in pursuit of group goals. Put in a nutshell, transformational leadership through idealised influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation and individual consideration provides the necessary ingredients for achieving performance beyond expectation (Bass 1997:133; 1998: 5; Bass & Riggio 2006: 6-7).

Whilst the above has been a general scan and panoramic view of classical leadership theories, the list is not exhaustive, the scope is not limited and the content is only cursory but it is hoped that the object of highlighting the importance of theory as a guide to leadership practices has been achieved. The next section will look at leadership theory from the African perspective as seen through the lenses of Ubuntu.

2.3.6 Ubuntu Centered Leadership

Murmur Gaddafi was shot, killed, dragged in the streets (Tripoli) and his lifeless body displayed in a cabinet for all and sundry to see, spit at and scorn before being buried at some unmarked obscure desert location by American soldiers. In typical same fashion Osama Bin Laden was killed and his lifeless body was thrown into the sea to feed sharks and predators. The above cited acts are a typical manifestation of a growing rotten society on the verge of

moral insanity and decay which can only be restored through a shift to the virtues of Ubuntu. The Ubuntu philosophy and way of life which Bishop Desmond Tutu opined as the possible African gift to the world offers a pragmatic form of leadership theory which can have universal appeal because of its focus on magnanimity and equality in human worth irrespective of diversity.

The meaning of Ubuntu is humaneness. The presumption is that a human being is only human because of other humans. In this regard, the aphorism *Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu* means that a person is a person through other persons. The sense of community communal common belonging, interconnectedness and interdependence are indispensable to the conceptualizion of Ubuntu. Ubuntu leadership compels leaders to be torch bearers in fostering harmony amongst individuals and communities, leading in the ethical core practicing empathy and above all sharing common goals in communities through consultation and dialogue. Ubuntu leadership is an interactive process and what in the West is now emerging as Relational, Charismatic and Transformative leadership theories were long practiced in African traditional leadership through Ubuntu.

Ubuntu leadership will find room for application in politics, governance, business and all other life pursuits because no matter what you do, people will always take center stage, they will need to be organized in harmony with dignity, justice and fairness by leaders of moral integrity, humility, and persevering conscience of doing what is right and altruistic irrespective of the cost. In its refined form Ubuntu leadership is guided by the principles of trustworthiness, respect, responsibility, fairness, compassion, caring and good citizenship and the avoidance of individualism, self-importance, negative competition, immorality, and uncaring behaviors (Bhengu 1996).

Through thorough consultations, decisions are taken jointly, hence it becomes easier to own a common vision or destiny which ultimately becomes what some have termed the invisible leadership ownership of a shared vision. This type of leadership ensures continuity and consistence in times of crises and in turn creates stability. In Shona there is an adage which says that *Kufa kwemujonhi kamba haivharwe* – meaning that the mission or objective cannot be abandoned because of the absence or death of a leader. This facet is absent in Trait and Great man theories where primacy is placed on individual leaders who are believed to possess some special abilities to lead implying that their absence will lead to the end of the original mission of the organization.

2.4   Roles of Leadership

According to Terry Meyer (2004), one of the most decisive factors which distinguishes world class organizations from the ordinary organizations is leadership. Leadership, because of its intriguing and sometimes elusive nature has been extensively written about over the centuries from a multidisciplinary perspective. It has fascinated philosophers, politicians, military leaders, historians and business leaders to varying degrees. The role of leaders invariably becomes a subject of critical and curious interest because the question begging for answers is always "what must leaders do in order to succeed?" This will be answered in the following sections of the chapter. Great leaders create the direction to be taken by the organization. Leaders establish the direction of the organization through formulating and articulation of a clear vision. The vision is like a compass which guides and directs the course to be followed in the long term trajectory of the organization's growth. In order to create a vision, leaders initiate changes through the development of long range futuristic strategies which resonate with local and global trends. Leaders must drive the change they initiate with zeal and energy whilst mindful of the fact that change can create turbulence and uncertainty. Resultantly, leaders must therefore navigate through all difficulties because profound leadership is demonstrated in the leader's ability to survive difficulty times for the organization (Meyer, 2004).

In real life situations visioning and giving direction have proven to be the most difficult undertakings for many leadership positions. Many have either settled content with maintaining the status quo or in extreme cases, have left the organizations run on autopilot. Former President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe in his last years in office had become more of a historian rather than a leader because all his addresses to crowds would begin and end with what he did in the 1960s. He was living in a time warp which left followers bewildered and disillusioned with no sense of direction whatsoever. The leader must be a good mobiliser who proactively builds and aligns stakeholders, capabilities and resources for efficient and effective implementation of set goals. He must leverage and integrate capabilities of resources cross different sections of the organization with the aim of accomplishing complex tasks, and creatively network to harness all support necessary for mission accomplishment. The leader must be a good communicator with the passion to engage stakeholders in a convincing manner. He must manoeuvre through the turbulent fog of change and help followers orientation to reality. He must explain why things are happening and what these mean to all stakeholders. The leader must be visible in times of crisis and lead from vantage

positions. He must build teams in order to harness collective organisational synergies and must further be seen to reinforce the commitment of team members to the vision. The leader must identify talent and develop it in line with the organisational dictates and needs. Good leaders develop leaders and not clones of themselves.

Good leaders motivate and inspire. According to Meyer (2004) great leaders enable ordinary people to do extraordinary things. They motivate people to do things which they would not normally consider possible. In the military throughout recorded history, in times of great danger and adversity leaders have inspired their followers to risk their lives beyond the call of duty. The leader through charisma can build passion and commitment towards a common goal, building upon established foundations of trust, confidence and common belonging. The commander as a motivator instills followers with feelings of positive energy, excitement and belonging in solidarity. Effective motivational and inspirational leaders transform organisations to communities where individual human needs are integrated into the organisational template of life. Maslow's needs theory is used as a foundation for blending human needs to promote a culture of belonging and excellence in performance. Leaders must empower followers so that they grow in autonomy within the broader organizational context.

Leaders must effectively manage diversity in resources, skills and followers as well as stakeholders (Wener 2012: 22). The current globalized environment of state craft and business continues to witness the extended hybridization of cultures, resources, technology and skills which all need to be harmonized through paradox management if order is to be established for successful outcomes. According to Garagadachi (2004) some of the paradoxes to be managed include: differentiation and integration, change and stability, uniqueness and uniformity, complexity and order, individuality and collectivity as well as freedom and security. Through paradox management organizations can move forward in a predictable yet vibrant trajectory into the future. One of the salient roles of leadership which is least talked about is that of interrogation of ethical issues. Leaders are continually identifying and interrogating the ethical issues which their organizations are facing. In order to succeed in being moral torch bearer's, leaders need to be aware of community ethos prevailing at any point in time around key issues confronting them be they environmental, technological, cultural, social or political. They should be sensitive to continuous changes in value systems and avoid insensitive actions or statements which may have the tendency to polarise stakeholders. The roles of leadership as discussed above are not exhaustive but rather serve as

a guide to what is expected of leadership in a dynamic environment. Institutions either move forward or stagnate because of good or bad leadership.

2.5 Leadership Styles

Understanding self-perception of leadership is important to the development of current and future leaders for any successful public organizations (Rukman et al, 2010: 2). There are diverse forms of leadership styles that are found in all spheres of human existence. The way of life and objectives of an organization helps in shaping the type of leadership style suits the organisation or institution best. Some public organizations offer a few leadership styles inside the organization, dependent upon the vital undertakings to finish and meet departmental needs. Leadership style is an individual choice. Leadership characteristics, skills and approaches of effective performance are centered in the leader's style. Therefore, leadership self-perception is crucial for success at any level (Rukman et al: 2010: 2). As put forward by Cebula et al (2012), within some special environments, different styles of leadership are appropriate at different times. Clearly defined leadership is necessary to ensure that chaos cannot dominate the organization. Understanding various leadership styles helps leaders to move from one style to another, depending on the circumstances. There are different types of leadership styles some of which are discussed hereunder. It is important to note that leadership practice is about hybridisation of styles as well as adopting a contingency or situational approach to leadership depending on the prevailing situation.

2.5.1 Laissez-Faire Leadership Style
Many scholars have identified *laissez faire* leadership style as a leadership that is not directly involved in the dispensation of leadership responsibilities. It is a non-authoritarian form of leadership in which leaders adopt a hands-off strategy and allow group members to make the decisions. In this scenario, *laissez faire* leaders try to give the least possible guidance to subordinates, and try to achieve control through less obvious means as they believe that people excel when they are left alone to respond to their responsibilities and obligations in their own ways (Sannoh 2013: 109). The *laissez faire* authority or leadership style completely places all

> …the rights and force to settle and execute matters on choices to the follower. *Laissez faire* leaders permit subordinates to have absolute opportunity to settle on choices concerning the way they will conduct and even finish their work. *Laissez faire* leaders permit adherents a high level of self-rule and standard toward oneself, while in the meantime offering direction and help when asked (Woods 2010: 26).

In articulating the effectiveness of this leadership style, Kendra Cherry (2014: 25) asserts that;

> *laissez faire* can be effective in situations where group members are highly skilled, motivated and are capable of working on their own. Since these group members are experts and have the knowledge and skills to work independently, they are capable of accomplishing tasks with minimum guidance and supervision. The free enterprise pioneer utilizing guided flexibility gives the devotees all materials important to achieve their objectives; however it does not straightforwardly take an interest in choice making unless the adherents ask for their aid.

According to Johnson (2008), a laissez-faire leader lacks direct supervision of employees and fails to provide regular feedback to those under his supervision. Highly experienced and trained employees requiring little supervision fall under the laissez-faire leadership style. Similarly, it can be noted that the doctrine of *laissez faire* says that society would benefit and make significant progress when individuals are left to pursue their self-interests at the market place without interference from the government (Murove 2005: 38). As such, it can be noted that when self-interests are pursued there is a tendency of overlooling group interests. This means that there must be some limits to the pursuance of individual self-interests because such interests can jeopardize group interests.

However, not all employees possess those characteristics. The free enterprise administration style delivers no authority or supervision endeavours from leaders. Such a scenario can prompt poor production, lack of control and expanding expenses. Since *laissez faire* leaders are seen as detached and remote, such a leadership style can lead to a deficiency of cohesiveness within the group. This will resultantly lead to less care and concern for the task by the subordinates especially when they pick up on the leaders' detachment. This non-transactional leadership style known as *laissez-faire* behaviour has been criticized as no leadership at all, but a feet-up-on the desk abdication of responsibility (Cherry 2014). This style is ineffective. "When leaders display laissez-faire behaviour, they really do not care whether or not followers maintain or reach performance goals" (Sosik and Jung: 2010: 123).

2.5.2 Autocratic Leadership Style

Autocratic leadership style is used when a leader dictates policies and procedures, decides what goals are to be achieved and directs and controls all activities without any meaningful participation by the subordinates (Cherry, 2014). In this instance, the leader has full control of the team leaving little autonomy within the group. The authoritarian leadership style;

keeps strict, close control over followers by keeping close regulation of policies and procedures given to followers as such; these leaders make choices based on their own ideas and judgements and rarely accept advice from followers. The leader demands immediate compliance and if the style were summed up in one phrase, it would be 'Do what I tell you'. The coercive style is most effective in times of crisis, such as in a company turnaround or a takeover attempt or during an actual emergency. Direct supervision is the thing that they accept to be entering in keeping up a fruitful situation and followership. Autocratic leadership can thus be beneficial in instances when decisions need to be executed speedily without consulting a large group of people (Chukwusa 2018: 4).

In apprehension of supporters being useless, tyranical leaders keep close supervision and feel this is fundamental, if the end goal is to be achieved (Salin and Helge, 2010). The authoritative styles regularly take after the vision of those that are in control, and may not so much be good with those that are being driven. The autocratic leadership style is intuitive, easy to learn and does not require specialized training or knowledge of leadership theory. Furthermore, dangerous work environments or situations requiring complicated tasks with no room for error, such as safety inspections, prosper under this type of leadership since each depends on control (Salin and Helge 2010).

Nevertheless, according to Salin and Helge (2010), an authoritarian style of leadership may create a climate of fear, where there is little or no room for dialogue and where complaining may be considered futile. In addition, autocratic leaders are often viewed as bossy, controlling and dictatorial, which can lead to resentment among group members. It should be avoided in almost every other case because it can alienate people and stifle flexibility and inventiveness (Benincasa 2012). The autocratic style is most effective when the leader is present, once the leader is gone, there is no guarantee that team members will keep working. Ubuntu however, places more value on the need for dialogue and interaction between the leaders and the led. As such, it is imperative that there be consultation and involvement of the beneficiaries in the decision making processes that affect them, that way they are much more likely to support the system. The autocratic leadership is inclined towards the imposition of policies, projects and decisions to the subjects, and this invariably leads to failed projects and policies.

2.5.3   Democratic Leadership Style

David Foster (2002: 4), defines the democratic leadership style as one that consists of the leader sharing the decision making abilities with group members by promoting the interests of the group members and by practicing social equality. Under Shona culture in Zimbabwe during the pre-colonial era, the Chiefs were selected from specific families and clans and by a

Tribal Council of elders called the *Dare*. These were managed along traditional lines and the majority of decisions were taken by consensus. In this respect, the Shona political culture was democratic in character (*The Zimbabwean*: 2015:1). Also referred to as participative leadership, the style values the opinions of employees and peers, however, the final decision making responsibility rests with the participative leader.

According to Woods (2010), the democratic style encompasses the notion that everyone, by virtue of their human status, should play a part in the group's decisions. He goes on to state that, however, the democratic style of leadership still requires guidance and control by a specific leader. It demands the leader to make decisions on who should be called upon within the group and who is given the right to participate in, make and vote on decisions. The democratic style is most effective when the leader needs the team to buy into or have ownership of decision, plan or goal, or if he or she is uncertain and needs fresh ideas from qualified team mates (Germano 2010).

Democratic leadership boosts follower morale because they contribute to the decision making process. This consultative process gives them a sense of belonging and attachment to the organization. When a public organization intends to enforce change, employees accept changes easily because they have input in the process and hence meet the challenge of resistance should the organization need to make a change in a short period (Cherry: 2014). Democracy also reduces work burden on the leaders since they do not take full responsibility for team decisions and review of a team's work. Benincasa (2012) observed that, the democratic leadership style builds consensus through participation and hence promotes entrepreneurship amongst qualified, skilled and motivated employees. This increases the team's creativity and productivity since it is not always the case that the leaders initiate the best ideas. While democratic leadership may be one of the most effective leadership styles, it does have some potential downsides. This leadership style, is not the best choice in an emergency situation, when time is of the essence for another reason or when teammates are not informed enough to offer sufficient guidance to the leaders (Benincasa 2012). Democratic leadership can lead to communication failures and uncompleted projects especially if followers fail to reach a consensus. The style works best in situations where group members are skilled and eager to share their knowledge. It is also important to have plenty of time to allow people to contribute, develop a plan and then settle on the best course of action (Martindale 2011).

2.5.4 Transactional Leadership Style

Zakeer Ahmed, Allan Nawaz and Irfan Ullah Khan (2016: 3) opines that,

> Transactional leadership style comprises three components; contingent reward, management-by-exception (active) and management-by-exception (passive). A transactional leader follows the scheme of contingent rewards to explain performance expectation to the followers and appreciates good performance. Further, some leaders believe in contractual agreements as principal motivators and use extrinsic rewards toward enhancing followers' motivation. The transactional style retards creativity and can adversely influence employees job satisfaction. This is because since production and performance is linked to fixed rewards there is no motivation for going the extra mile.

2.5.4.1 Contingent Reward

Contingent reward leadership focuses on achieving results basing on motivating employees through rewards based on human natures, appreciation of concrete, tangible, material rewards in exchange of their efforts. "Unlike transformational leadership which acknowledges individual talents and builds enthusiasm through emotional appeals, values and belief systems; transactional contingent reward leadership engenders compliance by appealing to the wants and needs of individuals" (Bass and Avolio, 2004: 8). Manager leaders who use contingent reward are expected to show direction to the employees so the job gets done. In a nutshell, key indicators of contingent reward encompass performance-based material rewards, direction-setting, reciprocity, and confidence-building in the team (Ahmed et al, 2016; 4).

2.5.4.2 Management by Exception (Active)

Ahmed et al (2016) further opines that management by exception (active) is not the relinquishment of leadership, characterized by a laissez-faire leadership. Leaders who follow management by exception (active) have an inherent trust in their workers to end the job to a satisfactory standard, and avoid rocking the boat. It has been argued that this type of leadership does not inspire workers to achieve beyond expected outcomes, however, if target is achieved, that means the system has worked, everyone is satisfied, and the business continues as usual (Bass and Avolio 2004: 9). Ahmed et al argued further that there is a little sense of adventure or risk-taking, and neither is there new perspectives, or ground breaking new innovations encouraged those leaders practising management by exception. It correspond to need-driven maintenance culture. To sum it up, management by exception (active) includes trust in workers, maintenance of the status quo and lack of adventurous innovation for change (Ahmed et al, 2016; 5).

2.5.4.3 Management by Exception (Passive)

It is the style of transactional Leadership in which the leaders avoid specifying agreement and fail to provide goals and standards to be achieved by staff. Sometimes, a leader waits for things to go wrong before taking action (Bass and Avolio, 2004: 10).

2.5.5 Transformational/Charismatic Leadership Style

Bass (1985) opines that transformational leadership links with positive outcomes on individual as well as organizational levels. Transformational leaders emboldens followers to attain higher-order needs like self-actualization, self-esteem and he further states that transformational leaders are influential in surging followers' motivation in the direction of "self-sacrifice and achievement of organizational goals over personal interests (Bass, 1985). Leaders with idealized influence demonstrate heightened concerns and cognizance of followers' needs and generate a sense of shared risk-taking. Inspirational motivation affords 'a cradle of encouragement and challenges followers to achieve more than the set goals, whereas, intellectual stimulation inspires followers to be more creative and innovative in their problem-solving skills. Transformational leadership style is illuminated through idealized influence, inspirational motivation and intellectual stimulation and individualized consideration" (Jung et al, 2008).

2.5.5.1 Idealized Influence

It is the attribute of a leader which inspires followers to take their leader as a role model. Charisma is an alternate term which replaces idealized influence. Idealized influence creates values that inspire, establish sense and engender a sense of purpose amongst people. Idealized influence is inspirational in nature. It builds attitudes about what is significant in life. Idealized influence is related with charismatic leadership (Yukl 1999; Shamir et al., 1993). Charismatic leaders instill self-confidence onto others. It is their demonstration of confidence in a follower's preparedness to make self-sacrifices and an aptitude to undertake exceptional goals which is an influential rousing force of idealized influence and role-modeling behavior (House and Shamir 1993). Leaders with confidence in their employees can secure great accomplishments. Leaders with idealized influence are endowed with a constructive sense of self-determination.

Shamir (1993) showed that maintaining self-esteem is a powerful and pervasive social need. These leaders are high in the conviction, transform their followers through regular

communication, presenting themselves as role model and encouraging them toward "achieving the mission and goals of the organisation". They have requisite degree of emotional stability and control. "These leaders go beyond inner conflicts and direct their capacities to be masters of their own fate". Such leaders are learning leaders. In short, fundamental pointers of idealized influence are role-modeling, articulation and values-creation, providing sense of purpose, meaning, self-esteem, self-determination, emotional control and confidence in followers.

2.5.5.2 Inspirational Motivation

Developing the consciousness of followers, aligning them towards the organizational mission and vision, and motivating others in understanding and pledging to the vision is a key dimension of the transformational leadership style of inspirational motivation. "Inspirational motivation targets at the principle of organizational existence, instead of personality of the leader" (Bass & Avolio 2004). Instead of suffocating employees, a leader with this style, encourages the employees in the organizational pursuit drawing best out of them. The prevention of "experimentation and hampering creativity only frustrate employees who want to positively and productively contribute to the organization". Leaders equipped with this style encourage the employees rendering them more autonomy to make decisions without supervision and providing them the tools to make these decisions. The leaders using this behaviour set high standard for followers besides communicating their vision in unambiguous ways, and encouraging them to develop beyond the normal situations for their own and organizational growth (House and Shamir 1993). The successful executives are always active with their people by inspiring, rewarding and correcting them and by replacing them, if they fail to transform thereby, creating opportunities for others. In short, leaders with inspirational motivation behaviour create vision, establish communication and challenge workers by encouraging, working with them and giving them autonomy.

2.5.5.3 Intellectual Stimulation

Leaders with characteristics of intellectual stimulation are those who "intellectually stimulate followers, engender creativity and accept challenges as part of their job". They maintain their emotional balance and rationally deal with complex problems. They cultivate the similar skills in their workers as well. They develop problem solving techniques in the followers for making complex decisions, reflecting a mutual consensus between leaders and employees. "The intellectual stimulation leadership approach projects in large measure the mentoring, coaching, morale-building strengths of individualized consideration". Both leadership

approaches build organizational skills as well as character, similar to caring leadership behaviors that coach and challenge. "In other words, leaders with this leadership approach require first to unravel the complexities of the challenge, develop sense of direction towards what it means for them and their workers prior to promoting worker involvement in the challenge". There are different levels of intellects and encouragement to work actively. It is an ability to intellectually stimulate the workers and a propensity to get involved actively in the work. "In nutshell, the key indicators of the intellectual stimulation are rationality, creativity, consensus decision-making, coaching, supporting, challenging and involvement" (House and Shamir 1993).

2.5.5.4 Individualized Consideration
 Individualized consideration is concerned with the basic transformational leadership behaviors of regarding individuals as fundamental contributors to the work place. Such leaders display concern for their workers' needs and are equipped to boost and coach the development of desired work-place behaviour. Their role alternates from participatory to autocratic style. In short, "fundamental elements of individualized consideration consist of reassurance, caring for and coaching of individuals and an open and consultative approach".

2.6 Leadership Qualities and Attributes

There are qualities that are expected of good leaders which include among others respect, honesty, serving and justice and these are elaborated as follows:

2.6.1 Respect
African humanism compels a re-evaluation of our place in the world and our attitudes and behaviour with respect to fellow humans. Using the golden rule of equality and reciprocity, respect is treating others as one would wish to be treated, in addition to being courteous, listening to others and accepting individual differences (Mullane 2009: 62). The principle of respect also entails the leader listens closely to subordinates, is empathic and is tolerant of opposing points of view. According to Kitchener (1984: 77), leaders who respect others allow them to be themselves, with creative wants and desires. They approach other people with a sense of their unconditional worth and valuable individual differences. As pointed out by Beauchamp and Bowie (1988: 37), "people must be treated as having their own autonomously established goals and must never be treated purely as the means to another's personal goals". An ethical suggestion is that treating others as ends rather than as means

requires that other people's decisions and values are treated with respect, failing to do so would signify that they are treated as a means to the leader's own ends (Northouse, 2007: 351). To this effect, the leaders should also be seen to be respecting their followers.

2.6.2 Serving

Serving is the obligation to take care of others, be of service to them and make choices that are helpful and not harmful to their welfare. Ethical leaders should place their followers' welfare at the top of their list. Many ethical theories emphasize a concern for the interests of others (ethical altruism). The service principle clearly is an example of altruism. Kanungo and Mendonca (1996: 67) argued that leaders who serve are altruistic: they place their followers' welfare foremost in their plans. In the workplace, altruistic service behaviour can be observed in activities such as mentoring, empowerment behaviours, team building and citizenship behaviours, to name a few. By serving, leaders act as stewards of the mission, vision and goals of the organization.

According to Senge (1990: 241),

> …one of the important tasks of leaders in organizations is to be the stewards of the vision within the organization. He further contended that being a steward means clarifying and nurturing a vision that is greater than oneself. This means not being self-centered, but rather integrating one's self or vision with that of others in the organization. Ethical leaders see their own personal vision as a component part of something bigger than themselves, a part of the organization and society at large. The principle of serving goes hand in hand with servant leadership.

Greenleaf (1977) discussed the need for leadership that puts serving others including employees, customers, and community as the number one priority. Servant leadership emphasizes increased service to others, a holistic approach to work, promoting a sense of community and sharing of power in decision making. As put forward by Samkange (1980:64), the king owes his status, including all the powers associated with it to the will of the people under him and this is a principle deeply embedded in the traditional African political philosophy of Ubuntu.

A core attribute of serving as an ethical principle therefore is that the servant leaders place a priority on satisfying the important needs of followers (Northouse 2013:219). Some of the most harrowing instances of servant leadership can be found among those who have toiled to

end apartheid, and later, to bring about reconciliation between whites and blacks in South Africa. The notable ones are Nelson Mandela and Desmond Tutu.

> After his release in 1990, Mandela campaigned for peace and reconciliation with the whites, even as investigations conducted by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) revealed gross human rights abuses committed by the previous government, including killings, rapes and torture. Opting for a more forward-looking path, the policies of Mandela and Tutu ended the cycle of violence between the races, which might have worsened if militant groups had advocated harsher retribution against the oppressors. The peaceful resolution was vital for the economic and social development of the nation in the long run. Both of these servant leaders had the ability to look ahead and take a wider view of the situation (Esvary 2016).

By and large, the main principle of servant leadership is that leaders are attentive to the concerns of their followers and empathize with them, including those with little power in the system. Servant leaders make others better by their presence. For example, referring to Mahatma Gandhi, who is believed to be the great leader of the masses in India, Radhakrishnan (1939: 20) observed that servant leaders view themselves as servants first, not leaders first. "Gandhi is among the foremost of the servants of humanity". While most leaders identify with symbols of power to elevate themselves above the people they lead, Gandhi symbolized the people he was trying to serve. He tried to be like them with his loin cloth and his commitment to voluntary poverty. He symbolized service rather than power (Radhakrishnan 1939:20). According to Nair (1994: 6), Gandhi had the two outstanding qualities of voluntary subordination namely being a servant, combined with acts of service in his life. Serving the followers enables them to reciprocate support for the leader's vision since they are fully aware that their needs are given much more preference and recognition ahead of the leader's needs. This fully addresses the key tentacle of Ubuntu of being selfless.

2.6.3   Fairness and Justice
Justice as a quality of leadership entails that no one within an organization should receive special treatment or special consideration except when his or her situation demands it. When individuals are treated differently, the grounds for different treatment must be clear and reasonable and must be based on moral values (Northouse 2015: 350). Northouse (2013: 433) observed that leaders must be concerned about issues of fairness and justice. If a leader is just, then they are able to treat all of their followers in a fair and equal way. The leader plays a major role in the distribution of rewards or punishments to employees. The rules that are used and how they are applied say a great deal about whether the leader is concerned about justice and how he or she approaches issues of fairness. Rawls (1971: 102) stated that a

concern with issues of fairness is necessary for all people who are cooperating together to promote their common interests.

It is similar to the ethic of reciprocity, otherwise known as the Golden Rule that says that "Do unto others as you want them to do unto you" (Matthew 7:12), variations of which have appeared in many different cultures throughout the ages. If we expect justice from others on how they treat us, then we should treat others fairly in our dealings with them. Usually in public organizations

> there is always a limit on goods and resources and there is often competition for the limited things available, therefore, issues of justice become problematic for leaders. Because of the real or perceived scarcity of resources, conflicts often occur between individuals and leaders about fair methods of distribution. It is important for leaders to clearly establish the rules for distributing rewards and the nature of these rules says a lot about the ethical underpinnings of the leader and the organization (Kanungo and Mendonca 1996: 71).

2.6.4 Honesty

Another quality of leadership is honesty which is an important principle and best understood when we think about the opposite of honesty, dishonesty. Dishonesty is defined by Northouse (2013: 435) as a form of lying and a way of misrepresenting reality. Dishonesty may bring with it many objectionable consequences; foremost among those outcomes is the distrust it creates. When leaders are not honest and sincere, followers come to see them as undependable and unreliable and as a result subordinates lose faith in what leaders say and stand for and their respect for leaders is diminished. According to Jaksa and Pritchard (1988), in their work argued that the long term effect of dishonesty type of behaviour is that it weakens relationships. Even when used with good intentions, dishonesty contributes to the breakdown of relationships.

On the contrary, honesty is being open with others and representing reality as fully and completely as possible. As put forward by Dalla Costa (1998: 164), being honest means more than not deceiving. For leaders, he argues, being honest means " Do not promise what you cannot deliver, do not misrepresent, do not hide behind spin-doctored evasions, do not suppress obligations, do not evade accountability, do not accept that the 'survival of the fittest' pressures of business release any of us from the responsibility to respect another's dignity and humanity" This is not a simple task however, in light of the fact that there are times when telling the complete truth can be dangerous and counterproductive.

The challenge for leaders is to strike a balance between being open and sincere while checking what is proper to unveil in a specific circumstance. Many times, there are organizational constraints that prevent leaders from disclosing information to followers. It is important for leaders to be authentic, but it is equally important to be sensitive to the attitudes and feelings of others. Straightforward leadership involves a wide set of behaviours (https://www.studypool.com/discuss/1646223/leadership-paper-3). For example,

> Nelson Mandela was described as a hero and freedom fighter because of his perseverance through fighting against apartheid until he became the first elected black president of South Africa after twenty-seven years being jailed. His traits of morality, community serving and responsibilities towards his followers were embraced through honesty. He showed strong ethical values in his leadership by constantly guiding his followers to avoid all violence and keep the center of attention before they act (Ncube 1997).

Honesty is one of the pillars of Ubuntu because leaders are expected to be sincere, selfless and transparent in their dealings with others on behalf of their subjects.

2.7 The African Leadership Experience

Post-colonial African leadership has been and continues in the main to be a total disaster. Post-colonial Africa is characterized among other things by poverty, high levels of unemployment, corruption, abuse of power, lack of accountability and poor and inadequate institutional planning to name a few. This state of affairs obtains as other continents such as Asia and the South Americas which a few decades ago were on the same level of underdevelopment, have tremendously leaped into a developmental trajectory. This therefore raises questions as to whether it is the leaders or the inappropriate leadership approaches that contribute to the devastating economic, political, social and technological status qou (Ngambi cited in Meyer: 2004). Before an answer can be provided it will be helpful to reflect on the fact that in its history Africa was the cradle of human civilization. Relics of its glorious past exist in in the engineering feats as evidenced by the construction of pyramids of Ancient Egypt, the Great Zimbabwe Ruins of the Mutapa Empire and the Mapungubwe of South Africa. All these show the pre-colonial existence of a high level of intellectual skills, sophistication and organization all synonymous with enlightened leadership and the question again comes about what then went wrong?

The answer to the above question can come from the myriad factors which have been identified by researchers and scholars as having direct influence on the development and

application of leadership perspectives and these include; culture, beliefs, norms and values, experiences and outcomes as well as social identities and philosophical thought systems (Ngambi cited in Meyer:2004). The factors cited above seem to point to the root of Africa's leadership challenges. Africa's leadership models are modelled along American or Eurocentric perspectives which are founded on totally different socio-cultural orientations from African ones. Africa is preoccupying itself with imitating what the Westerners' do regardless of the problem of compatibility. A study of leadership for development shows that newcomers to development such as China and the Asian Tigers such as Malaysia, Indonesia or Singapore and even India premise their leadership on their cultural foundations. It is for this reason that many writers and practitioners have realized that constructing a theory for African leadership thought will not be advanced if based on the assumption that what prevails in the West is also applicable to Africa regardless of contextual differences. It is imperative that an Afrocentric leadership model needs to be developed if the continent's fortunes are to change for the better. Contemporary Africa needs to make some radical paradigm shift that incorporates basic African leadership perspectives underpinned on traditional resources of ethical leadership as espoused in Ubuntu. However before talking about Ubuntu leadership which invariably is the panacea to Africa's crisis, it is necessary that a number of radical and revolutionary steps be taken.

The first step is that the African mindset must be liberated from a century of colonization and to which the mind has remained imprisoned and in a slavery mode of existence. During colonialism the African was conditioned to resistance, to hate his colonial master and anything associated with the colonial system. In many instances when an African went to look for a job, the first thing asked by peers was about what could be stolen from the employer. It is that mindset which continues to haunt Africa because everyone in any position still wants to look for opportunities to enrich oneself through nefarious means. In Shona they say, *"Mbudzi inofura payakasungirirwa"* which literally means maximise the loot from wherever you are stationed. This alone explains the massive looting of state resources from the lowest to the highest levels of leadership. Its endemic and can only be changed through a cultural and moral revolution which says to the African man/woman – the continent now belongs to you, don't steal from yourself, be a responsible self-leader and when you wake up every day ask yourself the question of what small thing are you going to do to add value to your country. Self-leadership, morale education and psychological and mental rejuvenation must be undertaken with vigour. The mantra 'none but ourselves' must be given new impetus

because Africa can only save itself from the impending catastrophe of being the Cinderella of the world.

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter explored the theoretical perspectives undergirding leadership. The chapter defined the term leadership as the ability to influence followers, the art or process of influencing people so that they will strive willingly and enthusiastically towards the achievement of the mission of the organization. The chapter explored the evolution of leadership theories from the classical Trait theories where leadership is viewed as an interactional process. Bearing in mind that theories have been reformed and modified with the passage of time, none of them is completely irrelevant. The most important aspect to note therefore is that situations, contexts, culture, work environment other socio-cultural imperatives remarkably impact the leadership practice thereby making it commensurate with the changing dynamics (Chatzel, Moneta and Kramer 2004).

The Chapter comparatively introduced the Ubuntu leadership model with its radical shift from leadership of followers to leadership with followers. Rather than being leader centered, Ubuntu focused on group effort and it is this element which must be exploited in order to bring about a full range leadership model for Africa. The chapter also proceeded to examine the leadership roles and how they impact on leadership. Additionally, the leadership styles namely *laissez faire*, autocratic leadership, democratic leadership, transactional and transformational leadership were also discussed. Leadership virtues such as respect, serving, justice, honesty and community were also presented as indispensable to ethical leadership. Lastly, the chapter also highlighted the concept of African leadership experience where it interrogated the relevance and the utility of the Classical Western leadership models and determined how they relate to cultural traditional leadership models. The African leadership experience attempted to illuminate the underlying causes of Africa's leadership failures as lying in the history of colonization and the need to decolonize the mind. To that extent it is identified that there is an ideological and moral gap which must be filled through education and re-orientation if African leadership is to be able to lead Africa into a new rebirth. In the following chapter I shall discuss the relationship between power and leadership from a theoretical perspective and go on to discuss how power has been understood and exercised in African leadership.

CHAPTER THREE: CONCEPTUALISING POWER WITH REFERENCE TO LEADERSHIP

3.1 Introduction

The discourse on power is underpinned by an understanding of the dynamics of relationships in human society. Power does not exist in a vacuum. It is a state of being in relationship to another state of being. An individual who is powerful has the capability to influence the weaker individual into doing what s/he wants them to do. In multiple relationships power will be available in different relative scenarios depending on a number of factors and the environment. In politics, at state level the fulcrum of power is in state apparatus and this explains why the competition in democratic dispensations is usually aimed at controlling the state. This competition is also replicated in the battle for control of institutions at both macro and micro levels. When people contest for leadership they therefore contest for power because it is power which facilitates leadership. Power is therefore ability to influence or outright control the behavior of other people in order to realize specific outcomes. Power can be seen in different perspectives of being good or bad hence its exercise is historically pervasive to humans, nonetheless, as social beings the same concept is viewed as appealing and it is treated as something inherited or given for satisfying humanistic objectives that will help people to move forward. In general, power is hinged on the interdependencies between two entities – leaders and followers. Power is both downward and upwards with upwards power being that of the followers influencing the decisions of their leaders, whilst downward power is when leaders influence the followers. With this in mind, the use of power needs not to involve the use of force and threats. Hence the usage of soft power (the ability to attract and co-opt) is much preferred than hard power (the use of force or coercion).

This chapter will provide the reader with a conceptualization discussion of power with the aim of showing how it is an integral part of any leadership discourse. From a sociological perspective, Max Weber defined power as "the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests" (Weber 1978: 53). In other words, power requires that a person overcomes the obstacles and any form of resistance in order to get what the person is desirous of. In light of this, the chapter proceeds to capture the classical theories of power at the ideological level which include the functionalist theory of power, democratic plurality theory of power, the elite theory of power, the Marxist class theory of power as well as the

gender theory of power. At the operational level the chapter will discuss the power dynamics in organizations to include among others the sources of power which include authority, influence and force. It will be noted in this chapter that authority is power that has been legitimated by the consent of followers, not by coercion or force. Authority may be either formal or informal. Influence implies the exercise of power through the process of persuasion. It is the ability to affect the decisions and actions of others through appeal (Burns 1978). Force is the inducement of obedience used by leaders against their followers to supplement voluntary acceptance of their authority and to increase the degree of obedience to their commands (Austin 1982).

The chapter will unpack the various forms of power through which it manifests itself. These forms include making an explicit or implicit promise to give a person something under the leader's control for carrying out a request or performing a task (reward power); a person's ability to influence other's behavior because of recognized knowledge, skills, or abilities (expert power); the person's ability to influence others' behaviors because of the position that person holds within the organisation (legitimate power); a person's ability to influence others' behavior by pushing them or by creating a perceived threat to do so (coercive power) and the feeling of oneness between the powerful and the subject or a desire for such an identity (referent power) (Lunenburg 2012: 2). The chapter will also discuss the nexus or the relationship between power and leadership. Lastly, the chapter will then highlight the conception of power in the African context before it concludes.

3.2 Defining Power

According to the sociologist Talcott Parsons (1963:2), power is a

> concept on which, in spite of its long history, there is, on analytical levels, a notable lack of agreement both about its specific definition and about many features of the conceptual context in which it should be placed. There is, however, a core complex of its meaning, having to do with the capacity of persons or collectivities 'to get things done' effectively, in particular when their goals are obstructed by some kind of human resistance or opposition.

According to Max Weber (1947: 35), power is "the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests". To this effect, power therefore requires that a person defies the obstacles and any form of resistance in order for them to get what they are desirous of.

Power is thus, the ability to influence the behavior of others with or without resistance by using a variety of tactics to push or prompt them into action. Similarly, in highlighting the position or place within which power can be exercised Weber further argues that, positions of power can emerge from social relations in a drawing room as well as in the market, from the rostrum of a lecture hall as well as the command post of a regiment, from an erotic or charitable relationship as well as from scholarly discussion or athletics (http://www.yourarticlelibrary.com/essay/power-of-politics-meaning-types-and-sources-of-power/31356/). This implies that power is ubiquitous and can be exercised in all spheres of life. Thus, for Weber, power is the chance of a man or a number of men to realize their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action. The thrust here is for one player to outdo the resisting parties along the way (http://www.yourarticlelibrary.com/essay/power-of-politics-meaning-types-and-sources-of-power/31356/). The one that conquers the resisting party will be deemed to be more powerful.

Power can be viewed as the international currency of interactions at the global, state to state, intrastate, organisational and group levels. It is like a living organism which you can feel, smell and see everywhere yet it maintains its invisibility. Without power the world would cease to move forward. Power can also be defined as "the ability to marshal human, informational or material resources to get something done" (Rees and Porter 2008). Parsons (1967: 299), in Stewart Cleggs theory of power and organisation treats power as a specific mechanism operating to bring about changes in the action of other units, individuals or collectives, in the process of social interaction." In light of this it can be noted that power is about domination, it brings both material and psychological satisfaction to the bearer. Hence according to R Dahl, "A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do." In this view, power can generate some results that would not have been produced by some actors had it not been imposed on them. According to Giddens (1968: 264-265), "to have power is to have potential access to valued scarce resources and thus power itself is a resource." Because of its scarcity power has the potential to create conflicts as people jostle to get it.

Giddens went on to say that Power is the "capability to secure outcomes where the realization of these outcomes depends upon the agency of others. It is in this sense that men have power over others and this is power as dominion." (Giddens 1976:110-111). Moving on, power as a

widely defined term, has been equated by Guardini (1998) to ability to move reality. Similarly, Russell (2004) reinforces this view when he said that power is the production of intended effects. However, as noted above, power entails taking advantage of every opportunity or possibility that exists within a social relationship which permits one to carry out one's own will, even against resistance, and regardless of the basis on which the opportunity rests (Weber, 1980). In this vein power implies the idea of overriding others' will. This understanding of power is echoed by sociologist Anthony Giddens (1997) who sees, 'power as the ability to make a difference to change things from what they would otherwise have been'. Giddens (1997) therefore referred this ability to as the 'transformative capacity'. Power therefore should be in a position to transmogrify, metamorphose, alter and change one's position, interests, ideas and outcomes.

From the above definitions what comes out clearly is that power is an interactive process that governs relational issues at interstate, state, organization and individual level. It is about influence to get things done through the agency of others, it is about domination and access to scarce resources. Power itself is a sought after scarce resource with the potential to cause conflict. It can be used both positively and negatively depending on objectives and outcomes. Positively power can be used to achieve individual, group and organizational goals which focus on improving the common good. Negatively power can be used with disastrous consequences as was the case with Hitler and the extermination of Jews and the 1994 genocide in Rwanda.

3.3 Theories of Power

Theories of power are usually about how within the state and society power is distributed, regulated, located and also how power is used or can be used. These theories also discuss the consequences of the effective use of power and the negative effects that can emanate from its abuse. The theories to be discussed in this section because of their centrality to leadership include the functionalist theory of power, pluralist theory of power, elite theory of power, Marxist theory of power and the feminist theory of power. The common denominator of all theories of power is consensus about power as influence, control, domination, hegemony and at times even coercion and force through the barrel of the gun (Rilley 1988: 17). Where they differ though is their analysis about the location of power in society, its source, types of power available to leaders and its distribution.

3.3.1 The Functionalist Theory of Power

According to Parsons, power is something possessed by society as a whole, and its levels can vary because at particular times it can increase or decrease depending on contextual circumstances. Because power is considered as a resource, its constituent elements include other resources such as human, material, social, intellectual and all other tangibles and intangibles which if positively identified and directed will ensue in the creation of a more powerful institutions. On the basis of this observation, Parsons observed that power must be exercised in the general interest of society as a whole and despite its marginal distribution in that other groups or elements will be more powerful than others, the situation will on the whole remain desirable because through the cooperation of the groups collective goals can be attained provided there is good and effective organizational control in the form of efficient and effective command structures backed up by enough power to move change. Hence, according to Parsons power differentials are necessary though what must be avoided is dysfunctionality which arises when there is no balance of power. In order to promote balance of power, there must be adequate checks and balances which will make the system to self-adjust. For example, the down fall of Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe was partly as a result of the entrenchment of the one center of power policy in his ruling ZANU Pf party. As the only center of power, Mugabe became the unquestionable sole face of the party and government. For this reason he inevitably alienated himself from all his followers such that he ended up acting with impunity as he had personalized the powers inherent in a national presidential office. This personalization of power resulting in him falling into disfavor with his own government such that the entire government system came to a situation of utter dysfunctionality.

If state functionalism is properly integrated into the government as a primary principle of the system the result can usually come in the form of a successful attainment of national developmental goals The rise, fall and disintegration of societies, states and empires is in my view an indication of failed leadership because of the failure to use this power to rally followers in unity towards a common goal. Whilst it is accepted that diversity is a feature of society, this element of diversity must not be allowed to destabilize society. Rather, it is a function of leadership to create purposeful convergences irrespective of the existence of ideological diversity of the citizens. The current political and economic polarity in Zimbabwe and a number of other African states is a clear testimony of dysfunctional power structures which is proving to be a recipe for disaster if not managed properly.

3.3.2 Democratic Plurality Theory of Power

According to Dahl (1962), pluralism brings a somewhat different dimension to the discourse on power. Functionalist argue that in society power is a fixed constant which is contested territorially and often results in a zero sum game whether you win or lose it. For any group to accumulate power, another group has to lose it and as a result there will be no group consensus because groups will always represent sectional interests which must be supported by power. For this reason there is therefore a need for the state to referee and rationalize the distribution of power in order to serve the interests of society as a whole. The pluralist theories of power therefore see power as spread through a matrix of influence ranging from the electorate, parliament, the senate, cabinet, multinational co-operations, the military, church, mass media and even national or international NGOs. All of the above entities, though not exhaustive will contest in order to have a degree of influence on who gets to represent their interests – a process often achieved through electoral practices to choose group representatives. The pre-requisites for democratic pluralism is that the rights of the electorate must be guaranteed and entrenched in the constitution. The people must have the rights and freedoms to freely make a choice of who will represent them. They must be adequately educated and informed about the available choices, and are entitled to transparent and accountable systems and procedures for a private ballot. According to Rilley (1988) the hallmark of democratic pluralism is the cyclical elections which take place according to agreed time lines, every five years for most institutions in accordance with agreed constitutions.

The Pluralist theory of power therefore holds that in each society or grouping, power is not the preserve of any one group but is severally spread in a matrix which could be vertical or horizontal in representing sectional interest. In essence it is marked by fluidity and most often decisions are based on predominant interests at given times and circumstances. Whilst considered as an ideal model for distribution of power, the pluralist theory of power is often criticized for its creation of an over loaded government because representatives are elected on issues which they have to fulfil during the life of a parliament (Rilley 1988:25). The overload emanates from multiple demands on government which often operates on limited resources resulting in very little being achieved. At times 'Pork Barrel' or appeasement decisions are taken irrationally to placate the powerful electorate group interests.

To sum up, democratic pluralism through state rationalization disperses power according to a matrix of influence and limits group monopoly of access to or control of the power resources.

Its paradox though is that the elected representatives, whilst perceptively having power conferred on them are often constrained by competing interests hence governance becomes a balancing act of reconciling group expectations. However, this theory over glorifies pluralism and falls short in capturing some existential leadership practices such as autocracy, totalitarianism, dictatorship among others. In the real world set-ups decisions are basically made by the elites for all groups of various interests instead of the masses. For this reason, it may not be an accurate reflection of the situation on the ground to say pluralism is equal to mass rule because at the end of the day the wishes of a few chosen will still hold sway as a result of their proximity to power. On the other hand, this system of governance may not be applicable at the workplace or in some private organizations. You don't choose or elect your CEO. You don't elect your church Pastor and students or teachers don't elect their headmaster hence it can be true to say bureaucracy limits democratic pluralism.

The other dark side of democratic pluralism is that it can be a façade for minority control of power over the majority. An example is a situation whereby through constitutional provision, a President must get 50% +1 vote of those eligible voters who actually cast their vote in order to be declared a winner. So in a country with a population of +14 million people with 5 million registered voters and of those $2^{1/2}$ million voted for the potential winner, numerically therefore the declared President will go into office with less than 20% of the mandate of the country's citizens meaning he doesn't have the mandate of 80% yet the constitution technically and ironically gives him the power to rule. This is common practice in all of the so called democratic dispensations in Africa. In many countries the so called new democratic dispensations have resulted in serious national conflicts because of the presence of 'unrepresentative' institutions which favor their own at the expense of the majority and this observation leads to a discussion of the elite theory of power. Apart from democratic pluralism, another theory is called the elite theory of power.

3.3.3   Elite Theory of power
Wilfredo Pareto (1848-1923) initiated the term 'elite' as to characterize all individuals with the highest ranking in their social activities based on their skills and regardless of their moral and social qualities. Similarly, according to Mike Rilley, elitism is a rule that is exercised both formally and informally by a few naturally talented, or organizationally skilled individuals and groups over the majority. It derives from the assumption that whatever the system of government is created, the leader will tend to make it impossible for the majority to have any real participation. Universally it has been observed that there is a similar inevitable,

tendency for bureaucrats, politicians, the military or those who control private economic wealth to manipulate the levers of power. These elites do possess the power and the influence to lead and control their subordinates and or subjects irrespective of their moral and social qualities.

Elitism denotes the classification of society into different social groups and considers the weight and impact of the power that each social group has and exercises. In such situation, the elite group is considered to be special, and with power and influence. Lloyd (1966: 4) defines elites as ''those persons who were Western-educated and wealthy to a high degree relative to the mass of the population''. For the whole colonial period, the term elite was most applied to the European residents of the colonial territories in whose hands laid political and economic power (Lloyd 1966). Similarly, Robert Michels (1876-1936) emphasises the dominating political power of political leaders whereby elite factions pursue personal interests by manipulating both the efforts and resources of ordinary members. In other words, the elected dominate the electors.

In this vein, the electoral systems create a transfer of power from the electorate to the elected elites who will then rule on behalf of the masses. They will then make binding decisions on behalf of the huge masses of people. This therefore makes them more powerful than the actual people who entrusted them with that power. In supporting elitism, Gaetano Mosca emphasized the sociological and personal characteristics of elites whom he said were an organized minority whilst the masses were an unorganized lot. He further posited that society is always divided into the ruling class and the ruled class and that elites have the intellectual, moral and material superiority that is highly esteemed and influential. The unequal relationship between the elite class and the citizenry impacts negatively on democracy and consequently on socio-economic development (Mbecke 2017:89). Furthermore, classical elite theory bases its ideas on the premise that;

> power lies in position of authority in key economic and political institutions and that the psychological difference that sets elites apart is that they possess personal resources such as intelligence and skills and a vested interest in government: while the rest are incompetent and incapable of governing themselves. It is said the elite will strive to make the government work because they will lose more in a failed state (http://softpanorama.org/Skeptics/Political_skeptic/index.shtml).

The psychological and intellectual superiority of elites, believing that they were the highest accomplishers in any field. He categorized elites as either governing elites or non-governing

elites. He also advanced the idea that a whole elite can be replaced by a new elite and the movement from being elite to non-elite. Pareto subdivides the class of maximum performers into 'governing' and 'non-governing' sections, the first of which includes all individuals who 'play directly or indirectly a noteworthy role at the highest levels of power (Korom 2015: 391). The sociologist Robert Mitchels developed the iron law of oligarchy where he asserts that social and political organizations are always run by a few individuals and that social organization and division of labor are inherent qualities. He believed that all organizations were elitist in nature. This can be very true as all organizations no matter how pluralistic and democratic they appear the decision making machinery in those respective organizations is constituted by only a few people (that is the elites).

Wright Mills in his book *The Power Elite* (1956) discussed the dynamics of power in the United States of America after which he identified an interconnectedness of power groups in the political, economic and military as forming a distinct, though not unified power wielding body with the capacity to subvert democracy. This type of elite grouping is signified by the military politico- industrial complex which often conspires to advance self-interests through the veil of national interests. This naturally explains why the United States is fighting wars across the globe under the banner of protecting democracy. From the above it can be concluded that at both the macro and micro level of social organization interaction the elite theory of power in inescapably entrenched because even in Parliamentary democracy in the final analysis, decisions are taken by a few on behalf of the majority and these few form the power elite. A football team, a choir, a workers committee, a factory, a political party, all will have their own elites who inevitably will manipulate their power position to advance self or inner group interests, an interesting feature of Western elitism absent in African politics is its capacity to suppress dissent through the use of soft power structures such as education, ideology and assimilation. Elites pre-occupy themselves with the task of recruitment and mobilization of the ruled classes into owning and propagating the elite ideology and in the process the ruled end up being spokespersons of elite ideology. In light of this most societies are stratified into class structures such as upper class, middle class and upper middle class and all this classification is actually a façade designed to disperse ruled class solidarity under the perception that some ruled classes are superior to others- the so called divide and rule strategy and this perpetuates elitism.

The variant elite theory of power which is in the form of pseudo elitism has found its currency in post-colonial African power dynamics. Instead of organized elitism and its

support for strong government, those in African leadership have formed cartels of entrenched interests without a shadow of disguise as to their intentions. Idi Amin (Uganda), Sani Abacha (Nigeria), Mobutu Sese Seko (Zaire) are tragic examples of unsolicited pseudo elites who turned despotic as they weakened government institutions, crushed dissent and in the process plundered their countries' wealth. Obviously at the end this creates resentment which manifests in the endless turmoil and tussle for power characteristic of Africa. Resultantly more time ends up devoted to conflict resolution than development, hence the formula for power politics needs a relook and move away from elitism to group consensual power sharing. Apart from the elite theory of power, we have a Marxist theory of power.

3.3.4 Marxist Class theory of power

The Marxist class theory can be better understood by first looking at the political landscape of 19th century England, the time which Marx wrote his *Das Kapital* (1867). According to Riley (1988) Power, in the nineteenth century politics was exclusive and elitist, where common sense informed the Victorian male that the right to vote depended upon being born a man, normally of reasonable wealth and of good family. The idea of legitimacy of the rights of property and of autocratic rule by minority was part of the established, hegemonic political culture. It is this dispensation which led Marx and Engels to look at society as consisting of two antagonistic classes of the Rich (the haves) which owns the land and the means of production and being the ruling and dominant economic class and the second category of the Poor (the have nots) which is the class of the economically weak and poor workers who are economically, socially and politically exploited and dominated by the class of the rich (Riley, 1988, 180). By virtue of monopoly of access and possession of social, economic, ideological and political power in society, the rich dominated and subjugated the poor working classes. However, whilst during the Marxian era society was rigidly stratified, subsequent reforms and the development of refined capitalism altered the balance of power in many ways resulting in a new neo-Marxist analysis of the distribution of power which has grouped analysts into instrumentalists, essentialists and empirical Marxists (Riley 1988:181). According to the new analyses of the distribution of power, the issue is no longer strictly about 'the haves' as opposed to 'the have nots' but rather about dominant groups and ideologies in the struggle to access and possess power and resources.

According to Gramsci and Weber, power in each society is really in the hands of the dominant class which can be any class, the bureaucracy or an ideologically dominant class. The dominant class can use an ideology or political persuasion or leadership structure or

intellectual power or morality as the means of securing consent from other classes for perpetuation of its societal subjugation (http://www.shareyouressays.com/knowledge/4-major-theories-of-power-class-elite-pluralist-and-gender-theories/112570). From the above discussion it can be inferred that the class theory of power consists of a classical component which persuades traditional followers to hold that power is possessed and always used by the economically dominant class of the rich, and the neo-Marxists who hold no doubt the power is always in the hands of a class, but this can be any class which dominates the society by using several different means and strategies (http://www.shareyouressays.com/knowledge/4-major-theories-of-power-class-elite-pluralist-and-gender-theories/112570). The struggles for independence in colonial Southern Africa produced a new post-colonial order which has re-ordered the societal make up to produce new class rankings which have rendered the old rigid stratification models irrelevant, hence the neo-Marxian analysis of power distribution may be more appropriate. Overall, the hallmark of the Marxist theory of power is about class conflict. This therefore call for the crafting of conflict avoidance strategies to pacify restive expectant populations whose aspirations of a new Afrocentric economic order has not been met. At the work environment leaders need to manage diversity and come up with inclusivity strategies which emphasise the importance of common expectations and interests rather than the silo mentality of class struggles. Apart from the above theory, there is also a gender theory of power.

3.3.5 Gender theory of power

According to Saheb the gender theory of power holds that in all societies, power is actually in the hands of the men who as a group dominate the group of women in the society (http://www.shareyouressays.com/knowledge/4-major-theories-of-power-class-elite-pluralist-and-gender-theories/112570). The gender theory of power is hinged on the power matrix and distribution thereof being done on gender lines. The debate on power from a feminist perspective has bordered around three perspectives where power has been viewed as a resource, as domination or as empowerment. The liberal Feminist group, conceptualizes power as a resource and understand it as a positive social good that is currently unequally distributed amongst women and men. For the liberal feminists their goal is to redistribute this resource (power) so that both genders are equal. Implicit in this view is the assumption that power is "a kind of stuff that can be possessed by individuals in greater and lesser amounts." (Young, 1990: 31) The conception of power as a resource can be found in the work of some liberal feminists (Mill 1970; Okin 1989). In *Justice, Gender and the Family*, Susan Mouler

Okin (1989) argues that the contemporary gender structures of family unjustly distributes the benefit and burdens of familial life amongst husbands and wives. She includes power on her list of benefits, which she calls "critical social" goods. As she puts it, "when we look seriously at the distribution between husbands and wives of such critical social goods as work (paid and unpaid), power, prestige, self-esteem, opportunities for self-development, and both physical and economic security, we find socially constructed inequalities between them , right down the list"(Okin 1989: 136).

According to Saheb, the feminists criticize the existing situation and want to end male domination in the society as they strongly advocate and want the liberation of women from male dominance which they hold to be unnatural, undemocratic and harmful to society. So there is need for the redistribution of power as the present system of patriarchy needs to be replaced by a society based on real and comprehensive equality between men and women (http://www.shareyouressays.com/knowledge/4-major-theories-of-power-class-elite-pluralist-and-gender-theories/112570). To further cement this position, Saheb argues that:

> The prevailing system based on the biological difference between men and women wrongly gives all importance and power to men. It has been working as a system of all round wholesale exploitation, oppression and suppression of women who constitute half of the world population and perform nearly two-thirds of the work hours (http://www.shareyouressays.com/knowledge/4-major-theories-of-power-class-elite-pluralist-and-gender-theories/112570).

The argument here is that the biological nature of women and men has made it possible for men to take all ahead of women as such women should also have the right to be equal partners in the exercise of power in the society. The belief is that currently societal power is exercised through a system of male dominance which needs to be replaced by a system of real and effective social, economic and political equality of women and men (http://www.shareyouressays.com/knowledge/4-major-theories-of-power-class-elite-pluralist-and-gender-theories/112570). On the contrary, other liberal feminists such as Iris Manow Young (1990) have however argued against this distributive model of power, suggesting that power is not a thing to be possessed but rather they view power as a relation. She argues that in order to have a better understanding of power relations the concept must be approached from a study of the broader social, institutional and structural contexts that shape individual relations. Further according to Young following Foucult (1980) power exists only in action and in this mode it must be understood dynamically as existing in ongoing processes or interactions.

On a slightly different note other feminist conceive power as domination oppression, patriarchy and subjugation. The relational architecture is seen in this model as unjust and illegitimate. In her book, The Second Sex, Simone de Beauvour critically analyses the situation of woman domination arising from social, cultural, historical and economic conditions and stereo types which have viewed women as objects and men as subjects. De Beauvour further argues that whereas men have earned the status of the transcendent subject women are oppressed because they are compelled to assume the status of the other object doomed by cultural and social conditions that deny them that transcendence. Another radical view of the relational domination is by Marilyn Frye who identifies access as one of the faces of power. In this she says, "Total power is unconditional access, total powerlessness is being unconditionally accessible…" (Frye 1983: 103). In her analogy she suggests that women must have the power to transcend and access all they want and must also have the power to deny access to their bodies.

Apart from the feminists who see power as a resource to be redistributed and those who see it as either relational or domination, the third group sees power as a positive tool for transformation, power as a capacity or ability, specifically the capacity to empower oneself or others. Waltenberg (1990) argues that women's understanding of power should not follow the masculinity concept of domination of power 'over' but a power relationship that aims to empower those over whom it is exercised. Others such as Jean Miller further argues that power is not necessarily domination but "the capacity to bring change that is to move anything from point A or State A to point B or State B" (Miller 1992:241). She further says that "there is enormous validity in women's not wanting to use power as it is presently conceived and used. Rather women may want to be powerful in ways that simultaneously enhance rather than diminish the power of others" (Miller 1992:247-8). The practice of alienating women from power as a result of their biological make up makes it difficult Ubuntu leadership model built around virtues such as social harmony, care, inclusivity, communalism and humanness. As such, there is a need for inclusivity in power relations whereby all the people (both men and women) can find a collective and complementary role and space in society. The issue of appropriating the traditional African values based upon the spirit of humanity manifesting in sharing, equality, caring and advancing the common good for the whole of society in which both women and men can be recognized in terms of equality is an ethical imperative for the Ubuntu leadership model.

3.3.6 Summary on Theories of Power

Whilst acknowledging that globalization and technology is altering the terrain for the exercise of power and leadership it is equally important to note that institutional arrangements still regulate power and leadership relations in society. In politics the state is the ultimate referee, arbiter and regulator of interactions hence democracy becomes a race to capture control of state and institutional apparatus. Several theoretical approaches have been discussed in an effort to understand the power discourse in leadership. Functionalism sees power as an aggregate force and property of society as a whole and it proposes that all elements of power be mobilized around common points of convergence to create a strong, powerful state. The same approach can be applied to institutions even those with as little, as two people such as a marriage institution. Whilst highly potent this approach has not helped Africa because the continent remains polarized, fragmented and sliding to disintegration resulting in weak and failed states despite the abundance of vast human and natural resources. In my view functionalism was the bedrock of traditional society through Ubuntu hence concepts like *mushandirapamwe* (functional synergy), *mukomberamwa* (together as one). These demonstrated the need to direct societal synergies towards the attainment of collective goals. It needs to be revisited by contemporary leaders in Africa.

Pluralism has introduced strong governance institutions with healthy competitive relations for the control of power in society. Its hallmark has been elections and representative democracy. It has worked for the West but is yet to be perfected in Africa where at best many have experienced pseudo and façade democracy. Under these concepts Dominant political interests have entrenched control through manipulation and weakening of institutions to the extent that democracy has become synonymous with numericalism where leaders create numbers just to win and occupy office hence the resultant contested electoral outcomes which have become a constant feature.

Elitism in the West is based on issues and groups as well as on fundamental ideological grounds. Elites in this instance want, to perpetuate and protect their interests and in turn they create strong institutions. African elites or pseudo elites to be exact are individuals with no common ideological foundation nor common interests. African elites normally want to consolidate personal interests and in the process drive to weaken institutional control hence the resultant dysfunctionality and disintegration of states. Organised elitism creates collateral benefits for society unlike individual elites who organize self-interests. The American military-politico-industrial complex has consolidated its hold on power in their country and in

the process created collateral benefits of wealth and global strength for their country. On the contrary elites such as Mobutu of Zaire plundered and stripped the country of its riches. The elite model of power is therefore a challenge for African leadership because of fundamental differences in ideological basis.

The Marxian model has outlived its usefulness in Africa where there is massive re-ordering of society. Leadership must now deal with issues of creating wealth and managing societal conflicts. The gender theories of power in my view must be taken in the context of the functionalist approach to power relations. Women constitute over 50% of the African population hence they cannot be ignored in any development matrix. Women are a vital resource which must be effectively mobilized to benefit their nations. The UN, AU and many regional and national institutions have realized the need to catapult women participation in all interaction hence good leadership should never overlook this vital resource. The African saying *Musha Mukadzi* (The home evolves around the wife) sums the centrality of the role of women in society. From the above it is evident that Africa needs to develop own models of power based on Traditional Cultural resources of the continent.

3.4 Sources of Power

Normally political power is not intrinsic to the power holder, it follows that it has outside sources. According to Pallaver (2011: 8), power is an essential element of human existence, we can find signs and manifestations of power in every dimension of social life, from interpersonal relations through economic transactions, to religious and political disputes. Power has a variety of forms, features and sources. It can be exercised with different degrees of intensity-with force and violence or, on the contrary, with kindness and politeness. It appears to emerge from the interaction of all or several of the following sources.

3.4.1   Authority
Authority is power conferred for a purpose (Heifetz, 1994). It is power that has been legitimated by the consent of followers, not by coercion or force. Authority may be either formal or informal. Formal authority is derived from a recognized organizational structure with delineated lines of responsibility and influence (Faeth, 2004:18). According to Barnard (1938: 74), authority is endorsed by subordinates. He also noted that authority creates the conditions that increase or decrease subordinates' compliance to one's power. Followers will comply with authority if the orders are understood, are consistent with the objectives of the

organization, and that they are compatible with the interests of the subordinates and are within the physical and mental capabilities of the subordinates.

Under these criteria, authority may be granted to those whose knowledge or experience equips them for leadership, even if they are not formally designated within the organizational structure. As put forward by Schaefer and Lamm (1992: 96), authority refers to power that has been institutionalized and is recognized by people over whom it is exercised. Authority is established to make decisions aimed at ordering the actions of others. Thus authority is a form of legitimate power – meaning that those subject to a government's authority consent to it (Giddens 1997: 67). Authority is an agreed upon legitimate relationship of domination and subjugation, for example, when a decision is made through legitimate, recognized channels of government, compliance with and consent to carrying out of that decision falls within the realm of authority. Briefly, power is decision making and authority is the right to make decisions that then is legitimate power (Schaefer and Lamm 1992:96). While not synonymous with power, authority is nevertheless clearly a main source of power.

3.4.2 Influence

Influence is the ability to affect the behaviour of others in an intended direction (Cohen, et al, 1992: 139). It refers to the exercise of power through the process of persuasion. Influence is basically the ability to affect the decisions and actions of others. A citizen may change his or her position after listening to a stirring speech at a rally by a political leader. This is an example of influence that show through persuasion where the efforts to persuade people's opinions and attitudes can result in attitudes supportive of the influencers position (Schaefer and Lamm, 1992: 96). Influence is the means through which power and authority are transacted. According to Faeth (2004: 19), power is defined in terms of potential or capacity for action. In the same way, authority refers to the organizational or situational mediators of power. Together, power and authority determine the resources and perceptions that undergird social interaction. Kanter (1979: 236) identified the two capacities of effective power: access to resources and the ability to obtain cooperation. The second capacity refers to the exercise of influence. Influence is determined by, but not identical to authority. Empirical research has demonstrated that power and influence are distinct constructs (Hinkin and Schriesheim 1990; Yukl, Kim and Falbe 1996). Influence refers to the process by which power is exercised and authority is legitimated and it translates the potentialities of power and authority into the realized action of leadership. Influence is actually revealed in the usage of soft power which makes people to be co-opted and attracted to their respective leaders.

3.4.3 Force

Force is the actual (physical) or threatened (latent) use of coercion to impose one's will on others (Austin, 1999). When leaders imprison or even execute political dissidents, they thus apply force. According to Austin (1999: 273)

> force is the enforcement of obedience used by rulers against their subjects to supplement voluntary acceptance of their authority and to increase the degree of obedience to their commands. The use of force may be violent or not, it may be intended as punishment or as deterrence. Violent force such as imprisonment or execution, are commonly intended to punish disobedience, not to achieve the objective of the original command, except in so far as such force may inhibit future disobedience by other persons.

3.5 Forms or bases of Power

Power comes in various ways, each of which has different effects on the targets of that power. Some derive from individual characteristics, others draw on aspects of organizational structure. Whether they are aware of it or not, professionals use their power to extend their influence to other members of the organization. This is done when they influence the organisational members to follow or not a certain pattern of life or standard operating procedures. Power is not a preserve of the leadership but can be wielded basically by anyone within an organization or functional structure. It could as such be distributed amongst all the hierarchical levels depending on the form that it takes. By and large, decisions within organizations, communities or even nations are affected to a considerable extent by the power in their leaders. Kurt Lewin (1941) revolutionized the study of leadership by introducing the concept of social power in terms of differentials between interpersonal force and resistance. Following Lewin, French and Raven described leadership in terms of differential power relationships. In their classic research on the bases of social power, French and Raven (1996) described five bases of power: reward, coercive, legitimate, referent, and expert power.

3.5.1 Reward Power

Reward power as noted by Lunenburg (2012), is a person's ability to influence others' behaviour by providing them with things they want to receive. Hence in harnessing this form of power, the individual needs to offer things that are appealing to the ones that he or she intends to exercise power over. Reward power according to Lunenburg (2012) is used by making an explicit or implicit promise to give a person something under the leader's control for carrying out a request or performing a task. The reward may however take various forms, with the common form in an organizational setting being financial. In the colonial era, the

whites rewarded those people (kings) who were loyal to them by appointing them as village heads and chiefs though this move alienated the targets of reward from the people since the rewards were issued as inducement for political loyalty. Reward power is based on B's perception that A has the ability to mediate rewards for him or her. If B has the ability to reward his/her team members with items like pay raises, bonuses and consolatory awards, he or she would be in a better position to influence the efforts of others in a manner that sees them attaining the desired outcome.

Hence A would more likely command the attention of his or her peers through those rewards, which would work as performance enhancers, as they will be carrying a motivational effect. Reward power can lead to better performance, as long as the employee sees a clear link between performances and rewards (Nelson and Quick, 2012: 95). In the event that the team members like the reward that is being offered, they would work in greater harmony with the individual who is ushering it out so that they secure their chances of attaining that reward. So long as the reward being offered by the superior is appealing to the subordinate, they will be motivated to achieve, or even exceed the set target, be it quality or quantity.

However, Lunenburg (2012) advocates that prolonged use of reward power can lead to a dependent relationship in which subordinates feel manipulated and become dissatisfied thus making this form of power susceptible to abuse by certain individuals. They would use it to create a scenario that is against other colleagues so as to intimidate them or portray a bad image on them. An individual 'A' may resort to the use of this form of power to mobilize other people against his or her personal foe/competitor. In some instances, the individual may even make use of this form of power in a move to formulate an uprising against those at the top of the hierarchy. Such may be the case for subordinates who offer far more appealing rewards than their competitive superiors, thus posing them as a great threat to leadership authority. The greatest challenge arises when an individual is offering rewards that are not as appealing to the ones that he or she intends to control, (Mabey, 2001:38). Efficiency and effectiveness may as such be compromised as those members of the group would be less motivated to behave in a certain manner. Some individuals may also behave in a negative manner in order to convey their message of dissatisfaction in the reward to the one who is offering it. Thus it is advisable for one to ascertain a group's preferences before trying to implement a reward system to wield power.

The reward system when being made use of by the top management or administrators provides proficiency mainly in the private sector. In the case of one being in a public setup, the reward system may face a variety of challenges that stem from mainly the bottleneck or red tape of the communication channels. It may take someone lengthy procedures and time to claim their dues as and when they will have earned them, and in the end they become disappointed. Also, in the non-governmental organizations, the system may be of less appeal as there would not be much resources to motivate people to act in the efficient manner. Whilst reward power which is synonymous with transactional style of leadership can be used as motivatory, it can conversely have negative effects when used as a tool for patronage which is unfortunately a common practice in Africa. Patronage is used to buy support through abuse of access to and control of state resources and the practice creates intergroup and intragroup tensions between those perceived to be benefiting from illicit rewards and those alienated from the circle and not benefiting. Fierce contestations for public office, excessive bootlicking and deification of office bearers should all be seen as competition for rewards ans this culminates in a corrupt system of relationality.

3.5.2   Expert Power

As expressed by Lunenburg (2012:67), expert power involves a person's ability to influence others' behaviour because of recognized knowledge, skills, or abilities. In order to make use of this form of power, an individual needs to possess an unquestionable level of expertise that others may deem to be above theirs. Expertise acquired by an individual can confer a certain degree of power on him or her (Luthans, 2011:231). For instance, if one is working with other peers on a construction initiative, and that individual is in possession of expert knowledge in that very field, it would be more likely that the individual would be conferred with some level of authority and power over others. Fellow peers would be relying on his or her expertise to get things done in a professional manner, which would in turn arouse satisfaction on the part of clients, and simplify the task at hand. Knowledge is power in today's high-tech workplaces (Kreitner and Kinicki, 2010).

Gaining power in your field of expertise often provides for long lasting benefits on your career as one would be unleashing expert knowledge and experience into action. One would be in possession of a wealth of knowledge on how to navigate the way, as well as the manner in which one would be expected to conduct him or herself. In so doing, there would be less flaws as compared to the initiative having to be presided over by a non-skilled individual. By and large, the expert will be well acquainted with approximately all hurdles that lie ahead of

any decision adhered to. Expert power as advocated by Luneburg (2012:67) is closely related to a climate of trust in which a leader's influence can be internalized by subordinates. When a leader uses expert power, attitudinal conformity and internalized motivation on the part of subordinates will result. Hence, the subordinates will do their work in a manner that calls for less surveillance as they would have placed their trust on the leadership of an expert. One would have less worries about whether the subordinates are working ethically as they would have placed their trust in his/her expertise, thereby following one's every order.

However, this form of power often emanates from informal means rather than official. Without occupying any formal leadership position, one would find him or herself commanding more attention during meetings, with their opinion and ideas having to receive more weight than that of other individuals, (Lunenburg, 2012:67). For instance, in a staff meeting focusing on efficient acquisition and use of information and technology equipment in an organization, the individual with information and technology expertise would be expected to contribute constructive and credible information on the best way forward, even though his/her formal authority is non-existent. They may be placed in a decision making scenario with regards to that initiative, without having to be conferred with a leadership position. Expert power can make the followers to co-operate with the expert leader and this helps in building relationships, fostering teamwork and forging solidarity between and among the leaders and the followers as well as between the followers themselves.

3.5.3 Coercive Power

Coercive power is an individual's ability to influence others' behavior by taking away some privileges as and when they perform in an undesirable manner (Lunenburg, 2012:70). Coercive power is a person's ability to influence others' behavior by punishing them or by creating a perceived threat to do so (ibid). Shaka the Zulu relied on coercive power to run his empire. Coercion and brutal force was used against his opponents, and some of the punishments that he gave to his warriors were brutal, for instance a soldier who returned from the battle with a wound at the back was punished by death as he was regarded as a coward who might have sustained those injuries whilst trying to flee from their opponents (Mbilishaka n.d). Unlike Shaka the Zulu leaders such as Mutapa and Moshoeshoe relied on soft power and persuasion. According to Chibairo (2015) the Mutapa King had a soft way of engaging and influencing followers, gaining loyalty not through brutal force (as was the case with Shaka, Mzilikazi) but by inspiration, and showing trust and mutual respect to the provincial leaders and general populace.

At organisational level, the superiors with coercive power therefore need to be in possession of some enforcement tools like demotion and contract termination when one performs below a set standard. However, it can be noted that the enforcement tools can be irrationally used to settle inter personal scores which are in no way related to organizational outcomes. Lunenburg (2012) advocates that although coercive power may lead to temporary compliance by subordinates, it produces the undesirable side effects of frustration, fear, revenge, and alienation which in turn may lead to poor performance, dissatisfaction and turnover. Coercive leaders are thus more likely to get the bare minimum from their team, who are simply hoping to stay away from trouble, (Daugherty and Williams 2009). It is also believed that dictatorial leaders like Idi Amin, Mobutu Sese Seko among others relied on coercion where they intimidated their followers and the followers out of fear of victimization just accepted everything without questioning (Chidza 2017). The members of the organization who are being coerced by the management within an organization will resort to methods that sees them having to attain a given target, and are as such not motivated to exceed, or inject their personal skills and abilities in doing their work. In the end, employees would shy away from excellence, creativeness and innovativeness.

Most organizations according to Lunenburg (2012:71) have clearly defined policies on employee treatment. This came into being as it was noted that management was abusing this form of power to further their personal agendas. It thus witnessed the rise of unions also, which in turn weakens the operational effectiveness of coercive power considerably as they thrive for healthy working environment both physically and psychologically. Therefore, coercive power ought to be used with caution to avoid future costs on the part of the organization through the ignorance of the management. It is through unions that various forms of coercion are fast becoming obsolete as they are considered to be more inhuman. Coercion is a bad practice which ignores the will of the people and forces people to do what they would not have done willingly.

3.5.4   Referent Power

As put forward by Jones and York (2016: 23) referent power is an individual person's ability to influence others' behaviour because they like, admire, or respect the individual. King Moshoeshoe for example, possessed a likeable character, he was greatly admired and respected for his tactfulness and diplomatic strategies. One therefore requires some form of personal charm or charisma among other things that he or she could make use of. Referent power involves the feeling of oneness between the powerful and the subject or a desire for

such an identity. Those who have power under this instance do not necessarily have any logical reason for having come to power, yet they still hold sway over many people for some reason, (Lunenburg, 2012:73). An example is in the colonial era in Zimbabwe, when spirit mediums and leaders such as Mbuya Nehanda, Sekuru Kaguvi, Lobengula, Chamunika among others led the people against the white colonial settlers on the basis of the charisma that was embedded in their divine capabilities as they connected with the ancestral spirits (*midzimu*) and the Creator (*Musikavanhu*). Referent power is based, in part, upon the subject's attraction to a powerful personality, (Craig and Douglas, 2006). A charismatic leader can also be a source of referent power. Accordingly, Tosi et al. (2004:320), connote that a referent leader can ignite an entire nation. The greater the attraction, the greater the identification, and consequently the greater the referent power.

Everyone would be affiliated to, and would want to be associated with the charismatic leader. For example, Mahatma Ghandhi was a great charismatic leader of his time who commanded great respect from his Indian followers when he advocated for non-violent civil disobedience against the colonial masters (Logan 2008). Because of his firm commitment to the principle of non violence against the oppressors, Ghandhi had a strong influence over the followers. They in turn were loyal and respectful of their leader. Jones and York (2016:32) argue that since referent power emanates from an individual's admiration for another, it could lead to enthusiastic and unquestionable trust, compliance, loyalty and commitment. This is really amenable to Ubuntu which requires people to be committed and honesty to each other and to their leaders. Therefore, the leaders would not have to give much surveillance on their subordinates as they would be acting in good faith. However, the leader may develop so much trust in a subordinate to the extent of not crosschecking their work for any flaws as required of them. The followers themselves will also, in some instances, not question the authority or orders by their leader, regardless of the fact that they may be asked to act outside their jurisdiction. Hence, it should be exercized with greater caution.

3.6 Understanding the interconnection between Power and Leadership

Earlier on, leadership has been defined as a proactive social influence process intended to change behavior, beliefs or value of followers. The various definitions integrate several streams of organizational or national dimensions to leadership which include the sources of power and authority, the nature of the relationship between leader and follower and the

influence processes that mediate that relationship. Leadership does not exist without power and studies have to reflect on power in order to lay a theoretical foundation of responsible leadership. Literature on power is marked by a deep disagreement over the basic definition of power (Luhmann, 1969:35). The difference between leadership and power might not be easy to discern. The more scholars look into the subjects the more they come to the realization that leadership and power might be the same thing. In any situation where one person is deemed to be the leader, they are likely also the person with the most power to make decisions and to influence other people's decisions.

Leadership happens within the power and authority structures of nations and organizations. The body of research on the influence processes of leadership has focused on organizations with clear hierarchical lines of power and authority between boss, subordinate and peer. Leadership according to Armstrong (2009:23) entails the capacity to inspire individuals to give their best to achieve a desired result and to maintain effective relationships with individuals and the team as a whole. Hence, it is the capacity of someone to lead a group of people, which can be made imminent by the existence of power. Leadership involves moving others, and moving others requires power. Power is passive and leadership is active, thus one can have power without being a leader, while it is quite impossible for someone to be a leader without power, as some forms of power are attached to a given position. For instance, someone with referent power may not necessarily be a leader, but just someone with some degree of control on others. Legitimate power however comes with the position of leadership and hence leadership and power are intertwined.

Leaders use power to lead. Power and leadership often work hand in hand, with some scholars equating them to be the same. Leadership is closely related to power, and those who do not have the capacity to act are hardly able to lead (Armstrong, 2009:25). In any instance those considered to be in leadership, are the very individuals who are deemed to command a great deal of power than any other. There are some forms of power like legitimate and coercive power that are not easily attainable unless one is in leadership. If you find yourself in a position of leadership, it is safe to say that you command a great deal of power as well. Hence, one who is in leadership incorporates the forms of power that are available to everyone and those that are the preserve of the leadership.

According to Bennis (2007) leadership is the relationship between leaders followers and a common goal. Triangulation of the three thereof requires power to be chipped in so as to

make meaningful and fruitful outcomes. Hence power can be thought of as the driving force behind that link, and the process of selecting the best form of power for the right purpose leads to effective leadership. For instance, the production manager in an organization will have set targets for his or her followers, and in order to ensure that the target is met, he or she may attach some bonus rewards for exceeding the targets into the equation, thereby making use of reward power. Thus, power unifies the leaders and subordinates towards the same cause. Furthermore, in helping groups achieve their goals, leaders typically are given power, defined in terms of their relative ability to control group resources, (Keltner et al. 2003:634). If there is no definition of power with regards to who would be in charge of valuable resources, the organization or institution would be characterized by chaos. Thus, certain individuals need to be commissioned to allocate resources in an efficient and effective manner. Power struggles in a move to control these resources will also be minimized as the case may be.

In addition, with power, leaders have the ability to influence behaviour, to change the course of events, to overcome resistance and to get people to do things that they would not otherwise do. Power according to Jones and York (2016) is one of the many tools that are at the disposal of a leader, whereas leadership is an acquired skill. While Leadership is the action of guiding a group of people, power is the ability and capacity to act in a move to be effective. A leader needs to adopt the right form of power which complements the desired actions. It can thus be thought of as a function of power, in which effective leadership is not based on having power, but rather on how the leader uses the power (Sims, 2002:41). In simple terms, all effective leaders have power but not all powerful people are effective leaders, as such, being a leader means you inherently have power. Arguably, Jones and York (2016:58) asserts that leadership inspires and makes followers while power terrorizes and makes people follow commands out of fear. Here it is implied that leadership encourages creativity and innovativeness, as subordinates are given the opportunity to make decisions that are feasible for them, however, with power is implied the use of force. Leadership thus inculcates a feeling of independence and involvement while power instills and perpetuates fear.

Leadership is the exercise of power; therefore leaders must develop the proper bases of organizational power in order to use it effectively and efficiently in influencing others (Daugherty and Williams, 2009:39). Those in leadership should therefore be aware of the various forms of power and the consequences that come with the adoption each. For instance,

it is not proper to adopt coercive power with regards to sales and marketing initiatives, but more proper for leaders to adopt reward power so as to reach targets. Hence, a firm understanding of the forms of power better equips those in leadership to make informed and appropriate decisions. Whilst an individual may exercise power without necessarily being a leader for example expert power, no individual can be an effective leader without power. Leadership is the exercise of power and influence hence it is prudent to develop the proper bases of organisational and institutional power and authority.

Power is not only the preserve of the leaders as it is rotational and cyclical in nature and form. In support of this, it can be noted that power must therefore be analyzed as something that circulates, (Scott and Hirschkind 2006:92). Power may be in the hands of one person in one instance, and then next it will be in the hands of another, which is the same scenario with leadership, with the frequency of dynamics being less with power than leadership. A functional manager serves the organization at a given position for a number of years, and when the term expires, the position would be given to another. The same goes with power dynamics in which one individual may have a great degree of power at one moment than the other, but the power switches hands within a short period depending on circumstances. In organisations people at different levels enjoy, exhibit and practice different forms and types of power.

Nevertheless, even though power and leadership often go hand in hand, those in leadership typically have significant responsibilities to the nation at large. Misplaced or misused power can disrupt leadership processes. Unethical leadership or deceitful power plays can reduce morale, impact productivity and damage a nation's economic, social and political environment. As argued by Case and Maner (2013), since power is operationally defined as having control over resources, which affords it therefore on the capacity to influence others by bestowing or withholding those resources. Instead of wielding their power for the greater good, some leaders may be tempted to use their power in self-serving way. Although followers often need leaders to achieve important goals, providing leaders with power can make follower susceptible to exploitation. Previous researches and literature has identified a variety of ways in which power can lead to negative behavior. Power in some instances causes leaders to become disinhibited, increasing the likelihood that they will act on their (sometimes selfish) impulses, rather than thinking carefully about what is best for the group (Galinsky, Gruenfeld and Magee, 2003, Keltner, Gruenfield and Anderson, 2003).

3.6.1 African conception of power

Power in Africa is arguably different from power in the rest of the world. Accordingly, Jeffrey Herbst examined the state and its formation in Africa and explained that power in the pre-colonial Africa was said to be radiating in concentric circles. While in Europe power, strengths of power were set on the outskirts of territorial control in the form of fortresses and garrisons in order to prevent the seizure of their territory from rivals. African states concentrated power centrally (Capriolli 2004). This principally stemmed from the fact that tracts of land to population ratios were much higher in pre-colonial Africa when compared to the 18th century Europe. Africans lived in villages and empires which were as a result of the geographic obstacles that prevented state structures larger than a village from forming (Herbst 2000). Hence, the availability of land and the lack of a need to defend it was a major factor in the difference of state power projection in Africa compared to European states. The faces of power in Africa as noted by Michael Schatzberg rest on the idea of a family and this power take the form of religion, consumption, spirituality and indivisibility. The notion of family revolves on the social philosophy of Ubuntu which holds highly the values of belonging and communitarianism. People should have the sense of belonging and this is a primary aspect undergirding the African community. Unlike the Western individualistic and atomistic orientation, the African lifestyle believes in oneness and togetherness of the family.

In light of this, it can noted that power in the African context is perceived as the ability to lead the people who are under one's control and leadership. In light of this, Kings were viewed as the custodians of the power to lead, distribute resources and adjudicate over disputes among other functions. The Kings and Chiefs in Africa were divinely appointed with the spirit mediums being at the fore-front selecting these leaders. This endowed them with absolute power as the subject believed that defying the King's orders and instructions tantamounted to disobeying the ancestors (*midzimu*). So given such a scenario traditional leaders were viewed as God-given leaders who should be reverenced at all cost by their subjects. Ethnic leaders and chiefs enjoyed considerable support and popularity across communities (Baldwin 2010). In addition, the fact that leaders also stood guided by the instructions of the spirit mediums placed some checks and balances on the conduct of the leaders and they were compelled to use their powers in the common good of the society. In most cases leaders who did not have the capacity to directly communicate with the ancestors usually appointed a spirit medium (or a fetish priest) in his advisory role and the King would speak and implement the desires of the ancestors hence making them more respectable.

Leaders in the African context occupied a number of strategic positions and performed numerous functions. The leaders served as a spiritual leader who normally was seen to be at the fore-front during the rain-making ceremonies *(Mukwerera)*. They also served as economic leaders especially when they spearheaded the Zunde raMambo food security schemes. It can also be noted that Chief Mutota of the Mutapa State played a crucial role in enhancing the economic well-being of his empire. According to Chibairo (2015) the Mutapa King created a stable state by managing the economy thus the empire enjoyed a thriving diversified economy for centuries. In addition, it can be noted that the Mutapa King established some networks and relationships with some foreign powers most important was Portugal with whom they exchanged or traded a number of merchandise. During war times leaders played a critical role in instructing the war commanders, in certain instances, they actively participated in the warfare as was the case with Mzilikhazi of the Ndebeles and Shaka the Zulu.

Whilst the above exposition presents a rather smooth and unproblematic dimension of power relations in pre-colonial Africa, the post-colonial situation is more complex and remains thinly researched. There is need for thorough research in order to come up with a template which can define the rules of power play in statecraft. Power in the post-colonial state is influenced by many external and internal factors and the most significant arises from dependence occasioned by the dire state of poverty and debt. Resultantly those with power and money call the shorts hence the saying *anemari ndiye mukuru* (the highly resourced regardless is the boss). Because of poverty and debt the post-colonial state is dependent on the former colonizers for funding and endorsement and resultantly the African leaders have no freedom of maneuver, their policies have to be endorsed by the former master who will impose their will through multiple agencies such as donor NGOs and funding institutions. These imposed conditionalities are at times not in the interest of the indigenous peoples. ESAP in Zimbabwe is an example. It must on the contrary be noted that whilst the colonial master has the upper hand they also want African resources and this need creates a dual dependence. In this duality the colonial masters can also conspire to endorse despotic leadership in return for access to resources and in the final analysis the loser is the common man- the followers.

In the internal arena, depending on level of sophistication, training and resource base, the military is the undisputed power broker. Without the support of the military its almost

impossible to survive as a leader. Egypt, Nigeria, Uganda, Rwanda and Angola are examples of regimes which are fully backed or controlled by the military. Recent events in Zimbabwe demonstrated that the might of the sword is more profound than political slogans. State capture through the influence of strong business is another face of power which is a rather old phenomenon only surfacing now with the exposure of occurrences such as Guptagate in South Africa. I say it's an old phenomenon because throughout the liberation struggles of Africa there were business interests which resourced the guerilla armies behind the scenes in a deliberate anticipatory prepositioning strategy. These are some of the interests which result in leaders losing their focus of service to the people. They end up serving the dictates of money interests in a blackmail like relationship.

Ethnic relations, old boy networks and shadow spousal influences are also significant dynamics in the power games. The down fall of Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe is partly attributable to the garrulousness of a power hungry wife who usurped state power through a 'Bedroom coup'. Whilst not publicly acknowledged, relatives and oldboy networks also play a big role in power plays and usually conspire to loot. The sad dimensions of all the above discussed power influences is that they all conspire to share a cake which they have not baked. They view power and influence as a chance to access resources expressed in the following manner " *Inguva yedu yekumbosevawo" (* It is our time to share the spoils) and from this you will get the negative consequences of plunder of state resources which is unlike in the West were elites come together to protect privilege in the creation of wealth which will in turn collaterally benefit the majority. From the above it is prudent that research is directed at finding a mechanism to harness all potential power blocks in state and institutional arrangements for the benefit of the common good. The BEE in SA and indigenisation in Zimbabwe were good efforts at using state resources for creating wealth through existential networks of struggle comrades and supporters. What lacked in these policies though was the apportionment of power to beneficiaries in a manner intended to strengthen state institutions.

3.7 Conclusion

In concluding the debate on the theories of power what appears to be a common thread is that power is an everyday phenomena governing social interaction at levels ranging from individual, group, organizational or even state to state in international relations. It has been variously defined as power over something or power to do something hence the bottom line conclusion can be that power is dynamic, it is fluid, its exercise and effects are felt

differently. There is no one group, individual or group with express monopoly of power but rather it remains a contested area, it is a limited resource and those who have it "move society" so to speak. The Functionalist theory of power sees it as a collective national resource, Democratic pluralist theory of power sees power dispersed and located in the many, the elite theory sees power in the hands of a few privileged, The Marxist class theory sees power as contested between the rich and the poor, the haves and have nots and the feminists see power as domination by men hence they see the need to develop more gender sensitive models of power such as transformative and empowerment approaches to power. All theories are therefore relevant to the study of power which can never be a one size fits all.

The chapter also analyzed the various sources, forms and bases of power and how they are employed in leading people. Power comes in various ways, each of which has different effects on the targets of that power. Some derive from individual characteristics, others draw on aspects of organizational structure. Whether they are aware of it or not, professionals use their power to extend their ethics (or lack of ethics) to other members of the organization. This is done when they influence the organizational members to follow or not a certain pattern of life or standard operating procedures. Power is not a preserve of the leadership but can be wielded by basically anyone within an organization or functional structure. The chapter examined reward power, expert power, coercive power and referent power as the bases of power.

The chapter explored the interconnection between power and leadership. In conclusion, the chapter unpacked the notion of power as understood in the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Africa. In this discourse on power it was noted that in both the Western and pre-colonial Africa dispensations, power and leadership were, and in the case of the contemporary Western practice, remain a tool for enabling positive change for the good of followers. In the case of the classical Western persuasion whether in plural democracy or elitism, the key feature of reference is the need for strong governance institutions as a check against abuse of state power. However the situation of post-colonial Africa has marked a tragic departure from the past where majority of leaders with a few exceptions believe in 'strong man ' rule, weak institutions and even failed governments which will facilitate pillage of state resources, so often you hear about the 'one centre of power' which bestows all state power in the hands of one individual, no wonder Lord Acton would say, "power corrupts and

absolute power corrupts absolutely". With this line of argument it is in no doubt therefore that the Western models of power and leadership may not be the best for post-colonial Africa.

CHAPTER FOUR: EXAMINING THE NEED FOR ETHICS IN LEADERSHIP

4.1 Introduction

The upsurge in failed leadership cases in governments and both public and private organizations and institutions is being highly magnified through failed economies, high unemployment rates, poor service delivery, immorality, lack of accountability and transparency, denial of justice as well as uncontrollable corruption at all levels of society. The situation has manifested in anarchy where life is now based on the law of the jungle where survival is for the fittest. The societal morale compass is totally lost and in order to redeem the situation there is an urgent need for an appropriate moral rebirth at all levels of society. It is for this reason that the need for ethics in Sothern Africa is more urgent now than ever before because naturally with leaders being the torch bearers with the power and authority to influence followers, their commitment to ethics must be total so that society can once again return to the virtuous path of justice, equality and freedom where the good life is guaranteed through commitment to the common good. The chapter will therefore discuss the subject of ethics from a theoretical perspective before applying it to leadership. Towards the end of this theoretical discussion of ethics a comparatively review the different approaches to ethical leadership between the contemporary West and post-colonial Africa.

4.2 Ethical leadership: Defining the Construct

According to Mogobe Ramose (1999), ethics is defined as "the science of morality that is the study of the meaning of good and bad with reference to human behavior". And in the same vein, Martin Prozesky (2016: 7) posit that ethics must answer three questions namely;

> what should we understand by goodness? How should we live if we would give effect to the good and deny the bad? Why should we do so? In answering the above questions, moral goodness is living in ways which promote durable, inclusive wellbeing through generosity, harmlessness and truthfulness and to achieve this we must assign to the interests of others an importance we assign to our own which ultimately is the only long lasting way to achieve maximum, sustainable, inclusive wellbeing.

Ethical leaders speak to us about our identity, what we are and what we can become, how we live and how we could live better (Freeman and Stewart 2006).

From a classical perspective ethics is a philosophical term originating from Greek word "*ethos*" meaning custom or character. It is concerned with describing and prescribing moral

requirements and behaviors, which suggests that there are acceptable and unacceptable ways of behaving that serve as a function of philosophical principles (Minkes, Small, and Chatterjee 1999). Ethical behavior is defined as behavior which is morally accepted as "good" and "right" as opposed to "bad" or "wrong" in a given situation (Sims 1992). Ethics is the code of values and moral principles that guides individual or group behaviour with respect to what is right or wrong. Ethical behaviour is both legally and morally acceptable to the larger community (Trevino 1986). Ethical dilemmas though, are present in uncertain situations, in which different interests, values, beliefs pertaining to multiple stakeholders are in conflict. Narrowly, in an organizational context, ethics can be viewed as a frank conversation about those values and issues most important to stakeholders and to business. In a way, it is a continuous discovery and reaffirmation and evaluation of own values and principles (Freeman and Stewart 2006). Ethical behaviour in organizational context has been most frequently described in terms of ethical standards of senior leaders (CEOs) and the culture to which they substantially contribute (DeGeorge 1986). As such, leaders are supposed to be instrumental in spearheading core values and principles that are aimed at enhancing the effective and smooth running of their respective organisations.

We define leadership as the art of persuading a follower to want to do the things, activities that the leader sets as goals. The role of leaders is therefore in the process of directing the individual's behavior towards a desired goal. Leadership styles do vary in accordance with personality traits of the individual. Some leaders, particularly charismatic and transformational, have personal power through which they engage employees, whereas others exert the positional and legitimate power (Trevino 1986). Leaders are characterized by different values, attitudes, beliefs, habits and practices and that is to a certain extent dependent upon the organizational, professional or institutional culture. These values constitute the ethical framework that determine the way in which organisations are run. Leadership signifies a relation between a leader and his followers within a situational and organizational context. According to Rost (1993) leadership is a power and value-laden relationship between leaders and followers/constituents who in turn effect changes that reflect their mutual purposes and goals. Leadership in the context of normative organizational ethics would be defined with regard to how individuals should or ought to behave in an organization. This includes speculations about criteria that define ethical decisions and personality characteristics. Ethical leadership is crucial and vital in providing direction that enables the organization to fulfil its mission and vision and achieve declared goals (Kanungo

and Mendonca 1996). Ethical leadership is regarded as a key factor in the management of an organization's reputation in the external environment and in comparison with competitors (Blanchard and Peale 1996; Kanungo and Mendonca 1996).

An organization's moral health depends upon the standards and the example of the chief executive (Kelly 1990). The CEO's moral standards cascade down the organization as they are the torch bearers of the organization. As the saying goes, the fish rots from the head, implying that if the CEO is of a questionable moral standing then the moral health of the entire organization will be at stake. According to Hitt senior leadership has two key responsibilities: that is to ensure that ethical decisions are made; and to develop an organizational climate in which ethical conduct is fostered among followers within the organization (Hitt 1990). Thus, it is the strategic duty of senior leadership to ensure that decisions are made as ethically as possible as well as create an environment that engenders subordinates to be ethical in their conduct. Over and above, it is the duty of the senior management to establish ethical values, systems, strategies and channels that can help bolster the ethical health of the entire organization. This therefore contributes to the greater good, an attribute that underpins Ubuntu.

Similarly Velasquez (2012: 2) observed that, broadly ethics is the discipline that examines one's moral standards or the moral standards of a society to evaluate their reasonableness and their implications for one's life. In an organization, ethics are the standards and values used to govern one's activities and decisions. Susan Mullane (2009: 2) provides that, an understanding of ethics begins with an analysis of values, both individual and organizational and effective leaders must be aware of their values, morals and system of ethics and ethical decision making. As such ethics are set principles that guide the organization in its projects and programs, policies and decisions for the business. The ethical choices made by any leader can affect the reputation, productivity and vision of the organization. The regular method in attempting to deal with the ethical responsibilities of leaders has been declaration of codes, strategies and other guidance standards. Every organization therefore, ought to create and utilize a progression of ethical guidelines to get by, in which all staff stick to the organization's shared qualities among its expert structure, and the hence, leaders of the organization benefit from it (Armstrong 2009). The ethics that leaders in an organization use to manage employees may have an effect on the morale and loyalty of workers. The code of ethics leaders use determines discipline procedures and the acceptable behaviour for all workers in an organization (Baporikar 2017: 174). That is to say, when leaders have high

ethical standards, it encourages workers in the organization (or citizens in the nation) to meet that same level. For example, some African leaders can be hailed for their embodiment of the principle of Ubuntu and sound ethical leadership as their leadership has fully demonstrated their values.

According to Mangena (2011: 112) these leaders include former South African president Nelson Mandela, former Botswana president Sir Seretse Khama and Thomas Sankara, the former president of the Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso) among others. Such great iconic leaders have inculcated some nuances of ethical leadership in their followers. In support of this, Malunga (2009) asserts that as role models, the leader legitimizes his or her relationship by a commitment to such African values as honesty, sincerity, truthfulness, compassion, empathy, dignity and respect for others. At organizational level,

> leaders and employees adhering to a code of ethics create an ethical organizational culture. The leaders of a business may create an ethical culture by exhibiting the type of behaviour they would like to see in employees. Organizations can reinforce ethical behaviour by rewarding employees who exhibit the values and integrity that coincides with the company code of ethics and disciplining those who make the wrong choices (http://www.mjminter.co.za/index.php/the-importance-of-ethics-in-organisations/).

A peer review system on ethical behaviour may be an invaluable tool for maintaining high moral standards.

4.3 Theoretical Foundations of Ethics

Ethical theories provide part of the decision-making foundation for decision making when ethics are in play because these theories represent the viewpoints from which individuals seek guidance as they make decisions. Each theory emphasizes different points– a different decision-making style or a decision rule -such as predicting the outcome and following one's duties to others in order to reach what the individual considers an ethically correct decision (http://www.dsef.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/EthicalTheories.pdf). This also means that cases with extenuating circumstances must contain a significant and vital difference from similar cases that justify the inconsistent decision. As such ethical theories create some value systems that help forge solid and sound leadership practices. According to Ncube (2010:79) values reflect the most basic characteristic of adaptations that guide individuals in deciding into which situations they should enter and what they should do in them. To that effect values are crucial in determining the decisions to be made at both macro and micro levels of governance. In order to understand ethical decision making, it is important for employees or

the citizens to realize that not everyone makes decisions in the same way, using the same information, employing the same decision rules. In order to further understand ethical theory, there must be some understanding of a common set of principles that decision makers seek to achieve in order to be successful. Four of these principles include beneficence, least harm, respect for autonomy, and justice.

4.3.1 Ethical Principles
4.3.1.1 Beneficence

According to Ross (1988) beneficence is a concept which states that researchers should have the welfare of the research participant as a goal of any clinical trial or other research study. As such, in the leadership discourse, it can be argued that beneficence should imply that leaders should have the welfare of their followers at heart. As such, the leaders should not practice evil or do harm, thus, one should prevent evil or harm as well as remove evil or harm. In light of this, beneficence is considered to be an obligation on the part of the leaders to bring about good in all their actions (Levine 1988). The principle of beneficence guides the decision of the leader to do what is right and good. This priority to "do good" makes an ethical solution possible to towards the resolution of an ethical dilemma acceptable. The principle of beneficence is also related to the ethical theory of utilitarianism which states that we should attempt to generate the greatest good for the greatest number of people. This principle stipulates that ethical theories should strive to achieve the greatest amount of good because many people stand to benefit from the greatest good.

In the light of this discussion, the principle of beneficence is directly related to the values of Ubuntu of selflessness and promoting the common good against evil in the world. According to other scholars such Masango, African leaders should focus their energies on achieving common goals, thus upholding the true values of beneficence. It is important for people in leadership to recognize this aspect because building relationships with others is the hallmark of good leadership (Masango 2002: 716). However, there are some notable challenges that are associated with the observance of beneficence as an ethical principle. According to Ross (1988) many people share the view that when it is necessary to do so, people should help each other, however the situation becomes more complicated when one person can help another by making various degrees of sacrifice. In addition, beneficence requires that people (leaders) should take positive steps to prevent harm, however, adopting this principle frequently places us in direct conflict with respecting the autonomy of other persons and this becomes a real ethical dilemma which must be dealt with.

4.3.1.2 Least Harm

According to Zachary, Vogt and Lit (2014), the least harm ethical principle states that when in a situation where one must decide between two or more unbeneficial choices, they must choose the choice that yields the least harm to the least amount of people. Like the principle of beneficence, least harm principle deals with situations in which no choice appears beneficial. In such cases, decision makers seek to choose to do the least harm possible and to do harm to the fewest people. Followers might argue that people have a greater responsibility to "do no harm" than to take steps to benefit others. For example, a student has a larger responsibility to simply walk past a teacher in the hallway rather than to make derogatory remarks about that teacher as he/she walks past even though the student had failed that teacher's class. According to Premasiri (1975) the first prerequisite for a system of ethics is the notion of free will, secondly the distinction between good and bad and thirdly the notion of causation in relation to moral action.

de Silva (1990:64) observed that the most well-known and important analysis is the ten-fold evil actions, which are in turn related to the three roots of evil: killing, stealing, enjoying sensual pleasures of a wrong nature, false speech, slanderous speech and frivolous talk as well as intense greed, malevolence and wrong view. In dealing with the notion of least harm, all these ten-fold evil actions must be avoided, and the avoidance of these evil actions is tantamount to causing least harm (Zachary et al 2014). Over and above, the least harm principle is a moderately stable ethical principle, despite the fact that it does not always yield positive results; it yields the best possible outcome for a situation. It is necessary for leaders who deal with matters concerning the wellbeing of their followers to follow this principle.

4.3.1.3 Respect for Autonomy

According to Pantialat (2008) autonomy is the personal rule of the self that is free from both controlling interferences by others and from personal limitations that prevent meaningful choices. The fact that people (employees/ followers/ subordinates) are rational, self-determining beings who are capable of making judgements and decisions they should be respected as such and permitted to do so and supported with truthful and accurate information and no coercion. This principle states that decision making should focus on allowing people to be autonomous—to be able to make decisions that apply to their lives. Thus, people should have control over their lives as much as possible because they are the only people who completely understand their chosen type of lifestyle. Each individual deserves respect because only he/she has had those unique life experiences, emotions, motivations, and

physical capabilities which they understand in such an intimate manner. Leaders have an obligation to create the conditions necessary for autonomous choices in others. For a leader respect for autonomy includes respecting an individual's right to self-determination as well as creating the conditions necessary for autonomous choices in others (Pantilat 2008).

In essence, this ethical principle is an extension of the ethical principle of beneficence because a person who is independent usually prefers to have control over his life experiences in order to obtain the lifestyle that he/she enjoys. The need to respect one's ideas, views and position requires tough commitment on the part of the leader because whilst accommodating and granting the autonomy of others, the leaders should be able to stand by their own principles. According to Mangena (2011:120) toughness is desirable as it is tantamount to standing by one's principles only if they promote the common will. Such a leader is by and large free willed and autonomous to execute some decisions for the benefit of those whom he leads without any compromise. In short, leaders should promote autonomous behaviour to the subordinates by presenting all work options to the subordinates, explaining risks in terms that subordinates understand, ensuring that a subordinate understands the risks and agrees to all procedures before undertaking a task.

4.3.1.4 Justice

According to Levine (1988) we have an obligation to provide others with whatever they are owed or deserve. Thus in public life we have an obligation to treat all people equally, fairly and impartially. The justice ethical principle states that decision makers should focus on actions that are fair to those involved. This means that ethical decisions should be consistent with the ethical theory unless extenuating circumstances that can be justified exist in the case. Accordingly, all involved should have equal entitlements, equal access to benefits and burdens as equal cases should be treated in a similar fashion. Justice calls for people to be treated alike regardless of need, contributions and effort. According to Rawls similar cases are to receive the same treatment. For individuals, the ethical theory they employ for decision making guidance emphasizes aspects of an ethical dilemma important to them and leads them to the most ethically correct resolution according to the guidelines within the ethical theory itself (http://www.dsef.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/EthicalTheories.pdf).

4.3.2   Ethical Theories

According to the internet encyclopedia of philosophy, the field of ethics or moral philosophy involves systematizing, defending and recommending concepts of right and wrong behaviour. Philosophers usually divide these concepts or theories into three general categories or subject

areas as meta ethics, normative ethics and applied ethics (https://www.iep.utm.edu/ethics/; http://www.deeperweb.com/business-research/business-ethics/applying-utilitarianism-to-business-ethics-research-trends-surveys.html). Normative ethics which is our point of focus includes Kantian Duty based ethics (deontology) utilitarianism, rights based and virtue ethics. These will be discussed as follows.

4.3.2.1 Deontology
The deontological position to ethics and leadership is premised on the notion that the important aspects of how we ought to live are governed by the moral rules that ought not to be broken. According to Davis in Singer (1990:205) deontologist believe that the right is not to be defined in terms of the good and they reject the idea that the good is prior to the right as they believe that there is no clear specifiable relation between doing right and doing good as is the position held by the consequentialists. In buttressing this, Fried (1978:9) connotes that the goodness of the ultimate consequences does not guarantee the rightness of the actions which produced them. The deontological class of ethical theories states that people should adhere to their obligations and duties when engaged in decision making when ethics are in play. In other words, actions of the people are not always concerned with justice, beneficence or autonomy for an individual if oppressing the individual leads to the solution that benefits a majority of people (Singer 1990:205). This means that a person will follow his or her obligations to another individual or society because upholding one's duty is what is considered ethically correct. For instance, a deontologist will always keep his promises to a friend and will follow the law. A person who adheres to deontological theory will produce very consistent decisions since they will be based on the individual's set duties.

Deontology contains many positive attributes, but it also contains flaws. One flaw is that there is no rationale or logical basis for deciding an individual's duties. For instance, a businessperson may decide that it is his/her duty to always be on time to meetings. Although this appears to be something good, we do not know why the person chose to make this his duty. Sometimes, a person's duties are in conflict. For instance, if the business person who must be on time to meetings is running late, how is he/she supposed to drive? Is speeding breaking his/her duty to society to uphold the law, or is the businessperson supposed to arrive at the meeting late, not fulfilling the duty to be on time? The deontologists believe that it is not the badness of the consequences of a particular lie, or of lying that make it wrong to lie; rather, lies are wrong because of the sorts of things they are, and are thus wrong even when they foreseeably produce good consequences (Nagel 1986; Donagan 1977; Fried 1978). In

line with this, it can be noted that avoidance of wrongdoing by both the leaders and the followers is the principal component to the success and viability of the nation and of the organisations.The deontological perspectives is however in sharp contrast with the consequentialist perspective which believes that we ought always to do whatever has the best consequences.

4.3.2.2 Utilitarianism

Utilitarian ethical theories are based on one's ability to predict the consequences of an action. To a utilitarian, the choice that yields the greatest benefit to the most people is the one that is ethically correct (Singer 1990:239). There are two types of utilitarianism, that is act utilitarianism and rule utilitarianism. Act utilitarianism subscribes precisely to the definition of utilitarianism—a person performs the acts that benefit the most people, regardless of personal feelings or the societal constraints such as laws. While as, the rule utilitarianism facet takes into account the law and is concerned with fairness. A rule utilitarian seeks to benefit the most people but through the fairest and most just means available. Therefore, added benefits of rule utilitarianism are that it values justice and includes beneficence at the same time. It can thus be noted that both act and rule utilitarianism have disadvantages. Although people can use their life experiences to attempt to predict outcomes, no one can be certain that his/her predictions will be accurate. Uncertainty can lead to unexpected results making the utilitarian decision maker appear unethical as time passes, as the choice made did not benefit the most people as predicted.

Another assumption that a utilitarian decision maker must make concerns his/her ability to compare the various types of consequences against each other on a similar scale (Singer 1990). But, comparing material gains, such as money, against intangible gains, such as happiness, is very difficult since their qualities differ to such a large extent. An act utilitarian decision maker is concerned with achieving the maximum good. Thus, one individual's rights may be infringed upon in order to benefit a greater number of people. Accordingly, Murove (2005:179) opines that the community of existence is chiefly characterized by a process of giving and receiving within the complexity of relationships. That being the case, the ethical implications of atomic individualism, self-sufficiency, liberalism of neutrality and utility maximization (integral components to the theory of self-interest) are abstractions from our common existence with everything else that shares this life with us. So by and large a utilitarian decision maker sacrifices the rights of the individual for the common benefit of the majority.

Still another source of challenge with act utilitarian decision makers occurs when an individual faces one set of variable conditions and then suddenly experiences changes in those conditions (Singer 1990). The change in conditions may lead to a change in the original decision—being nice to someone one moment and then dislike them the next moment because the situation has changed, and liking the person is no longer beneficial to the most people. In rule utilitarianism, there is the possibility of conflicting rules. Recall the example of the business person running late for a meeting. Suppose the business person happens to be the CEO, who may believe that it is ethically correct to arrive at important meetings on time as the members of the company will benefit from this decision. The CEO may encounter conflicting ideas about what is ethically correct if he/she is running late. Yet, the CEO believes that he/she should follow the law because this benefits society. Simultaneously, he/she believes that it is ethically correct to be on time for his meeting because it is a meeting that also benefits the society. There appears to be no ethically correct answer for this scenario.

4.3.2.3 Rights

In ethical theories based on rights, the rights established by a society are protected and given the highest priority. Rights are considered to be ethically correct and valid since a large population endorses them. Individuals may also bestow rights upon others if they have the ability and resources to do so. For example, a person may say that her friend may borrow her laptop for the afternoon. The friend who was given the ability to borrow the laptop now has a right to the laptop in the afternoon. A major complication of this theory on a larger scale is that one must decipher what the characteristics of a right are in a society. The society has to determine what rights it wants to uphold and give to its citizens. In order for a society to determine what rights it wants to enact, it must decide what the society's goals and ethical priorities are. Therefore, in order for the rights theory to be useful, it must be used in conjunction with another ethical theory that will consistently explain the goals of the society. For example in America people have the right to choose their religion because this right is upheld in the Constitution. One of the goals of the Founding Fathers' of America was to uphold this right to freedom of religion.

4.3.2.4 Virtue

The virtue ethical theory judges a person by his/her character rather than by an action that may deviate from his/her normal behaviour. It takes the person's morals, reputation, and motivation into account when rating an unusual and irregular behaviour that is considered

unethical. For instance, if a person plagiarized a passage that was later detected by a peer, the peer who knows the person well will understand the person's character and will judge the friend accordingly. If the plagiarizer normally follows the rules and has good standing amongst his colleagues, the peer who encounters the plagiarized passage may be able to judge his friend more leniently. Perhaps the researcher had a late night and simply forgot to credit his or her source appropriately. Conversely, a person who has a reputation for academic misconduct is more likely to be judged harshly for plagiarizing because of his/her consistent past of unethical behaviour. One weakness of virtue ethical theory is that it does not take into consideration a person's change in moral character. For example, a scientist who may have made mistakes in the past may honestly have the same late night story as the scientist in good standing. Neither of these scientists intentionally plagiarized, but the act was still committed. On the other hand, a researcher may have a sudden change from moral to immoral character may go unnoticed until a significant amount of evidence mounts up against him/her.

4.4 Leader – Follower Relationship and Unethical Behaviour

It is not enough to espouse high standards. To live up to them – and help others do the same – requires an ethical cast of mind that lets you practice your principles consistently (Kannair 2007: 51). Being ethical is about playing fair, thinking about welfare of others and thinking about consequences of one's actions. However, even if one grows up with a strong sense for good or bad, the bad behavior of others can undermine his ethical sense as well. Ethical leaders think about long-term consequences, drawbacks and benefits of their decisions. Leaders serve as role models for their followers and demonstrate the behavioral boundaries set within an organization. The appropriate and desired behavior is enhanced through culture and socialization process of the newcomers. Employees learn about values from watching leaders in action. The more the leader "walks the talk", by translating internalized values into action, the higher level of trust and respect he generates from followers. When leaders are prepared to make personal sacrifices for followers or the company in general for the sake of acting in accordance with their values, the employees are more willing to do the same.   As managers take the issue of ethical responsibility seriously, they immediately become more sensitive to followers' needs and problems of those who will be affected, thereby becoming more able to discern intuitively the emerging conflicts (Enderle 1987). Good leaders are designated by an enhanced capacity to feel morally obligated to a wide range of followers and this is not a skill, but knowledge and world perspective (Ciulla 2005).

Ethical leadership brings favorable consequences for followers and organization that are reflected in perceived leaders' effectiveness, followers' job satisfaction, increased dedication and problem reporting (Brown et al., 2005). In light of this, it can be noted that the traditional leaders in the pre-colonial era made sure that they catered for the welfare of their communities through the *Zunde raMambo* schemes. They made sure that they provided for the elderly, the needy, the orphans and even some visitors and this was part of the African ethical way of living. The application of the Ubuntu philosophy optimizes the indigenous setting of an African organization. The Ubuntu philosophy believes in group solidarity, which is central to the survival of African communities (Dia 1992; Mbigi and Maree 2005:75). In doing so, the kings brought favorable consequences to their followers.

With regard to leader-follower relationship ethics should be a process rather than a one-time sporadic event. To be able to influence followers' ethical behavior, leaders must communicate ethical standards and continually evaluate real examples (Brown 2007). This means that solely writing a code of ethics is not a sufficient step towards implementation of ethical behavior in organizations. Ethics should be ingrained in each and every pore of organizational life. Ethical leaders are perceived as people who do not tolerate ethical lapses, they rather discipline people for wrong behavior (Trevino, Brown and Hartman 2003). Trevino and her colleagues interviewed senior executives and ethics officers in America and found that to be perceived as an ethical leader one has to be honest, trustworthy, show credibility and demonstrate integrity, needs to walk the ethical talk, is courageous and strong (Trevino et al., 2003). Previous surveys suggested that traits such as integrity, credibility, honesty are also associated with a perception of an effective leader (Bass and Stogdill 1990). Based on a philosophical foundation Marcic outlines five virtues that are crucial for a leader-follower relationship: trustworthiness, unity (seeking unanimity in strategic decisions), respect and dignity (as a basis for true empowerment), justice, service (being servant to employees and customers) and humility (Marcic 1997).

In underscoring the importance of ethics, it has been noted that, people usually want to work for a high-quality organization with excellent reputation. Consumers want to deal with a reputable company and business partners search for renowned companies as only with such companies it is possible to foster trust based relationships (Bazerman, 2008). With this in mind it is a subject of wonder why people (leaders and followers) in organizations not behave as ethically as they should? According to young managers it is because they are pressured to

comply with four powerful organizational commandments: performance is what counts in the end; by all means show that you are loyal and a team-player; do not break the law; do not over-invest in ethical behavior. These rules are hardly sufficient to create an ethical organization. What is even more interesting is that only a minority of young managers believes that ethics pays in terms of career advancement (Badaracco and Webb 1995).

Gentile (2010) interviewed managers in their early career trying to find out what impedes people to stay silent when encountered with an ethical issue. She found there to be four classic rationalizations for doing nothing. The first is the excuse that "it is standard practice", everyone in the companies does this on a daily basis. Implying that wrong doing is hinged on group think where people emulate the wrong doers. The second is that and individual attempts to find an apology in the phrase "it is not a big deal". This is a common argument we can hear among co-workers particularly when they are under time pressure. Third statement is "it is not my responsibility". One just might be tempted to speak his mind, but as he does not have the authority (particularly if he is a younger employee) and it is not his responsibility, he remains quiet. The last statement refers to "I want to be loyal". On many occasions people feel there is a conflict between doing what is right and being loyal to the leader and co-workers, which can be an ethical dilemma as well (Gentile 2010). Badaracco and Webb performed a series of in-depth interviews of recent Harvard MBA graduates to find out how young managers perceive, define and resolve ethical issues. Analysis revealed that managers received explicit instructions from above to do things that they felt were unethical. They even felt strong organizational pressure. Next, they felt that codes of conducts, ethics programs provided little help and even believed that the respective company was out-of-touch on ethical issues (either due to busyness or deliberate avoidance of responsibility). Therefore, young managers used personal values and reflection to resolve the ethical dilemmas and did not rely on corporate credo (Badaracco and Webb 1995).

For majority of employees, speaking up about an ethical issue is more difficult than disagreeing in starting a conflict. That is why it is the leader's job to foster an ethical climate that enables sincere and open communication and culture that promotes and rewards ethical behavior. Of the values that make up an organization's culture, those referring to ethics are the most important. Leaders should shape ethical values primarily through ethical (value-based) leadership both through their personal behavior as well as organizational policies and processes. Ethics committees, chief ethics officers, ethical training programs, disclosure

mechanisms and code of ethics can support employees in raising concerns about ethical practices as long as the leaders at the top set the example. It is important that the leader shows and encourages employees to speak up, because if employees do not perceive that they can voice their values, they will not even bother trying. Gentile (2010) suggests the following in order to confront the problem of not reporting unethical behavior: Treat the conflict as a business matter; recognize that ethical dilemmas are a part of your job; be yourself, act authentically; challenge the rationalizations (challenge the so-called standard practices) turn newbie (new-comer) status into an asset; expose faulty thinking; make long-term risks more specific; present alternative solutions to unethical actions (Gentile, 2010).

4.5 Personality Characteristics of Ethical Leaders

4.5.1 Traits

Leader's character influences his ethical performance, but solely poor character does not fully explain ethical lapses in corporations. However, it is true, that a strong character plays an important role in effective self-leadership and in the process of leading others. Leaders therefore must rely on their inner voice, inner compass that points them in the ethical direction (Brown 2007). In his book, Covey addresses the issue of ethical leadership with the term "Character ethics", that he understands not as of individual character, but of "principles that govern human effectiveness" being self-validating natural laws (Covey 2004:32). The mode in which ethical standards and consequently conduct are neglected or applied is a function of individual characteristics. Covey's view on effective leadership with a strong ethical component is described in the following sentence: "To value oneself and, at the same time, subordinate oneself to higher purposes and principles is the paradoxical essence of the highest humanity and the foundation of effective leadership (Covey 2004:19).

Jones asserts that ethical conduct is a result of one's personal dispositions, his character and not a result of learning experience. He asserts that ethical leadership is an ascetic construct, whereby ascetic describes a self-controlled, purposeful person who is mindful with regard to consequences (Jones, 1995). He continues that the ascetic person lives from within. He or she is a person who regards life as the occasion for commitment to ends higher than one's own immediate happiness and well-being (Jones, 1995:869). He believes that being ethical is a personal quality tied to characteristic habits, therefore training programs emphasizing self-evident moral principles might not be as effective as we wish. It is assumed that consistently ethical behavior is the result of the process of socialization infinitely more thoroughly than

any organizational training programme. The criteria relevant for judging ethical behaviour of a leader include individual values, conscious intentions, freedom of choice, stage of moral development, types of influence used, and use of ethical as well as unethical behaviour (Yukl, 2006). Some of the characteristic behaviour of ethical and unethical leaders are shown in the table below.

Table 1: Ethical and unethical leadership

The Ethical Leader	The Unethical Leader
Is humble	Is arrogant and self-serving
Is concerned for the greater good	Excessively promotes self-interest
Is honest and straightforward	Practices deception
Fulfils commitments	Breaches agreements
Strives for fairness	Deals unfairly
Takes responsibility	Shifts blame to others
Shows respect for each individual	Diminishes others' dignity
Encourages and develops others	Neglects follower development
Serves others	Withholds help and support
Shows courage to stand up for what is right	Lacks courage to confront unjust acts

Source: (Zanderer, 1992)

The table above gives a comparative assessment of the ethical leader versus the unethical leaders. The comparisons do factor in the striking traits that distinguish these types of leadership. Zanderer (1992) gave a template of ethical and unethical leaders as well as their attributes. The traits that CEOs most often attribute to ethical leaders are honesty, trustworthiness and integrity. Trust is associated with credibility, consistency and predictability in relationships, honesty is the crucial element needed in a trust-based relationship. Ethical leaders treat people right, have a high level of moral development and play fair (Trevino, Hartman, & Brown, 2000). The leader who is honest with and about

himself and with others inspires trust that encourages followers to take responsibility. For more than a decade, Kouzes and Posner have been asking employees around the world what they most value or want from a leader and what would it take for them to follow him willingly. And without exception honesty (integrity, trustworthiness) is the first on the list (Kouzes and Posner, 1992). And how do employees know that leaders are (dis)honest? They observe the behaviour and the consistency of behaviour in similar conditions. If a leader constantly changes his behaviour, followers perceive him as unpredictable, unreliable, and therefore unworthy of trusting.

4.5.2 Values

Ethical values in an organizational setting are emphasized and strengthened primarily through values-based leadership that can be defined as a relationship between leaders and co-workers, based on shared, internalized values that are acted upon by the leader (Daft, 2007). Values are general principles that guide action. Values are not actions, they are codes which underlie the sanctions or punishments for some choices of behaviour and rewards for other. Throughout history values have sparkled interest of many researchers in various sciences. With staggering growth of companies, management researchers became interested in this topic as well. They came to the realization that values have a profound effect on a leader's performance. According to Dolan et al (2006), ethical moral values refer to forms of conduct that one has to live by in order to reach desired outcomes in the form of final values. The word "moral" derives from the Latin expression "mores" which means customs. In the table below are examples of different types of values that can be attributed to leaders.

Table 2: Examples of final (personal and ethical-social) and instrumental values (ethical-moral and values of competition)

Personal values: What are the most important things in your life?	Happiness, health, salvation, family, personal success, recognition, status, material goods, friendship, success at work and love.
Ethical-social values: What do you want to do for the world?	Peace, planet ecology and social justice.
Ethical-moral values: How do you think you should	Honesty, sincerity, responsibility, loyalty, solidarity, mutual confidence and respect for human rights.

behave towards people that surround you?	
Values of competition: What do you believe is necessary to compete in life?	Money, imagination, logic, beauty, intelligence, positive thinking and flexibility.

Source: (Dolan, Garcia and Richley, 2006:33)

The table above gives a list of the personal values, ethical social values, ethical-moral values and values of competition which are final and instrumental in shaping the leadership practices of the leaders. According to Dolan et al (2006) the most important things in one's life (personal values) include happiness, health, salvation, family, personal success, recognition, status, material goods, friendship, success at work and love. Whilst peace, planet ecology and social justice are the ethical social values that must be done for the world. Honesty, sincerity, responsibility, loyalty, solidarity, mutual confidence and respect for human rights demonstrate the behaviour that people should exhibit towards others who surround them (i.e ethical-moral values) (Dolan et al 2006).There are also values of competition which shows what one believes to be necessary to compete for in life and these values include money, imagination, logic, beauty, intelligence, positive thinking and flexibility.

Business ethicist, Professor Baradarcco believes that over the course of his career a leader needs to embrace a more complex code of ethical behaviour compared to the one learned in childhood and adolescence. He contends that real morality is not binary it rather emerges in many shades of gray. That is the reason why leaders need ethical codes that are as varied, complex and indeed subtle as the situation they face. Consequently, leaders need to embrace a wider set of human values and constantly evaluate their basic values (Badaracco, 2006). On the basis of virtue (value) theory five values are crucial for ethical leaders and these as note by Blanchard & Peale (1996) include pride, patience, prudence, persistence and perspective (5Ps):

    a. Pride. Lacking self-esteem an ethical leader will hardly receive esteem and respect from followers. Ethical leaders demonstrate healthy pride, not vanity, as the dividing line between them is thin due to strong egotistic tendency in human beings. Ethical leaders recognize that inordinate self-love is a vice not virtue.

b. Patience. In the process of implementing strategies that enable an organization to reach its goals, a leader is faced with obstacles from internal and external environment, reluctance and lack of commitment from followers. As it takes time to overcome barriers patience is of utmost importance.

c. Prudence. Prudence is a virtue that refers to exercising sound judgement in practical affairs. It is considered as the measure of moral virtues as it provides a model of ethically good actions. A leader in the habit of exercising prudence and fortitude is not inclined to resort to unethical practices even in times when things do not go as planned.

d. Persistence. It refers to leader's striving for goals and his continuing quest to take all the necessary steps to achieve them, even if they involve sacrifice and personal risk. Persistence lies in trying to overcome the "practice" of justifying unethical conducts when one feels overwhelmed by mounting pressures, because of a sense of duty to others.

e. Perspective. It is understood as the capacity to perceive what is truly important in any given situation.

According to Jurkiewicz and Massey Jr, (1998) twenty-one effective and twenty-one less effective top executives of non-profit organizations participated in a study of ethical reasoning. Researchers showed that executives preferring principled ethical reasoning are more likely to be effective. Namely, when confronted with ethical dilemmas, effective executives engage in significantly more complex cognitive reasoning about these issues than less effective executives. The effective executives base evaluations of moral decisions on calculated rights, values and own principles, rather than on public opinion. They are also more likely to make a decision that may be unpopular in society but is right from the ethical stance. Consequently they are willing to accept the ensuing conflicts that may result from these decisions. (Jurkiewicz and Massey Jr, 1998). Less effective executives do the right thing within the context of "doing one's duty in the society", display obedience to authority, are more concerned with how their decisions might be viewed by others (in and outside the organization).

4.5.3 Integrity
According to Werner, Jensen and Zaffron (2010) integrity is the quality of being honest and having strong moral principles, or moral uprightness. It is colloquially a personal choice to hold oneself to consistent moral and ethical standards. As such integrity is a personal choice,

an uncompromising and predictably consistent commitment to honour, moral, ethical, spiritual and artistic values and principles. As such, integrity is something that is intrinsic and internal in a human being. Today one of the traits most cited as required in order to exercise effective leadership is integrity. The leaders that demonstrate integrity are honest with themselves and others, learn from mistakes and are constantly in the process of self-improvement. They lead by example and expect as much of others as they do of themselves. They take responsibility to be judgmental about important decisions and strive to balance competing interests when in the process of reaching crucial organizational goals (Hoenig, 2000). An integrity-based approach to managing ethically combines obedience of the law with an emphasis on managerial responsibility for ethical behaviour. Integrity strategies define companies' guiding values, aspirations and patterns of thought and conduct. Once these are implemented and integrated into daily organizational activities, such strategies help prevent damaging ethical lapses (Paine, 1994). Raytheon's CEO, Dan Burhnam shares his view on integrity within ethical leaders: "The CEO must be the chief ethics officer of the firm. He or she cannot delegate integrity...The CEO must make everyone understand that the organization's future is dependent on its reputations. The organization has to be personal, human and individual...If unethical behaviour is uncovered, it is important to act swiftly and decisively (Fulmer 2004:310).

It is also imperative to explore the concept of integrity in regards to the political actors and or politicians. According to, Jensen and Christensen (2009) integrity is important for politicians because they are chosen, appointed or elected to serve society. To be able to serve, politicians are given power to make, execute or control policy, they do possess the power to influence people and their environment. Jowett (2000) citing Aristotle noted that because rulers have power they will be tempted to use it for personal gain, rather than use the power entrusted to them to serve the society. For example, the former minister of Higher and Tertiary Education (Jonathan Moyo) were reported to have swindled more than $400,000. The state claims that the funds were supposed to be for students at tertiary institutions. Moyo claimed that he used the ZIMDEF funds for financing Zanu PF projects and purchasing bicycles for traditional leaders in Tsholotsho, Matabeleland North province (Dube 2016). This divergence of public funds as well as subsequent abuse thereof really point to a serious deficiency in integrity on the part of the public officials. It is therefore prudent for politicians to withstand this temptation by being people of impeccable integrity. Similarly, KapteinMuel describes that integrity starts with that politicians should know what their position entails because integrity

is related to their position. Integrity is also acting consistently not only with what is generally accepted as moral, what others think, but primarily with what is ethical, what politicians should do based on reasonable arguments (Kaptein 2014).

4.6 General Critique on Ethics

Ethics or the moral discourse is normative; it is captured in our language of *right/wrong, good/ bad, should/ought, good/evil.* While meta-ethical discourse is concerned with acritical analysis of the foundations of moral judgments—the worldview and ontological rationale that confers legitimacy upon a set of normative criteria and values (Bass and Steidlmeier 1999; Brams and Taylor 1996). The pivotal issue in making moral judgments is the legitimacy of the grounding worldview and beliefs that grounds a set of moral values and criteria. Depending upon such worldview and beliefs, a religious leader may morally justify a holy war and a Marxist may justify class warfare and dictatorship of the proletariat. Ethical analysis is further complicated by the fact that it applies not only to *content* (taking another's property is wrong; telling the truth is good) but to *processes* (especially those that affect the freedom and conscience of participants). Accordingly, Bass and Steidlmeier (1999) noted that ethical content focuses upon values, which highlight the issue of standards and criteria of ethical behaviour. While cultural relativities surely apply, foundational moral discourse rests upon polarities found in both *moral intention* (egoism versus altruism) and in *moral consequences* (benefits and costs for self and others). Kanungo and Mendonca (1996) argue persuasively for the centrality of altruism, where everyone has moral standing and the interests of "the other" matter.

As noted above the term "ethical" means that which is morally good or that which is considered morally right, as opposed to that which is legally or procedurally right. Ethical practices calls for one to be morally right in their actions and practices. In capturing the central issues of the normative debate on ethics Kanungo (2000:260) noted the following:

> According to Thomas Aquinas, ethical nature of one's behaviour should be judged on the basis of three factors: the m*otive* of the actor which is the primary source of one's behaviour, the *manifest behaviour* itself, and the *social context* in which the behaviour takes place (Kreeft, 1990). If we take these three factors into account, the leader, in order to be ethical, must engage in virtuous acts or behaviours that benefit others, and must refrain from evil acts or behaviours that harm others. Both Socrates and Plato considered virtuous acts to be the basis of morality (White, 1993). But these acts must stem from the leader's altruistic rather than egotistic motives or intentions. Furthermore, in order to behave judiciously in a morally right manner, the leader must take into consideration the demands of the social context or situation he or she faces and

the moral consequences or outcomes of his or her actions in the specific situation. In order to get all three factors morally right in leadership acts, leaders must pay attention to their own motives, their behavioural strategies and tactics of influence, and their worldviews that form the basis of interpreting the social situations with which they interact and the resulting outcomes.

Above all, leaders' personal moral development results from character formation or cultivation of values through the practice of harboring altruistic intent, engaging in virtuous acts, and interpreting social situations consistent with their worldviews. Aristotle emphasized the role of character formation through practice and habit while considering the nature of moral development of an individual. As White (1993) remarks, "by making our character, will, and intentions central elements of moral virtue, Aristotle pointed out how critical it is to study our motivation and master the inner forces that could lead to moral compromises. In the pre-colonial eras, Tshaka Zulu strived to engender the traits and characters of bravery in the junior soldiers and warriors through mock battles (Mbilishaka n.d:1). In addition, the traditional chiefs also inculcated sound moral values to the young ones through demonstrations of justice in the *Dares*. The leaders would demonstrate how offenders or violators of the law (say thieves, witches, gossipers, murders among others) or perpetrators of social evils were punished. The punitive measures served as deterrents to the would-be offenders thereby facilitating character formation as they would grow up being reasonable and responsible people.

Indeed, something like the Western human rights tradition, which has grown out of the defence of the dignity of the individual, mandates a minimal degree of altruism by safeguarding inalienable human rights not just of self but of all others, even in the face of majority social choices. The morality of processes reflect the legitimacy of both *influence processes* on the part of leaders and *empowerment processes* on the part of followers as they engage in dynamic self-transformation (Kanungo and Mendonca, 1996). Modern Western ethics has been preoccupied with moral processes, especially the relationship between the individual, collectivities, (including families, states, business enterprises, religions and other socio-cultural organizations) and society as a whole. According to Bass (1998) its major themes of liberty, utility and distributive justice attempt to specify what individuals owe each other, what individuals owe to the group and what groups owe to individuals.

The moral analysis of leadership provides a critique of both agents and actions. Accordingly, Bass and Steidlmeier (1999) exemplified this by noting the complexities that are existential in ethical leadership by noting that this makes it challenging to morally evaluate charismatic

leaders such as the Ayatollah Khomeini or Mao Zedong in the realms of religion and politics, and Andrew Carnegie or Steve Jobs in the marketplace. There are clearly many leadership issues and styles that relate to questions ranging from the legitimacy of their authority and informed consent by followers to conscience, freedom and intention, and to ends, means and consequences. In line with this, the Kantian argument can also be used to buttress this interconnectedness. Immanuel Kant held a more radical version of the view that morality arises from human nature.

According to Scheenwind (1990) he took the central point about morality to be that it imposes absolute duties on us. Kant developed the so-called 'Formula of the End in Itself' which demands that we treat 'humanity in your person or in the person of any other never simply as a means but always at the same time as an end. ' Kant insisted that actions resulting from desires cannot be free. Freedom is to be found only in rational action. Moreover, whatever is demanded by reason must be demanded of all rational beings; hence, rational action cannot be based on an individual's personal desires but must be action in accordance with something that he can will to be a universal law. This view roughly parallels Rousseau's idea of the general will as that which, as opposed to the individual will, a person shares with the whole community. Kant extended this community to all rational beings. With this in mind leaders' actions are have moral worthiness when they lead dutifully and give their all for the sake of truly leading the masses because it is their duty to do so. An approach to ethics based upon moral character and virtue enjoys an extraordinarily broad cross-cultural base in terms of the "framing narratives" that guide ethical discourse in cultural settings as diverse as Western and Confucian traditions.

From Plato's "philosopher king" to the virtuous Confucian minister of the State, the "moral sage" and the "superior person" are portrayed as both a font of wisdom and the embodiment of virtue, whose very presence and being brings about personal and social transformations. The moral development of the leader embraces individual, familial and spiritual dynamics of personality (Kanungo and Mendonca, 1996, Fairholm, 1997). The spiritual dimension underscores not only virtuous behaviour but an attitude of openness to the transcendent meaning of human existence. Moral beliefs concerning a leader's character are reliably associated with conventional morality as assessed by Bass (1956) include: being humble, being virtuous, obeying the dictates of one's conscience, maintaining old friendships and forming new ones, being loyal, generous and forgiving, helping others, conforming to custom, and maintaining good faith.

To guide moral actions, modern Western ethics has marked a drastic departure in its articulation of ethical criteria (Bass and Steidlmeier 1999; Kanungo and Mendonca 1998). While recognizing the moral heritage based upon faith, modern Western ethics is now largely inspired to a large degree by reason and science. It has placed emphasis upon rules or principles to be followed in concrete situations; as a social ethic it has emphasized procedural justice. At one extreme, this new ethical agenda has assigned the highest value to individual liberty and the right of the individual both to determine his or her interests and to pursue them. When a leader appears to arbitrarily or surreptitiously influence the values of followers or to interfere with individual determination and pursuit of interests, it is judged morally objectionable. This issue goes to the heart of the dimensions that we ascribe to an authentic transformational leader. According to Bass and Steidlmeier (1999) it questions whether it is possible to have "idealized influence" and "inspirational motivation" without controlling, dominating and otherwise diminishing the liberty of conscience, free choice and self-determination of followers. It questions whether leadership that asks for the dedicated commitment of followers can, in the same breath, truly provide for individualized consideration of a follower's interests.

The Western leadership practice believes in an atomistic leadership practice and individualism premised on the Hobbesian perspective as espoused in his masterpiece, *Leviathan* (1651) denied natural sociability and stressed on self-interested aims. Egoism lies at the center of the Hobbesian theory whereby people were viewed as self-centered, inconsiderate, unfeeling, unprincipled, ruthless, self-aggrandizers, pursuers of the good things in life whatever the cost to others, people who only think about themselves or, if about others, then merely as means to their own ends (Baier 1990:197; Gauthier 1986; Foot 1972). The contemporary Western traditions are deeply entrenched in this psychological egoism which is a concept that looks at the individual and the self. People's actions are always motivated by concern for our own best interest or greatest good as people tend to act egoistically and be individualistic. The Westerners tend to reflect this kind of lifestyle which strongly differs from the African way of living whereby people and leaders should strive to uphold the common good of all the people. Where there is communal interaction and well-being. As such leaders are oriented towards just treatment and the upholding of happiness for everyone. Hence the aspect of equality, equity and distributive justice were very conspicuous in the pre-colonial African states.

Nonetheless, Bass (1998) noted that it can also be noted that the collective life is constituted by freely contracting atomistic individuals, who, in order to survive, must pursue their self-interest rationally. Self-determination is the ideal; each is his or her own leader and, in the interest of autonomy, as self-sufficient as possible. The common good is seen as the aggregate of individual goods that yields the greatest utility. If, however, one views life in community as affording a common good and level of personal development that is beyond what atomistic individuals can achieve on their own, then the terminal goals sought are beyond a calculus of utility and better expressed in terms of enlivening relationships based upon justice and peace and grounded in trust. In either case, however, leadership is necessary to forge a common ground (Bass and Steidlmeier 1999). While an atomistic view would favour transactional leadership, a communitarian view calls for transformational leadership.

There are circumstances when leaders are called upon to make efforts in aligning societal values. The questions that are raised are meant to explore how ethical this process of value alignment is. Shamir, House, and Arthur (1993) explore and explain the role of the leader in the matching process between individual interests and social choice. They see nothing immoral in it. But as already noted, Stevens, D'Intino, and Victor (1995) among others see transformational leaders as subversive, because transformational leaders encourage members of an organization to go beyond their own self-interests for the good of the organization. As a consequence, the members lose more than they gain. Conflicts between leaders and followers are settled to the benefit of the leader and the detriment of the followers. Followers sacrifice their own interests in order to conform to the leaders' vision of what will be best for the organization. Although Shamir, House, and Arthur (1993) argue that the essence of charismatic leadership is the matching of the hierarchy of values that are salient within the follower's self-concept to those of the leader, such is regarded as immoral by critics. It is basically imperative to capture the distinct ethical traditions that inform the great ethical debates in light of the leadership practices.

According to Mangena (2016) Western-based approaches to ethics such as Aristotelian eudaemonism, Kantian deontology, Platonic Justice and Metzian basic norm, that are established by one person and focus more on individual actions, the Common Moral Practice (CMP) is communocratic and the processes leading to its establishment are not only dialogical, but are also spiritual. Metz is persuaded to think that Western ethics have great influence on African ethics and that is why he "seeks to develop a moral theory that is non-

religious" (Metz, 2007: 328). Mangena (2016:74) argues that it is not possible for African ethics to have a base that is non-religious given that, in Africa south of the Sahara, it is difficult to separate what is ethical from what is religious. Elsewhere, John S Mbiti argues that African people are notoriously religious which probably means that everything African must also have religion as its base. The CMP, is a product of the collective wisdom of the elders and not the wisdom of one individual within a given society and that in terms of character, *hunhu/Ubuntu* ethics were relational, dialogical, consensual, spiritual, horizontal and vertical as opposed to Western ethics which were individualistic, elitist and horizontal (Mangena 2016:77).

After capturing the several ethical traditions, it is imperative to explore Ubuntu or African ethics as a tradition that is crucial in the understanding of ethics and ethical leadership in the context of traditional resources for ethical leadership. By African ethics I mean the guiding injunctions as well as the norms and values peculiar to the communities of Africa south of the Sahara or Black Africa (Mangena 2016). Mangena (2016) proceeds to highlight that the word *hunhu/Ubuntu* as a linguistic expression denotes the philosophical/idealistic character of the communities of Southern Africa, where Southern Africa refers to countries like Zimbabwe, South Africa, Mozambique, Zambia, Malawi, Swaziland, Lesotho, Botswana, Angola and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). It can thus be noted that African ethics (Ubuntu) strive to promote sound leadership. Ubuntu values and ethics are wide spread across the African continent. In this vein, the Ubuntu application is pervasive in almost all parts of the African continent. Hence, the Ubuntu philosophy is integrated into all aspects of day-to-day life throughout Africa and is a concept shared by all tribes in Southern, Central, West and East Africa amongst people of Bantu origin (Rwelamila, Talukhaba and Ngowi 1999:338).

The Ubuntu philosophy believes in group solidarity, which is central to the survival of African communities (Dia, 1992; Mbigi and Maree, 2005:75). An African is not a rugged individual, but a person living within a community. In a hostile environment, it is only through such community solidarity that hunger, isolation, deprivation, poverty and any emerging challenges can be survived, because of the community's brotherly and sisterly concern, cooperation, care, and sharing. This group solidarity has been for a long time in the pre-colonial African states been maintained through the settlement patterns that existed during those days where people stayed in concentric communities. Certainly, discovering one's humanity through other persons seems to be germane to all indigenous pre-colonial value systems. Additionally, Ubuntu as an ethical tradition has stood the test of time. Africa

was characterized by a series events ranging from slavery to colonialism. Given such century long practices and events in the form of slavery and colonialism the African ethics have managed to stand and be maintained and perpetuated into the present day world. This shows the tapestry, resilience and gravity of the African ethical traditions.

Ubuntu by its state, nature and form is unique and way different from the Western ethics. According to Menkiti (1984: 175) a crucial distinction that exists between the African view of man and the view of man found in Western thought: in the African view it is the community which defines the person as person, not some isolated static quality of rationality, will, or memory. In capturing the additional distinction between the African and the Western perspectives of man Menkiti (1984: 177) noted the following:

> Whereas Western conceptions of man go for what might be described as a minimal definition of the person---whoever has soul, or rationality, or will, or memory, is seen as entitled to the description ' person ' --the African view reaches instead for what might be described as a maximal definition of the person. As far as African societies are concerned, personhood is something at which individuals could fail, at which they could be competent or ineffective, better or worse.

Hence, the African emphasized the rituals of incorporation and the overarching necessity of learning the social rules by which the community lives, so that what was initially biologically given can come to attain social self-hood, that is, become a person with all the inbuilt excellences implied by the term. That full personhood is not perceived as simply given at the very beginning of one's life, but is attained after one is well along in society, indicates straight away that the older an individual gets the more of a person he becomes (Menkiti 1984).

Similarly, practising the Ubuntu philosophy unlocks the capacity of an African culture in which individuals express compassion, reciprocity, dignity, humanity and mutuality in the interests of building and maintaining communities with justice and communalities (Poovan, Du Toit and Engelbrecht, 2006:23-25). Respect and love amongst the community members play an important role in an African framework. The African view of personhood rejects the notion that a person can be identified in terms of physical and psychological features. Ubuntu is the basis of African communal cultural life. It expresses the interconnectedness, common humanity and the responsibility of individuals to each other (Koster, 1996:99-118; Nussbaum, 2003:21-26). An African society is, in general, humanist, community-based and socialist in nature. The Ubuntu philosophy therefore underpins any grouping within an African society.

4.7 Conclusion

The chapter examined the ethics, ethical frameworks and ethical traditions as they impact upon and influence ethical leadership. The chapter commenced by defining the term ethics and also capturing the underlying issues under ethics. In light of this, the chapter explored the theoretical underpinnings and foundations of ethics. The thrust was to give an exposition of the utility of ethics in the contemporary governance systems and efforts. The chapter therefore concludes by exploring the relationship between ethics and leadership. This therefore creates a platform upon which ethical leadership is premised. Whilst in general terms ethics is about knowing how we ought to live as responsible rational beings with the capacity to differentiate the good from the bad, it is however prudent that most of the ethical fractures undertaken are relative to individual cultures. Whereas some cultures way justify suicide bombing as the final act of fulfilling a Godly commandment, others would condemn the act as unwarranted violence. This therefore calls for the human race to appreciate and understand diversity but at the same time maintain their own cultural compass.

It was noted that predominantly literature on ethics in Africa is on Western model ethics premised on individualism and the discourse on human rights and gender. The justification for deontology or duty ethics, utility and rights are that all ethics must promote the rights of the individual to least harm. The important element which is indisputable universally though is that the human being must always be treated as an end and not as a means to someone else end. The golden rule that says treat others as you would wish to be treated is central to the human rights discourse and this resonates very well with Ubuntu ethics which provide that a person's humanity is mirrored through other humans.

The general point of divergence between Western and Ubuntu Ethics is that in Ubuntu, ethics is about community and the need to provide for communitarian goals thereby spreading welfare benefits to all rather than the competitive mode of acquisition synonymous with Western ethics. Ubuntu as a philosophy therefore is unique and distinct and as such it must not be regarded as a romanticized invention of post-modern African Scholars who want to simply arouse a non-existent African identity.

Ethics in all its manifestations is at the core of leadership and can determine the level of success and effectiveness of leadership not with-standing the obvious dilemmas of unethical leaders who succeed in their personal pursuits such as Hitler did. However it has to be noted that as human beings mature in thought and get to understand their rights, ethics will come to

play a more pivotal role in societal interactions. Trust, sincerity, integrity, empathy and respect become central and will define how leaders will be followed, acknowledged and supported.

The debate on ethics cannot successfully be concluded without mentioning the counterpoising views on ethics drawn from Machiavellian linked scholars who advance a number of views which suggest dualism, relativity, expediency and non-existence of ethics especially in politics and international relations. In one of his writings, 'The Prince' Machiaveli reflects on the duality of ethics between leaders and followers where evil acts can be undertaken for the good of power and the state but the same cannot be condone for followers who must be on different code of conduct. The Machiavellian approach to ethics has unfortunately found currency in most African leaders and this explains the moral decay the continent finds itself in. Ethics therefore is indispensable to good and effective leadership and it must be a taught value at societal level based on the cultural foundations and beliefs of relative communities.

CHAPTER FIVE: AFRICAN TRADITIONAL CULTURAL RESOURCES FOR ETHICAL LEADERSHIP IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

5.1 Introduction

The image of sub-Saharan Africa around the world is one of fundamentally flawed leadership, in which commitment to the public good, genuine nation building, and the hard work of peace building have yet to be realized. However there are several ethical exceptions on the continent, therefore, it will be a gross misrepresentation of facts to conclude that Africa is doomed to a future of poor governance. This realization generates a number of critically important and related questions that this study seeks to address. There is no gainsaying in that nation building and peace building requires bold, visionary, and above all, exemplary leadership. Contemporary research, has built up that leadership occurs universally. Earliest literature on leadership was concerned mostly with theoretical issues. Scholars sought to distinguish different types of leadership and to relate them to the useful demands of the society. Moreover, they tried to account for the emergence of leadership either by examining the qualities of the leader, the leadership skills and styles or the components of the circumstance. An evaluation of the history and evolution of African leadership can hardly be considered comprehensive without looking into African philosophical traditions and thought.

A people's philosophy reflects the essence of who they are and where they are headed vis-à-vis their history, values, ideals, self-image and the nature of their relationships with the world around them. At the core of these social dynamics and relationships, is leadership. Leadership is an inherent part of human personality and people exhibit this quality in various capabilities. Southern Africa has produced its own remarkable African leaders and warriors who led successful empires which made history. This is despite the fact that the majority of political science research into leadership examines leadership in a biographical and narrative way, from a Western perspective, particularly British and American texts (Lyn de Ver 2008: 11).

This biased and narrow focus of research has resulted in many philosophical non Western thoughts, concepts and ideas losing the tributaries on which they had relied for integrity, completeness or impact. O'Malley (1999:68) further contends that the issue of whether or not other societies recorded valuable concepts and ideas in writing does not in any way mean they neither knew nor experienced leadership. Leadership, despite its long history and praises has aroused renewed interest as a new discipline of study that began to emerge in the

twentieth century receiving focus that is related but distinct from management. While the discipline is new, leadership as a practice can be said to be as old as human civilization. According to Ngara (2009: 2), wherever we see ancient monuments, great civilizations and true social and economic progress, there has been effective leadership. In Africa, the stone monuments of Great Zimbabwe, the emergence of the Zulu, Sotho, Tswana, Swazi, Ndebele, Mutapa and other empires are all evidence that there has been strong leadership practice on the continent. The fact that they existed and had an impact even after Western imperialism is sufficient proof of the effectiveness of whatever leadership systems and approaches where available to them.

This chapter seeks to unveil that some elements of ethical leadership today can be found in the philosophy and leadership practices of ancient people of Africa. As put forward by Ngara (2009: 4), part of the answer to the world's understanding of traditional leadership practice is provided in the African philosophy history of statecraft in pre-colonial dispensation of Ubuntu (Zulu), or botho (Sotho), or Unhu (Shona). It is the burden of this paper to adduce evidence from these traditional African kingdoms with a view to expose that by applying traditional leadership practices in their various paraphernalia such as, rule by consensus, religion, governance and economics in combination with strategic leadership and diplomacy, the leaders of these kingdoms were able to extent a positive impact on their subjects and transforming their territories into significant and internationally recognized nation states. Using the examples of Mutapa Empire of Zimbabwe, Kingdom of Lesotho under the reign of the founder of the nation, Moshoeshoe 1, Zulu Kingdom under Tshaka, it is reasonable to argue that Africa had its own home grown forms of leadership and governance traditions which, if modernized and moderated, could provide sustainable indigenous leadership models for the continent.

The choice of three historical kingdoms was influenced by a knowledge of the differences in the approach to statecraft by their leaders which serve to underscore the diversity in African political and leadership practice which persist to this day. It is on occasion of this diversity that Africa must seek to construct a common leadership model and template based on common historical threads of traditions holstered by modern innovations arising from interactions with other cultures through globalization. The chapter is divided into sections which will deal with the historical overview of the Mutapa, Sotho and Zulu states, followed by a summary of the key leadership resources utilized, then and an examination of the

limitations and possible utility of these resources in contemporary leadership before concluding.

5.2 Historical Review of Successful Empires in Southern Africa.

Gretchen Bauer and Scott D. Taylor (2005), opines that,

> Many of the contemporary states of Southern Africa share a common pre-colonial, colonial and early post-colonial history. The region was initially settled by the Portuguese on both coasts, in what is now Mozambique and Angola, and by the Dutch in South Africa. However, with the exceptions of Angola, Mozambique, and Namibia (which was under German rule), much of the territory had fallen under British imperial domination by the end of the nineteenth century. In five countries- Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa- liberation movements were forced to resort to armed struggle to attain independence. The presence of large white settler populations, or at least settler interests emerges directly from the region's unique history and represents a key feature of many of its states (Bauer and Taylor, 2005: 74).

5.2.1   The Mutapa State
5.2.1.1 General overview
The precise relationship between the Great Zimbabwe state and its successor, the Mutapa State, remains obscure and so too is the actual story of how the Mutapa State was founded (Mudenge, 2011:1). Ngara (2009: 4), argued that the founders of the Mutapa state were of the Shona group and were both culturally and politically connected to the builders of the Great Zimbabwe. According to Mudenge (2011:1) historians have reconstructed a history of the Mutapa dynasty from the founder Nyatsimba Mutota (c.1430 – c.1480) to the last King ChiokoDambamupute (1887–1902). Therefore the dynasty is believed to have lasted in different forms for more than five hundred years. This chapter seeks to analyse the Mutapa Kingdom (or Mutapa State) as a dynasty without focusing on a specific king but with the broad aim of analyzing the leadership resources at play which sustained the Mutapa polity for over five hundred years in the face of concerted efforts by the colonial metropoles to access and control the indigenous land and natural resources. The Mutapa Dynasty ruled the Shona as well as non-Shona groups for most of its existence, and at the end of the dynasty's lifespan the non-Shona predominated. Also known as *Mwene Mutapa* or *Mhunhu Mutapa*, the empire may not be compared to present day European empires in technology, however, its craftsmen produced high quality artifacts (Katrii Pohjolainen Yap, 2001; 23). Knowledge of this empire, which was built up through commerce more so than conquest, given that trade was carefully regulated with set measurements and standards to ensure fairness, can help to construct a balanced story of where, when and how human societies have flourished (New World Encyclopedia, 2012: 1).

Examining the Mutapa state from a power and leadership perspective, a number of traditional African leadership themes can be explored in respect of lessons that can be drawn from this empire and its dynasty. They manifest in the face of relations between the king and provincial leaders that is delegation and devolution of powers, relations with foreign countries, the role of the economy in stable state development, the centrality of the military as an insurance for security and the King's involvement in people's affairs among others. According to Ngara, (2009:5), the Mutapas seem to have developed an interesting approach to leadership. They seem to have realized the benefits of giving relative freedom to the citizens and to regional governors, which style seems to have earned them the loyalty of both vassals and ordinary citizens. With the ability to establish positive interpersonal relations and connections, the king was able to motivate provincial leaders and delegates through trust, respect, and consideration.

The New World Encyclopedia notes (2012: 3), the Mutapa did not intervene needlessly in the lives of his subjects. He appears to have realized that if the people enjoyed a reasonable standard and a stable society, their loyalty could be expected. Whereas regional governors were expected to pay taxes to the King in the form of cattle and other forms of gifts and there was give and take with the King recognizing the importance of the principle of interdependence since gifts were also given by the King to officials and regional governors to ensure their loyalty. Effective delegation by the Mutapa kings also encouraged an open exchange of ideas and problem perspectives. This is what Chanaiwa in the New World Encyclopedia (2012) refers to as the "charisma, well-being and political wisdom of the Mutapa. This, according to Ngara (2009:7), can be characterized as a soft way to engage and influence followers, gaining their loyalty, not through brute force, but by inspiring them.

The Mutapa inculcated a sense of collective identity of the kingdom and inspired his officials and regional governors, challenging them to take great ownership for their work and he understood their strengths and weaknesses so he could align them with duties that optimized their performance. Similarly, Dei *et al* (2016) argue that the ethical culture of a group may stagnate where leadership attitudes and actions are diametrically opposite. In other words, leaders of groups who are not concerned with the ethical culture of the group render those group values insignificant (Ferrell, Fraedeich, and Ferrell, 2011). For this reason, ethical leadership strives to actively serve as role models for the core values of the group. In this way, the Chief Executive Officer or the leader of the group becomes the embodiment of the values of the group. The implication is that the core values of a group become active and

effective when leaders live them out. Ethical leaders attract the respect of their followers by living out the values of the group.

In the Mutapa state, trust and mutual respect endeared the King to the Provincial leaders and his officials and therefore it is evident that effective leaders do not rely solely on hard power of their formal positions to influence others. Soft power includes expert power and referent power, which are based on personal characteristics and interpersonal relationships more than on a position of authority. Clearly, according to Boehme (1989:167), this style of leadership is different from the leadership of domination where followers follow and obey the leader not out of conviction, but out of fear. This therefore allows both the leader and the followers to work together to achieve the desired community goals.

Furthermore, a matter to which scholars do not seem to attach the importance it deserves is the fact that the Mutapa was personally involved in solving people's problems brought to him through rule by consensus. The Mutapa did not live on an ivory tower, he was a King on account of the people, a servant of the people. The king depended on the people just as much as the people depended on the king. Through interdependence, the leader or king realized that leadership is interaction with the people, consultation with and listening to the people or the people's representatives (Katrii Pohjolainen Yap, 2001: 23). According to Masango (2002:712) during one of the Mutapa's several holidays, the King would not take leave, but would be very busy holding audiences *(popularly known as dare)* to solve the problems brought before him. This is a demonstration of servant leadership in the Mutapa Kingdom since the king was involved in the affairs of his people and was personally involved in interacting with them and listening to their problems even if it meant that he had to forego his personal pleasure. In light of this it can be argued that the governance system of the Mutapa state was so transparent and highly inclusive, reflective of an ethical leadership culture.

In support of this, it can be noted that ethical leadership builds a corporate culture that encourages "openness, freedom to express ideas, and the ability to question conduct" (Ferrell, Fraedeich, and Ferrell, 2011:143). As such, the leader's conduct is brought under the scrutiny of his followers. Such an attitude of leadership fosters a working environment in which relevant information flows smoothly. In such environment, members within a group may be free to comment on the operations of the group as well as the conduct of the leadership. Clearly, not every member of the dynasty would have performed the duties to the same level

as the best of them, but the principle was there, and it appears that some Mutapas were able to elicit admiration and loyalty from people.

In addition, one can infer that to some extent the best of the Mutapa could incite appreciation and regard in the hearts and minds of ordinary subject when they held long day audiences about seven times every month attempting to take care of issues brought before them. This shows that the Mutapas had their citizens at heart a practice that is quickly dwindling and fading off in the present day governance systems where the leaders are much more concerned about themselves (their interests) at the expense of the group or national agenda. As Ngara (2009:9) observes,

> this is a situation where the Mutapa appears to have practiced the ideology of what Robert Greenleaf (1977) has called the servant first type of leader rather than the leader first type, the difference being that the servant first type of leader is motivated, not by the ambition to lead, but by the desire to serve, whereas for the leader first type, service may be incidental to the ambition for power or wealth. The practice of the Mutapa in this regard was also a practical demonstration of the leader placing himself at the service of the people in the true spirit of *Ubuntu/ hunhu* based ethical leadership.

Whilst the above was a generalization of life in the Mutapa state it is a matter of critical importance to closely examine the leadership and power dynamics at play given its long history of survival which spanned close to five centuries. This was of course despite the fact of opposition from rival empires and also the Portuguese who wanted to control land and trade in commodities which include among others gold, iron, copper and ivory. The state rose, stabilized and ultimately disappeared from the map and the section will attempt to investigate the powers and leadership resources which sustained it for so long and the reasons for decline.

5.2.1.2 Territory and Natural resources
The *Mwene Mutapa* (Lord of Conquering) occupied the fertile lands in the Northern part of present day Zimbabwe stretching in the Zambezi valley. This territory was characterized by fertile soils, high rainfall patterns, endowed with resources such as gold, copper, iron and wild life especially the elephant famous for its ivory. Control of these resources provided a firm base for the power and authority of the king. Later struggles with the Portuguese and other rival emergent kings was a result of competition for control of these resources. The Portuguese were persistent for very long in their quest to control the Mutapa state, a feat they finally achieved around 1698. The centrality of land and resources to power and political discourse in the Mutapa state became an unresolved question which later led to the 1st and 2nd

Chimurenga wars in Zimbabwe. The lesson for future leadership is that a nation must never surrender their resources no matter the cost. The Biblical story of Naboth in 1 Kings 21 sees Naboth refusing to surrender his inheritance to the king and sacrificed his life for it. The moral of the story is that resources are at the center of leadership and power resources which must be utilized guarantee the good life for followers. You lose the resource and you lose the power and justification to lead.

5.2.1.3 Ideology Religion and Identity

The mythology of the Mutapa state paints a picture of a deeply ideological, religious and closely knit polity. The Tovela, Mwari or God the Almighty was at the centre of the Mutapa religion which was practiced through ritual in all life undertakings. Tovela was the Lord of everything under the sun and was associated with appropriating supernatural powers to those who believed. According to Hodza and Fortune 1979:217, Bhina 1987, Bullock 1927 and Huffman 1996, spirituality was so central that kings were installed with spiritual concurrence and both leaders and followers had to enter into a covenantal relationship where the king ruled humanely according to Tovela's dictates and the followers were to reciprocate by unquestioning homage. Religion gave the kings power and assurance to followers creating a harmonious relationship governed by unity through totems and other related artefacts of identity. Religion was a source of power and charisma for rulers then and it was later to become a power during the 1st and 2nd Chimurenga in Zimbabwe.

5.2.1.4 The Military Dimension

Whilst there is no adequate documentation on the military history of the Mutapa state, available information though Scant, confirms that the military were the underwriters of the security, stability and strategic projection of the Mutapa state. Defence, territorial expansion and protection of resources were all indispensable military functions. Through mobilization by talking drums and mythical powers of invisibility, the military were a feared outfit which guaranteed security of the state. The Mutapa armies dealt with rebellion attempts and repeated Portuguese onslaughts up to the end and decline of the empire when their power dissipated for various reasons.

5.2.1.5 Governance

The strength of the Mutapa state was in dynamic devolution. Whilst power was devolved there were statutory obligations for Tributary states to pay taxes and royalties to the central government whilst the centre also had a responsibility for the safety of the vassal parties.

5.2.1.6 Decline

Defeat by the Portuguese, upheavals in ideology and religion after the conversion of the Mutapa to Christianity, depletion of natural resources and internal rebellion weakened the Mutapa state leading to its decline. The conversion of the Mutapa to Christianity had such a profound effect which negatively culminated in an entire polity losing its moral compass, identity and a sense of direction. It is proving difficult to find a common religious resource and ideology around which the African people can be rallied today. Resultantly many a people are living a duality of Christianity by the day and traditionalism by night. What it then amounts to is a whole generation living a false identity which is ultimately retrogressive.

5.2.2   The Zulu Empire

In the early eighteenth century, the legendary Zulu warrior, Shaka Zulu, emerged as a leading figure in the military and political state of affairs in the Zulu Kingdom. The Zulu Empire was a South African Empire which extended from the Tugela River to the Pongola River in eastern South Africa (Afropedia.com). The Zulu were descended from the Nguni, a group that established itself in Southern Africa in the seventeenth century. The Nguni were Bantu speakers who had been migrating down the eastern coast of Africa over the course of many centuries, with some groups arriving perhaps as early as the ninth century. The Bantu population increased rapidly and grazing land became scarce (Afropedia.com). Once in Southern Africa, they formed into several clans of which the Zulu were a single example. By the end of the 18th century tribal wars became more severe (Afropedia.com). Tribal leaders emerged determined to win more land at the expense of neighboring groups. The Zulu people were originally a relatively unimportant tribe, but after Shaka's ascendency as the new Zulu king in 1868, he revolutionized Zulu warfare and established an empire and the Zulu identity was subsequently shaped chiefly by Shaka himself and also a series of powerful successors (Maylam 1986). He claimed absolute authority over his kingdom and his hierarchical leadership style was retained by subsequent Zulu rulers and later adopted by *Inkatha*, a twentieth century Zulu political organization.

According to Mathieu (1999: 371), the rise and development of the Zulu kingdom is a standout amongst the most astounding and broadly documented case studies of successful empires in Southern Africa. The rise of the Zulu empire over a moderately brief timeframe, its powerful expansion over a wide territory, the overwhelming violence and terror involved and the brutal European overthrow of the regime have long attracted scholarly attention from sociologists, historians and anthropologists of African political systems. Mathieu (1999)

further argues like the epicenter of an earthquake, the creation of the Zulu Kingdom and the militarism upon which it was based sent shock waves throughout Southern Africa, its effects and ramifications were felt much farther afield up into central Africa as far as modern Tanzania and lasted for decades. In other ways, it was like the blasting of a cue ball into a rack of billiard balls which were then sent careering in all directions. All that was attributed to the pro-active leadership of Shaka. According to Dei *et al* (2016) successful leaders are visionary leaders. They continuously anticipate possible threats to maintaining their ethical culture and organize group resources to avoid these threats or face them head-on. As a precursor, Shaka was pretty much aware of the needs of both the external and the internal needs of the group and thus he pre-occupied himself with both the long term and short term goals of his Empire.

Tribute payment to the king in form of cattle and other valuables was one of the traditional resources for ethical leadership for the Zulu empire. According to Orner-Cooper (1994: 57), the Zulu king gave cattle to his military *indunas* and so they were able to build up large personal herds. All the members of the kingdom also shared in the pride evoked by the magnificence of the royal herds as well as the consciousness of unrivalled military power. This practice resonates well with the Machiavellian rulership of the West, where the power of the nation is seen in the amount of resources that they have amassed to themselves as well as to their military might. Shaka adopted and exhibited the Machiavellian philosophy as an approach to remain a powerful force. According to Mangena (2011:110) briefly stated, Machiavellian philosophy replaces the term leader with the term prince who wields absolute power and authority to the extent that he can kill his enemies if he feels that his authority is under threat. The kingship of most of the Zulu kings resembled the characteristics and outlook of self-defining leaders because they possessed strong internalized values and ideals. Such types of leaders are able and willing to forgo personal payoffs and when necessary, to risk loss of respect and affection to pursue actions that they are convinced are right.

These leaders have a sense of self-worth that is self-determined, not in a self-serving way, but in a manner that allows them to make tough, unpopular decisions (Maylam, 1986: 25). This practice of making unpopular decisions is however not in sync with the tentacles of Ubuntu which call for leaders to have desirable qualities as judged by those who gave them the mandate to lead. As such, Mangena (2011:116) avers that these desirable qualities must enable the leader to realize that whatever decision he makes must be for the benefit of the group. Zulu chiefs exhibited a strong sense of inner purpose and direction, which often was

viewed by others as the great strength of their leadership. However, Ayittey (1993:39), argued, even this great authority was subject to checks, and a chief's practical exercise of power depended very much on his ability to maintain his following and to control key material resources.

The chief was assisted by the inner or privy council in governance that kept check on his behaviour. He was the administrative and judicial head of a given territorial division, vested often with final economic and legal control over all land within his boundaries (Ayittey, 1993:41). The chief was a pivotal figure whose prerogative was wide-ranging through executive, military, judicial and religious powers. The formation and consolidation of chiefdoms and kingdoms was thus attributable to the services and benefits that his subjects got from his leadership. He was seen as the soul of the nation and kept land in trust for his subjects and was a link between the living and the dead. The ability of the chief to maintain his following and to control key material resources played an important part in the consolidation of the Zulu chiefdom into larger power blocs. Shaka in the same manner assigned some chiefs (*indunas*) to play administrative roles in safeguarding the interests of the Zulu empire and they were accountable to him.

In addition, guarantees of security from attacks from other nations was the most powerful resource Tshaka used to build the Zulu empire and subsequently lead it successfully. Smaller chiefs gained greater security from incorporation in the Zulu kingdom. Orner-Cooper (1994:57), posits that as long as the chiefs had the king's favor, no local rival could challenge those smaller chiefs and their subjects. It was the responsibility of traditional leaders to see to it that their subjects are well cared for without any influences. The king's medicines and his favours with the unseen powers had to be used for the benefit of the people (Mayla, 1986:23). Security also came in form of adequate provision for the nation. The king was responsible for the prosperity of the realm through protecting it against invasion and ensure that his subject have sufficient land for crops and pastures. Through performance of rituals, the king was to prevent drought, plague, insect infestations and similar disaster. He had to have specialist rainmakers, medicine men for the health and well-being of his people and had to perform rituals for various activities and that ensured the prosperity as well as social and economic security of the kingdom (Orner-Cooper 1994:57).

Tshaka's charismatic leadership has been another theme in writing on the Zulu leader. According to Miller (2006: 97), charismatic leaders may have a positive or negative

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influence. They are characterized as transformative, visionary, excellent communicators, able to inspire trust, make people feel a sense of comfort, are action focused and entrepreneurial, and can express emotion. MAJ Calvin R. Allen (2014: iii) opines that,

> It was because Shaka Zulu was a great strategist and military innovator that he was able to successfully establish Zulu dominance. His political objective was to expand his territory with the unification of neighboring clans and war was the primary way used to achieve this. His employment of tactics to achieve strategic objectives is reminiscent of operational art as it relates to the arrangement of military forces in time, space and purpose. In order to achieve his political objectives, Shaka reorganized his clan, developed an intelligence network, and employed new tactics and strategies in his quest to form a new system of war thus allowing him to change the society and the nature of warfare in Southern Africa. Shaka became the military architect of southern African unification. The Zulus were victorious in each of their battles against native clans because of Shaka's strategic military conquests, creating the strongest African nation in the nineteenth century.

Shaka had in the same manner a very strong personal character. Generally, it is thought that strong personal character is the basis of effective leadership (Ferrell, Fraedeich, and Ferrell, 2011:140). Whilst Shaka exhibited such strong personal character in the decisions that he made in the resolution of complex statecraft issues of his time, he was such an innovative leader.

In this vein,

> Shaka introduced a systematic military reorganization and revolutionized his army's weaponry and military tactics. Through the organization of the Zulu army into regiments and incorporating rigid training programmes, the Zulu power was increased. The training programme consisted of a new battle formation, the 'bullhorn', designed to disrupt and encircle enemy forces (Allen, 2014; 4).

According to Allen (2014:14), Shaka was a military genius for his reforms and innovations in the art of war. He changed the nature of warfare in Africa from an exchange of taunts and spear throwing, producing minimal loss of life on the enemy into close combat warfare. Together with his bullhorn tactics, the combination of assegai and shield, Shaka inflicted crushing defeat upon his enemies. Through his leadership vision and style, he increased his army from 350 to more than 2000 soldiers in the first year of his reign and by 1824, he commanded an army in excess of 30 000 occupying an estimated 2 million square miles of land (Sebati, 2015:35).

Traditionally, women in the Zulu kingdom were empowered and some held very influential positions which helped the king in his leadership. Despite the fact that there is little written about female *amabutho*, sources suggest something more than simply age sets, and that they

may very well had a more significant and wider purpose than had been previously recognized in Southern African traditional leadership. Webb and Wright (2001:41), observed that particular women also held leadership positions of influence in the *amkhanda* (Zulu military kraals) of the successive Zulu kings under Shaka (1816- 1828), Dingane (1828-1840) and Mpande (1840-1872), like men, girls were organized into regiments (*amabutho*). The evidence of women causing or influencing the events and circumstances of the past, individually and collectively, shed light on gender relations that shaped and constrained their roles and actions. In traditional pre-colonial Southern African societies, women's social and economic roles and activities served to empower them individually and collectively.

As Eldredge (2014:207), postulates, these roles allowed them to make crucial decisions and to exercise control over their own lives and affairs as well as those of others in spheres of activity assigned to women in the family, household and production. Therefore, for these reasons, women were not powerless in the context of inequality in gender relations and women's subjection to male decision-making and control over resources. In addition, Kirby (1955:46), claims that Shaka had a female *ibutho* (regiment), which also had a female commander who cohabited with Shaka. He further argued, it seems then that not all *indunas* (army officer) were male and that an *induna* of a female *ibutho* could have been male or female. As put forward by Webb and Wright (2001: 56), an oral history source mentions that there were 'girls of the king's *mdhlunkulu* and that a section of a female *ibutho* in the *isigodhlo* (king's private enclosure) were armed.

The Zulu king rewarded their subordinates and promoted them on merit basis. He achieved this by eliminating privilege and class, introducing a graduating system through which soldiers had to earn their positions and rank. Shaka shared all the spoils of war and resources taken from the defeated armies among his soldiers. This inculcated some values of generosity and oneness as the spoils from the war were distributed to his people. This satisfied the values of Ubuntu where leaders should strive to meet the needs and the demands of their followers. Accordingly, the highest law that would govern the nation would be that of sharing the resources and a common fate in peace and war. Each man or woman would rise to the highest position in the country based on merit, not according to birth, as was the previous case. There would be no distinction between original Zulus and foreign Zulus (those incorporated into the Zulu clan) (Allen, 2014; 4). All ageing army members were to be treated with dignity and to retire. This showed that the attribute of respect that is key in the African philosophy was being upheld. Respect for the elderly, the leaders, the neighbors and

respect for oneself are the key pillars of Ubuntu. Respect therefore serves as a seedbed for unity and co-operation as the people will be better placed to assume their position and roles in their communities. This ensured that discipline and order was maintained in all Zululand. It is fair to argue that Shaka Zulu was a task and achievement oriented, transformative leader whose legacy remains a model to emulate and that gained him respect, loyalty and support among his people.

Outside of his empire though he was the embodiment of brutality and ruthlessness and this contradiction puts Shaka in his own category as a successful but controversial leader. The critical success resource elements for Shaka's successful leadership which tragically ended as a result of assassination by his half-brothers' were firstly the strategic use of the military to secure national objectives. Shaka innovatively revolutionized warfare to the extent that even after his death his legacy lived. The heroic defeat of the British army at the battle of Isandhlwana 01 January 1879 is testimony of the valour inculcated in the Zulu warriors which persisted long after Shaka's death in 1828. The second resource was the successful consolidation, acquisition and control of resources which included land and cattle. Shaka initially secured his empire before he used his expedition forces to conquer and acquire more territory. In the process he expanded his resource base which further consolidated his power because he could use the resource in exchange to loyalty. Third at the political level Shaka developed a strong doctrine of solidarity through co-operation to create a single identity for all Zulus and those from the conquered subjects. He realized the importance of the concept of strategic strength in critical mass hence his strength correspondingly increased. Shaka trained his subjects to be innovative and self-reliant whilst at the same time responsible. Tributary or vassal state kings were to be accountable to him for resources in their charge through royalty payments. Over and above all else Shaka's main resource was his authentic self. Shaka was indeed a great leader, military strategist and fighter par excellence.

5.2.3   Moshoeshoe Kingdom

Acccording to Moorosi (2005:1), literature provides that in the middle of the eighteenth century, the whole of the South African Highveld was in turmoil because of wars of destruction known as *difaqane* (*the Times of Troubles*). Lesotho, under King Moshoeshoe, attracted people from various parts of Southern Africa, who had fled from the wars of destruction as King Shaka Zulu consolidated his Zulu kingdom through military conquests in present day Kwazulu-Natal province of the Republic of South Africa (Mofuoa, 2015: 20). While historians may give various explanations for these momentous events, there is a

general agreement that the resulting wars shook the social foundation of many societies in Southern Africa. The *difaqane* triggered a series of catastrophes that caused bloodshed, social and political disintegration and collapse of confidence in leadership (Mofuoa, 2015:22). This was a paradox in that the African way of life calls for people to be united and look out for one's neighbour thus eliminating such vices as bloodsheds, socio-political disintegration among others. It was during this time that a young chief, Moshoeshoe, gathered together the remnants of those wars and founded the Basotho nation in the present day Kingdom of Lesotho.

Epprecht (1996:186), observed that, from the ashes of devastating *difaqane* wars in mid-nineteenth century, Basotho staged one of Africa's most remarkable come backs. They emerged from these crippling series of wars to become the industrial heartland of Southern Africa. The loss of livestock and inability to reap crops due to wars seemed not to have hampered their remarkable recovery as they presented the appearance of a thriving and well-ordered people (Burman, 1976:42). King Moshoeshoe 1 of Lesotho's standing as an architype of ethical leadership is abundantly supported both by his monumental achievements and by the ethical qualities of his organizational creative leadership (Mofuoa, 2015:21). Ashton (1967:3), describes Moshoeshoe as 'one of the most brilliant native statesmen of Africa'.The leader may know the right action to take. But without an emotional connectedness to perform the right action, such knowledge is of little value (Dei et al 2016). This emotional connectivity to the right action has been perceived as "passion" (Ferrell, Fraedeich, and Ferrell, 2011:141). The passion to perform the right action involves recognition of the value of ethical decision making and a willingness to maintain this value in the face of challenges and tough times. As an ethical leader, Moshoeshoe had the unparalleled courage to maintain the ethical culture of the Empire regardless of all odds.

Although the *difaqane* wars were mainly fought amongst Africans, in 1836, a large number of the Boers, who fled British rule in the Cape Colony, began arriving in the territory north of Senqu River and established settlements on Moshoeshoe's land (Moorosi, 2005:3). Moshoeshoe tried to use diplomacy to persuade them to leave but they refused and that provoked a number of wars between the Boers and the Basotho. It was until 1868, when Moshoeshoe realized that he would ultimately lose the whole of his territory to the Boers that he sought protection from the British Government. According to Gill (1993:78), when Moshoshoe learned about the presence of the missionaries at Philippolis and Kuruman, he first consulted his people before inviting them (missionaries) to his country. He sought

protection from the British government with the help of the missionaries. Moshoeshoe built his nation, a nation with a unique culture, belief and practices, by giving protection to the Zulus, the Ndebeles, Tswana and other Sotho speaking tribes who were running away from Shaka.

Unlike Shaka of the Zulus, Mzilikazi of Matebele and Manthatisi of Batlokoa, who used wars and revenge, he used a different approach, that of a peacemaker, who protected those who needed protection. Thus Cassallis (one of the missionaries) explains that Moshoeshoe was a father figure, a man who created the mighty Basotho nation by bringing together people from very diverse backgrounds and cultures, and from different parts of Southern Africa. As Murithi (1994: 354) observes, Moshoeshoe made peace in the way that preserved the integrity and the fabric of the Basotho. He behaved with excellence, honesty, trustworthy, and integrity, reaching the highest level of humanity (Magagula and Mazibuko, 2004: 52). Generally, the leadership styles that Moshoeshoe used were participative, consultative, and democratic. The leadership styles that Moshoeshoe employed were in sync with Ubuntu because he ruled in the common interest of his people. In light of this, Ubuntu always remind leaders that they are there to render service to the people (i.e their followers). Such kind of ethical leadership is in the same manner reciprocated by great loyalty, respect and allegiance to the leaders by their followers.

Moshoeshoe's quest for peace, his intelligence and the vision he had for his nation, led him to adopt leadership skills that were different from those of other kings of his time. According to Prozesky (2016: 11) the most arguably striking illustration of Moshoshoe's creativity, ethical and peace building depth comes from his reaction to cannibals and especially those who killed and ate his grandfather Peete. Couzens (2003: 94), argues that he "had a distaste for the death penalty and rarely invoked it…This extended even to the cannibals, of whom there may once have been up to 7000 in his country. He preferred to lure them away from their hateful habits by giving them food and cattle. As for the cannibals who had eaten his grandfather, the king reportedly said that, when they approached him in dire straits, they should not be killed as they were the living graves of his people's ancestors (Couzens 2003, 95). Respect for the ancestors and their graves is, of course, a central aspect of traditional African cultures (Thorpe, 1996: 38). It was because he was a lover of peace that instead of exterminating his grandfather's killers, Moshoeshoe chose the route of forgiveness, reconciliation and generosity. This was also exhibited by Nelson Mandela when he called for reconciliation with the apartheid masters soon after South Africa got its independence in 1994. This showed the

African perspective of Ubuntu which places forgiveness highly in the lives of people. As put forward by Ngara (2012: 7), it is reasonable to argue that Moshoeshoe's concern for peace was so pervasive that the concept of peace became a key element in the psyche of a traditional Mosotho. The values of peace are believed to have transcended and cascaded down the genetic material of every BaSotho citizen as a result of the exemplary life of Moshoeshoe.

Whereas in Western and other societies only bravery and military prowess are hailed, the traditional Mosotho child was socialized to regard peace as something of greater value than gallantry and violence. This, as put forward by Ngara (2012), is exemplified by the following saying: *Habo Lekoala ha ho lluoe. Habo Mohale ho phehoakamamina* translated as "At the home of the coward there are no tears. At the home of the gallant warrior people cook with mucus." Whereas there is peace and quiet at the home of the coward there are no tears. At the home of the gallant hero there is so much weeping and lamentation that mucus gets mixed with food as the crying women cook. Sanders (2000:125), also observed that, a strong advocate of peace instead of conflict, he (Moshoeshoe) once said that peace is 'like the rain which makes the grass grow, while war is like the wind which dries it up.

Moshoeshoe's fascination with peace as a weapon should in no way obscure his military genius which was pivoted to the survival of the Basotho nation. He was a key architect of strategic defence as a weapon for victory as well as introducing the notion of alliance building which guaranteed his long term survivability. In the face of impending defeat from the marauding Zulu armies and British and Boer invader forces, Moshoeshoe energetically led his people and strategically chose the Thaba Bosiu mountain as a vital last stand position for the Basotho. From this mountain all attempted assaults were thwarted and to show his magnanimity two incidents single out Moshoeshoe. According to an article in the mail and guardian Oct 27, 2018, when a Zulu assault failed Moshoeshoe gave cattle to their retreating soldiers to nurse their hunger on their way back. This embarrassed the Zulus to the extent they never made any further attempts of attacking. On the same position after an unsuccessful attempt by the British, before their retreat, it was Moshoeshoe who made overtures for a peace treaty. Whist Moshoeshoe was fully confident of his invincibility at Thaba Bosiu, strategically though he figured the need for alliance building which would guarantee him long term security from attack hence his asking for protectorate status. Again this showed his sharpened statecraft and diplomatic skills which were not common at his time.

Historians maintain that in order to achieve all his successes Moshoeshoe never went into decision making on matters that affected his nation without consulting his people. Moshoeshoe would call a *"pitso"* (public gathering) and discuss the issue at hand with his people. Moshoeshoe greatly observed the values of Ubuntu in his governance; thus it can be seen that Ubuntu as a leadership philosophy is goal-oriented and it seeks to promote the goals of the community ahead of those of the leaders. This diverges from the Western philosophy of leadership which regards leaders as the means and an end to all decisions (Rugeje 2017:123). Moshoeshoe would make sure that he consults his followers before making communal decisions. Then he would make a decision based on the national deliberations and recommendations. As Dirk (2004) states, Moshoeshoe had humanity. In an African perspective he had "Ubuntu or botho", a term in ancient African philosophy and way of life meaning humanity to others. Every mosotho got an equal chance to speak until some kind of agreement was reached and there was dialogue that safeguarded the rights and opinions of individuals and minorities. He had loyalty to the Basotho owing his status and the powers associated with it to the will of the Basotho.

This consultative approach to leadership in decision making was one of Moshoeshoe's unique leadership traits. He formed his government where a number of elected people, senior councilors, were regularly called to advise him. There was a group of men who would be called at *Pitso's* (public gatherings) known as the *matona*, to discuss matters of governance with the King. Ngara (2012:7), concurs with this, when he argued that;

> an important aspect of Moshoeshoe's leadership style was his policy of consulting his *matona*. When negotiating with an enemy or adversary, he would sit on the same side as the enemy team facing his own team which would be on the other side. He would position himself in such a way that his team would see from his gestures whether he wanted them to agree with the enemy or not. In that way consultation with his councilors and elders would take place even during the process of serious negotiations with the enemy. This collective leadership style strengthened trust and loyalty between the King and his subordinates. The best index for testing the degree to which the leader is acknowledged by the masses and seen to truly speak their interests is how much ordinary people show trust in and affection, obsequiousness and veneration for the leader.

Ngara further argues that "by far the clearest example of inspirational ethical leadership that Southern African history has seen is that of king Moshoeshoe who developed a genuine collective leadership style and became a great inspiration to his subjects. He was such an inspirational leader that his influence had a lasting effect on the consciousness, culture and day-to-day discourse of the ordinary Mosotho (2012: 10). Nearly 150 years after his death,

you still hear the people of Lesotho using peace as a greeting word or as a parting slogan: *Khotso Ntate!* "Greetings, Elder!" *Ha e ate!* "May it be multiplied" or *Ha e phaphate*! "Let it be given a pat on the back!" (Ngara 2012:8). As Manning (1988: 155) observed, leadership style based on persuasion rather than control enhance the prospects of lasting success because it involves respect for others, which in turn is better able to produce effective teams and greater supportiveness in them. Having explored the three key Sothern African great leaders it is imperative to analyse the ethical resources and practices that shaped the diverse areas of their leadership *vis-à-vis* the contemporary Western practices.

5.3   Summary of Critical Resources for Successful Leadership

Evidence illuminated by this study indicates that by any standard of measure the Mutapa State, the Zulu Empire and the Basotho Kingdoms were successful dispensations of their time. They all achieved success through the skillful and balanced use of elements of statecraft which included the dimensions of ideology and identity, security, governance, economic well-being and international relations. An earlier chapter on theories of power revealed that functionalism is the balanced use of all available resources for the purpose of creating critical mass towards mission accomplishment which is ultimately expressed as common good will. The historical Empires and Kingdoms seemed to have successfully achieved this measure as will be revealed by the following paragraphs. An understanding of how traditional wisdom was translated to achieve realistic outcomes will mostly arouse the appetite for further research into how a new paradigm for leadership can be developed.

5.4   Key Tenets of Traditional Cultural Leadership Resources

Whilst most available literature on traditional leadership concentrates on critiquing the relevancy and placement of the institution of traditional leadership in the contemporary governance structures as is the case with Rapatsa 2015:28 and Matloa 2008:19, the approach in this study is about exhuming the philosophy surrounding African leadership and the concomitant , resources thereof. The use and abuse of the traditional systems over time has tended to dominate the debate on African leadership resources, thereby ultimately clouding the real issues in a fog of trivial tactical nuances rather than a critical focus on the real philosophy itself. It is for this reason that the following sections of the chapter will illuminate the key tenets of Ubuntu as a critical leadership resource in politics, governance, the economy, religion and morality, the justice system and security in the conduct of statecraft as was done in pre-colonial with a view to extrapolate the same in modern governance.

5.4.1 Ubuntu/Uunhu

The Ubuntu (Nguni), Uunhu (Shona), Botho (Sotho) philosophy is a central pillar of African ethics which defines how humanity ought to live with all God's creation. It is a rich vertical and horizontal life concept replete with religious, social, psychological and physical universe forming the African's worldview of existence. It guides the way of existence for both leaders and followers. According to Mluleki Munyaki and Mokgethi Motlabi in African Ethics (Murove 2013:65) Ubuntu is more than just a manifestation of individual acts, it is a spiritual foundation, an inner state, an orientation and a disposition towards good which motivates, challenges and makes one perceive, feel and act in a humane way towards others. It is a way of life that seeks to promote and manifest itself and is least realized or made evident in harmonious relations with society. As a resource for leadership Ubuntu may be the panacea for successful ethical leadership which has been so elusive in the post-colonial Southern African scenario.

The rule and conduct of statecraft by King Moshoeshoe epitomized the Ubuntu philosophy more than any other leader of his time. King Moshoeshoe rather than become the pliant son or individual who when struck on one cheek turns and offers the other cheek as a sign of acquiescent goodness chose the nobler option of turning weakness into valour through Ubuntu. In the face of impending defeat, Moshoeshoe mobilized his people and took defensive positions in the impenetrable Thaba Busio mountain where he systematically defeated his attackers easily. In a secure environment Moshoeshoe went on to establish a vibrant democratic dispensation where his people flourished. As we further examine the resource Ubuntu, let it be clearly noted that Ubuntu is not a philosophy of sainthood but rather a pragmatic way of handling issues of survival, human relations and sound economic practices in a manner which promotes the dignity, self-worth and common good of the followers.

The role of Ubuntu ethics before the colonialism period, guided moral conduct in terms of attitude toward life, which encompasses issues of human dignity and respect, within the understanding that an individual's humanity interconnects with the dignity and humanity of others (Mabovula, 2011:4-6). According to Broodryk (2004:31), the traditional African worldview of Ubuntu is based on the ethical values of humanness, caring, respect, compassion and associated values ensuring a happy and qualitative human community life in a family spirit. Van Binsbergen (2001:19) also concurs with the above argument, when he also observed that Ubuntu recognizes four attributes of being human, these are human

dignity, equality, universal brotherhood and sacredness of life, and these provide the most desirable state of life in community-based living.

According to Mbiti (1969: 110), social psychology, economics, political science and power, ethics and spirituality, and peace are presented in a cyclic manner around Ubuntu to suggest the principle of systemic thinking and the community sense of 'I am because we are and because we are therefore I am". In light of this, it can be noted that everyone's contribution counts. The Ubuntu philosophy is one of the most powerful explanations of the power relations that should exist between the leader and the led, between political leaders and the populace. What this means, as put forward by Ngara (2012:8), is that;

> in traditional societies what we call transformational leadership went hand in hand with responsible leadership. In other words, Southern African traditional leaders bequeathed the idea that leaders are accountable to the community, to the people they lead. Traditional leadership as explained in the sense of the Ubuntu perspective, exists for the purpose of promoting the interests of the people and the leader must therefore regard him or herself as a steward who owes the position he/she holds to the people or the nation. The King is the supreme leader, however, he/she can be disciplined if he/she abuses the power invested in him or her.

Samkange and Samkange (1980) highlight the three maxims of hunhuism or Ubuntuism.

> The first maxim asserts that to be human is to affirm one's humanity by recognizing the humanity of others and, on that basis, establish respectful human relations with them. And the second maxim means that if and when one is faced with a decisive choice between wealth and the preservation of the life of another human being, then one should opt for the preservation of life. The third maxim as a principle deeply embedded in traditional African political philosophy says the king owes his status, including all the powers associated with it, to the will of the people under him.

The Ubuntu/Unhu philosophy resembles participative leadership because under Ubuntu, instead of transferring all the power to the leader, the people must also be able to contribute to national policies. Participative leadership theories as Ngara (2012: 2) postulates, suggest that the ideal leadership style is one that takes the input of other into account and this type of leadership encourage participation and contributions from group member and help group members feel more relevant and committed to the decision-making process. Participative leadership therefore is the African way of doing business where the leader is at the service of the people.

The Ubuntu concept is key to an understanding of traditional African ethics. It is important to observe that while Western notions of ethical leadership focus more on the qualities and role

of the leader, African notions of ethical leadership focus on both the role the leader plays in promoting communal/group interests and the role of those he or she leads. In the Zimbabwean Shona culture there is an interesting saying which goes like: *Hapana mutungamiri kana pasina vanhu nekuti mutungamiri unofanira kuzadzikisa zvido zvavanhu.* (Leaders only exist for the benefit of the people who give them the mandate to lead as they must always strive to promote the common good of the people) (Mangena 2011). Ubuntu sees community rather than self-determination as the essential aspect of personhood. People are distinctive beings, able to recognize and acknowledge each other through mutual encounter and cultural integration (Lessem and Nussbaum, 1996). Values and processes geared toward seeking consensus and mutual understanding, and maintaining harmony are very much a part of African culture. These include leadership and healing skills and simple interpersonal processes such as how to greet someone in the morning, how a person leads a group to improvise together in dance, how a chief makes decisions, or how war leaders reduce vengeance among people who have been at war. Ali Mazrui (2001) a Kenyan political scientist, referred to an African tendency toward a short memory of hate: when he said that, "black people have been at least as violent as anything ever perpetrated but what is distinctive about them is their short memory of hate''. Africans teach their children to communicate, reconcile, and find ways to cleanse and let go of hatred and give them the skills to do so. From the above it can therefore be concluded that Ubuntu philosophy supported by the skillful use of other leadership and power resources is a potent weapon for statecraft and it was central to the survival of pre-colonial polities and states.

5.4.2 Politics and Governance
From an analysis of the literature given earlier on governance and politics as a resource for leadership in pre-colonial Africa can be classified roughly into three categories which at times were interwoven. The three categories can be cited as Democratic decentralization as practiced in the Mutapa State. In this State power was devolved with a lot of autonomy given to Tributary kings who whilst controlling their day to day activities had responsibility to the King in the form of tribute or royalty payments. The Zulu Empire was more characterized by democratic centralism. Whilst a number of scholars have alluded to autocracy in Shaka's rule, l think to his credit Shaka was quite democratic in that whilst he controlled the central reigns of power such as the military instruments, he also delegated quite some degree of power to his Indunas. The distinction of delegation and devolution is important in that in Shaka's empire there was more cohesion than in the devolved and loosely knit Mutapa state.

The Moshoeshoe rulership was more a unitary democratic dispensation which had its own advantages over other systems mentioned earlier.

With the above in mind the chapter will now give a general resume of governance systems in pre-colonial Africa but at the same time noting that there were elaborate arrangements covering all systems of government functions such as justice, law and order, finance, local government, the economic sectors as well as security and foreign relations. As alluded to earlier on, traditional African political systems varied from one community to the other. Most of them, before the advent of colonialism, developed important centralized political structures. According to Sesay (2014:12), several pre-colonial societies were organized into medium sized city-states with centralized and pyramidal structures of authority. The most important distinction between medium and large pre-colonial kingdoms in Africa was their territorial size. Medium sized kingdoms were urbanized and their kings wielded immense powers, which they shared only with trusted representatives or allies. Law making, implementation and adjudication powers were concentrated in the king-in-council. According to Maylam (1986:28) in the Zulu kingdom,

> heads of preexisting chiefdoms although ultimately subject to Shaka retained a degree of autonomy. Some of these were allocated land and cattle by Shaka to ensure their loyalty. Shaka entrusted key advisory and executive roles to senior members of the ruling lineage; both men and women. He appointed a large number of *izindunas* and state officials who performed various administrative functions.

Politics was the affair of the rulers and a few appointed officials and there was no written constitution for running the society. As put forward by Olasunkanmi (2016:45) all they relied on was the unwritten constitutions which were in form of norms, conventions or agreements. Traditional societies were able to survive for many years because constitutionalism was in the blood, culture and religion of the people and, at the same time, the people had a keen sense of their own identity. The fact that the customs and norms were deeply entrenched in the hearts of the people meant that, it was taboo and unheard of to flout them unlike the present day practices where leaders (presidents) do manipulate their constitutions in order to prolong their stay in power. Similarly, these presidents also play around with the constitution such that they end up having absolute powers over every entity, arm or office within their respective country. On the contrary to note, even in these centralized systems, political powers were not absolute because there was divine intervention and people participation.

Osaghae (1992:55) contended that political power was divine and almost mystical, it epitomized the unity of the people and was held in trust for the people by the ruler and elders of the community and the ruler could not enforce his personal will on the people indiscriminately. Osaghae (1992:57) further mentioned that there were two sources of political power. First, the concept of "divine right of king" made the ruler a representative of the ancestors as well as the spiritual symbols for the people. Second, the people were a source of political power since they selected the ruler. This indicated that religion and people constituted primary sources of political empowerment for rulers (Osaghae, 1992:60). Olasunkanmi (2016:44) observed that;

> the process of consultation was actualized through consensus building within age classes and issues were handed over to the seniors, and finally passed on to the elders for promulgation. There was always the transcendental aspect of decision making, because the spirits of the ancestors were also expected to play part, especially where there was infringement of justice and fairness. In some situations, the transcendental consciousness referred to God, whose existence was not an object of question, coupled with the belief in the spirits of the ancestors. Consequently, governance, involved all age groups, social classes and gender as well as the transcendental, which meant God and the spirits of the ancestors (Olasunkanmi, 2016: 44).

This differs from the present day Western arrangements where governance is elitist in nature (i.e only those with access to the decision making machinery of the state) are privileged enough to make some binding decisions on behalf of the general populace.

5.4.2 Economics

Whilst most traditional African states had diversified economies, the primary strategic resource which formed the core and foundation of all economic activity was the land under the custodianship of the Traditional leaders. So important was this resource that for over a century it has become the basis for political and economic contestation which is defining the political trajectory of post-colonial Africa. Working on the land people in pre-colonial Africa were engaged in hunting and gathering, agriculture, mining and simple manufacturing as major economic activities. For example, Mudhenge (1988:161) argued, the Mutapa economy was diversified with agricultural farming and cattle as its backbone. Large numbers of cattle were kept and there was poultry farming. Most traditional societies, large and small, were mainly farming communities who adopted iron to modernize their agriculture and cultivate more extensively than their stone age predecessors. Evidence of agricultural economy basis can also be drawn from Basotho nation under king Moshoeshoe. Turner (2005), postulated that, during the nineteenth century, social capital to agriculture became the mainstay granary

economy of Lesotho. Through its agricultural sharing mechanisms, it sustained Basotho livelihoods and their granary economy. The sharing mechanisms through social capital were skillfully directed at crop and livestock farming.

In fact, farming in Lesotho at the time had an intrinsic cultural value and was an activity characterized by a high level of sociality. Even the Ndebele, who early historians described as largely predatory, relied more on cultivation than anything else. As put forward by Boehm (2003:17), farming was thus not only deeply rooted in social processes, but it simply constituted the social backbone of Basotho. What held up production, then, was not an insufficient supply of land but an insufficient supply of manpower. Plenty of strong young people were needed to work the land and open new fields. Without a big labour force, farmers were limited in their use of extensive agriculture and so labor was very valuable and institutions that regulated the use of labor, such as family, kinship systems and slavery, played a crucial role in Southern African pre-colonial economic history.

Labour shortages which hindered optimal productivity resulted in many imaginative innovations for survival and successful economic well-being. The *Zunde raMambo* (Strategic Grain Reserve) was introduced to hedge against food insecurity. In addition work was organized along community participation in the form of *Nhimbes* and *Jakwara* (Shona) for collective weeding and harvesting as well as corn thrashing, *Madzoro* for rotational tending of cattle in the pastures. These innovations were successful in that synergy was the pillar for success as expressed in the Shona idiom *Chara chimwe hachitswanyi inda* (there is more strength in combined effort). Traditional African economies also practiced pastoralism and put much faith in their livestock. Cattle were an important indicator of status, wealth and a means of maintaining clients, and over and above were also useful as commodities for economic exchange, sacrifice in the propitiation of the ancestors. According to Cobbing (ibid), while a number of scholars emphasized the central role of cattle in the Ndebele state in the nineteenth century, and apportioned to British South Africa Company's seizure of vast numbers of Ndebele cattle after 1893 and during 1896, very little efforts have been made to examine the immediate and long term effects of this company looting on economic security of the indigenous peoples in the twentieth century. But indeed the systematic looting of cattle instituted through the loot commission and seizure of land from Africans in Rhodesia sowed seeds of antagonism which led to the later 1st and 2nd Chimurenga liberation wars. Colonialism had visible imprints on the economies of the locals in Southern Africa. For example in Zimbabwe people were forcibly relocated to reserves (e.g Gokwe, Muzarabani,

Binga etc) that were arid to semi-arid conditions. These areas were not conducive for farming hence forcing them to shift their economic patterns. In addition, people lost their livestock as they were raided by the erstwhile colonial masters. External trade was an equally important activity in the Zimbabwe subsistence-oriented economy while gold mining was a seasonal activity, confined largely to the summer and winter seasons although gold washing continued throughout the year and remained the main source of trade. Furthermore, because of the system of tribute payment, traditional African kings stored large quantities of grain to feed their people with this surplus in times of famine.

5.4.3 Religion and Spirituality

According to Mbiti (1991:29-30), African Traditional Religion is found in all aspects of the African people including social, political and economic, and it has been largely responsible for shaping the character and culture of the Africans throughout the centuries. Two fundamental factors worth noting are, Southern Africa was composed of many tribal entities, united religiously and culturally by a strong belief in God, who in Zimbabwean native language is referred to as *Mwari*. In Shona societies, God was known by many names or appellations and was approached through intermediaries whom the Shona referred to as *midzimu* while the Ndebeles referred them to as *amadhlozi* (ancestors). Second, ancestors, regarded as founders of a nation, were highly esteemed; in the worldview of the Shona people, ancestors occupied a central role. They were not worshiped in African culture; rather they were considered as founders and spiritual agents whose role is to communicate the message of God to the people (Masango 2002). Often, they were a means to reconciliation between tribes and conflicting parties. However, the advent of Christianity which was ushered in by colonialism began to overshadow these traditional ways of worship.

The religion revolved around ritual consultation of spirits and a cult of royal ancestors. The ancestors advised the kings through mediums appointed by the court and these mediums maintained shrines within the kingdoms' capitals (Mbiti 1977). Spirituality was deeply entrenched and embedded in the governance systems and processes. Kings would get guidance and counsel from the ancestors on how best they can run their empires. By virtue of their divine connection, leaders were revered as life givers who in addition had the role of looking after the spiritual health of their followers. Religion was a resource for solidarity, harmony and community in that in times of success, jubilation, sorrow, owe and despair appropriate rituals would be conducted to give hope, expectancy and rejuvenation to the

community. Except for the evil of society no activity would be done outside religion and this alone provided the motivation to do good and thus religion on its own became a viable source of ethical / moral leadership.

Kagema and Nyabwari (2014:31), observed that in African kingdoms,

> the whole community faithfully carried out all rites and rituals connected with rites of passage such as birth, naming, initiation, marriage and death. The ceremonies bind and form religious values which govern the family and society. Therefore, traditionally religion guides all activities of the African life be it social, political or even economic. Thus, in the political sphere, traditional societies have rulers who hold all power and authority, assisted by family heads and a council of elders. These rulers, who ascend to their positions mainly by inheritance, derived their power and authority from God, ancestors or the spirits. As literature on traditional African religion reveals, spiritual experts like the mediums, seers and diviners complimented the role of elders in dispute resolution. They were helpful in the search for truth and some of them were involved in cleansing rituals and slaughtering ceremonies, underscoring their significance in dispute resolution and governance issues.

The Western world has actually eroded these traditional African religion and everything (birth, initiation, anointing, death rituals and ceremonies) is now done in line with the colonial templates. According to Magesa (1997:10-14), a person's religious commitment and identity was certainly indicated by his/her public profession to observe certain laws and to perform certain rites and rituals. Therefore, morality or ethics is the very nature of religion and the morality of the African people demanded and enforced their emotional and behavioral commitment and so gave direction to their lives and world-view.

According to Masango (2002:712) African religion and its leaders were challenged by the missionaries, especially in a way that they brought change, and used Western concepts, which finally confused them. The leaders and the people adapted to Western concepts and some abandoned their African religious values, customs and their own culture. This new concept confused African people, as they continued to embrace the new faith. Their confusion as noted by Masango (2002) continued because African religion had no scared scriptures; people depended on leaders as they related their values of their African religion orally. This saw the concept of African leadership being skewed towards professionalism thus guiding new leaders to operate in a colonialist style.

5.4.4 Justice
The justice system in the African traditional set-ups was premised on the critical judicial role that was played by the kings and chiefs. According to Triponel and Pearson (2010) traditional

justice systems are increasingly seen as integral mechanisms through which transitional justice is implemented. Kings were tasked with the duty to deliberate over the issues as well as mete justice to his people. The kings were believed to have all the wisdom since they operated under the guidance and counsel of the spiritual beings. Since the kings were entrusted by the ancestors to represent the community they were believed to be impartial and just in dealing with their subjects. Cases were dealt with in platforms called *dares* and these *dares* are synonymous to the present day courts of law where the magistrates mete out justice between the complainants and the applicants. However, the traditional system differs from the Western system of justice where the judges who presided over the cases are trained and have profound understanding of the law. For example in Zimbabwe the judges should have at least a legal qualification so that they are able to interpret the Roman-Dutch law that govern the judicial systems of Zimbabwe, unlike, the traditional judicial system which was based on customs, laws, beliefs and norms that governed communities. Kings and their advisors unlike judges had the sole responsibility to bring justice. Nonetheless, on the negative side it can be argued that the traditional justice systems like other traditional systems were modelled on patriarchal lines hence women had no place in presiding over cases their role was to serve as witnesses. This differs from the present day Western justice system where female judges are also visibly participating in the courts of justice.

The central pillars and strength of the traditional justice system which makes it an important resource for ethical leadership is its restorative, reconciliatory, rehabilitative and re-integrative nature, features largely absent in the penal Western system. In the traditional context, if one person has say let his cattle wander off into someone's field they would repay them by grain that was equivalent to the one that would have been destroyed. And the victims in the traditional justice systems were left better off as they would have their lost property restored. But with the Western judicial system, it can be argued that the wrong doers are sentenced to serve some jail terms or pay a fine to the state and nothing to the victim who would then have to go through the civil route to get compensation. In light of this it can be argued that the Western judicial systems falls short in promoting restorative justice. The focus on traditional justice has gained momentum since the *gacaca* community courts were set up in Rwanda. The Government of Rwanda gave a public large role in selecting who would implement the traditional justice system (Rugeje 2017; Carranza, Correa and Naughton 2015; Iyodu 2012). Judges were elected from among the local population over which they had jurisdiction, following the accepted custom regarding *gacaca* courts (Triponel

and Pearson 2010). This system was much more fruitful in bringing transitional and restorative justice on the part of the aggrieved people who had suffered the atrocities of the 1994 Rwandese genocide. The perpetrators of the genocidal attacks were made to compensate the families of the victims and justice was fully meted.

By and large, the traditional justice systems are more appealing and effective as they resonate more with expectations of local populations and thus they provide a sense of justice and restoring community relationships. According to Haider (2016) the traditional justice systems are more familiar to local populations and allow for local contexts to be incorporated into transitional justice processes. However, there may also be practical limitations, as community level justice mechanisms are usually not developed to address the scale or types of atrocities committed during some conflicts. In addition, if traditional justice mechanisms are hijacked by international actors, institutionalized and implemented in a top down fashion, they may no longer resonate with local populations (Haider 2016; Triponel and Pearson 2010). In trying to retain and maintain the salubrious attributes of the traditional justice systems in Zimbabwe, it can be noted that both the Western justice systems and the traditional justice systems are operating simultaneously.

5.4.5   The Military and Security as a Leadership Resource

An analysis of the structuration of the Mutapa, Zulu and Sotho dispensations reveals a primary role for the military establishment as a guarantor for the survival of the state. Justice, economic wellbeing and the sanctity of life was all possible because of strong military institutions which served the state rather than individuals. The dispensations had national armies rather than private militias meant to perpetuate an individual's rule. The Mutapa state survived for over five hundred years on account of military strength and the same can be said for the Sotho and Zulu empires. The military was used in both defensive and offensive roles and at times just as deterrence. The use of the forces guided by Ubuntu saw the forces being an integral part of society and in fact a defining feature of the establishment of a citizen army. Every young man graduated to senior citizenship via the army system and defense was a collective and communal effort once again epitomizing Ubuntu. The fusion of power around the military-politico-industrial complex alluded to earlier on in the chapter on power and leadership in my view is fully reflective of leadership power play in pre-colonial Africa; a practice which must be revived and perpetuated if Africa is to gain a position and voice in world affairs. In Shona they say *"Baba vasiya tsvimbo havasi baba"* (The sign of fatherly

authority is a weapon for defense- traditional knobkerry). Current discourse on security reforms in Africa is a diversionary effort to distract Africa from focusing on integrated issues of security, governance and development which forms an unbreakable triad.

5.5   The Nexus between Traditional Resources and Current Leadership Practices

An assessment of the history and development of African leadership cannot be viewed as exhaustive without a review of African philosophical traditions and thought. A people's philosophy mirrors the essence of their identity and where they are headed *vis-à-vis* their history, values, ideals, self-image and the nature of relationships with their general surroundings (Bolden and Kirk 2009). Leadership is at the focal point of these social dynamics and relationships. Traditionalists regard Africa's traditional cultural institutions and resources as the true representatives of their people, accessible, respected, and legitimate, and therefore still essential to politics on the continent (Masango 2002; Njoroge 1992; Mbiti 1977). Modernists, by contrast, view traditional authority as a chauvinistic, authoritarian and increasingly irrelevant form of rule that is antithetical to democracy and ethical leadership. Nevertheless, despite these and some differences between the two groups of scholars, they actually share some common traits. Discussed in this section are the similarities, differences and lessons learnt from both groups of scholars' practices.

Traditionalists argue that African resources for ethical leadership founded on the Ubuntu philosophy are accessible and highly participatory systems that can be compared to present day participative leadership. While participative leadership comes in several flavours, there is a common pattern that is evident in most of the types. These include such factors as sharing ideas, leaders facilitating conversations requiring decision making, open sharing of information and necessary knowledge and synthesis of all available information, ideas and contributions and eventually the leader comes with the best possible solution and communicates it back to the whole group. For example, as discussed earlier on, pre-colonial African societies, community wide gatherings known variously as *pitso* (Lesotho), *kgotla* (Botswana), *dare* (Zimbabwe), *baraza* (Kenya), and by many other names, offered an opportunity for a wide array of community members to voice their opinions on community affairs and participate in consensus based decision making.

Traditionalists also note that although heredity often served as the basis for assigning leadership posts, many systems had means for 'de-stooling' or otherwise displacing leaders that did not meet with the community's approval (Osabu-Kle 2000:18). In pre-colonial

Zimbabwe for example, Chief Chirisamhuru of the Rozvi state of Zimbabwean plateau was disposed by the woman chief, Queen Nyamazana Dlamini for his unfavourable rule of the Rozvi people. In addition, Keulder (1998:11), captures many of these features in his description of the traditional African leadership perspective as follows:

> For them the institution of traditional leaders and its procedures of governance is not only a simpler form of government, but also a more accessible, better understood and a more participatory one. It is more accessible because it is closer to the subjects than any other systems of government, subjects have more direct access to their leaders because they live in the same village and because any individual can approach the leader and ask him or her to call a meeting… decision making is based on consensus, which creates greater harmony and unity, it is transparent and participatory because most people may attend tribal meetings and express their views, directly not through representatives, and lastly, harmony and unity prevail because the interests of the tribal unit, rather than an individual or group of individuals, are pursued and expressed.

This is equally comparable to modern democratic leadership style where citizen participation in matters that affect them is encouraged or advocated for. In addition, unlike present day leadership, traditional African empires and kingdoms were corruption free and they were near perfect communities (Njoroge 1994). Given the above, there is no reason why contemporary African leadership must not only borrow from the past, but may have to wholly adopt the traditional resources for leadership in order to get rid of the negative effects of colonialism that have afflicted African leadership. African states were guided by religious and moral rules which the members of the communities lived by. The rules of those communities ensured that everybody was his/her brother/sister's keeper (Igboin 2015:11). Consequently, acts of corruption could not have existed, since what affected a member of the community was believed to have affected all members in the communal system. Traditional African religion played a critical role in ensuring that there was social sanity. Given that ancestors were believed to be very active in the administration of community life, the fear of repercussion for doing evil was strong enough to prevent occurrences of corrupt practices. Regardless of whether one is arguing for or against traditional resources for ethical leadership, it is hard to deny that traditional leadership philosophy has demonstrated remarkable resilience. Its continuing importance in the social and political life of communities, whether perceived as positive or negative, is virtually indisputable.

Scholars in support of traditional resources for ethical leadership all invariably argue and advise the new African elite not only to recognize the loyalty of people to traditional leadership philosophy but to involve the same as well in governance. The call to involve

traditional authorities in issues of governance of 'modern' African states by African scholars and traditionalists, in recent years has become louder and louder as a result of the social changes that have transformed the African social and political landscapes. For instance, as observed by Owusu (1991:87), the juxtaposition of Western-styled democracy, which is based on the notion of political and social rights of individuals is antithetical the ethnic-based collectivism characteristic of African societies. The problem of governance then is to recognize and to satisfy the goals and aspirations of different groups and their leaders. In fact, it has been argued that the institutional crisis in Africa cannot be resolved by relying exclusively on either external enclave transplant institutions or purely traditional institutions and that neither total 'institutional', 'transplant' nor 'traditional fundamentalism' is a viable alternative for Africa (World Bank, 1992). Given the above argument, the lesson that can be drawn is that integrating the two systems of governance might be a good initiative, however, there is need of taking a critical look at the nature of existing scholarship with regards to the past and contemporary roles of traditionalism in Africa as a whole and Southern Africa in particular and there is no reason why in Africa the system cannot be integrated with the modern developmental state as long as the necessary institutional arrangement and checks and balances are put to place.

The need for checks and balances within any society, its leadership, and other facets of the community is indispensable. This refers to a mechanism designed to limit power in a single individual or body of government and provide for the harmonious interrelationship of the people and all of the organs of government or other social institutions. Checks and balances are intended to allow legitimate power to govern and good ideas to be implemented, while abuse of power, corruption, and oppression are minimized (New World Encyclopedia, accessed online). Lord Acton famously said, "Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely". The insight at the core of contemporary constitutionalism is when they hold too much power, even good leaders govern badly. Traditional African leadership was accompanied by mechanisms of checks and balances, thereby limiting excess in the use of power beyond presiding over community meetings, where decisions were largely made in a consensual manner (Mbiti 1977). The issue of checks and balances has to do with not only the ability of the people being led and the chances they have to apply these moral tools both in their relationships, but also with their leaders and the forms of leadership they get. African spirituality and ethics stand a good chance at making respective African societies capable of fulfilling this function. Not only does this have something to do with their leaders, but also

with their relationships among themselves and it helps establish a deeper, wider, and more effective sense of moral responsibility.

With modern types of leadership, constitutionalism is at the center of politics, leadership and governance. Constitutionalism is a type of political thought and activity that seeks to avoid tyranny and guarantees the freedom and rights of the people on which free society depends. Contemporary scholars are of the view that traditional societies were ineffective with reference to good governance because they lacked written documents to regulate the powers of the kings and chiefs who ruled then. According to such schools of thought, the absence of constitutionalism gives room for endemic corruption or profiteering by the ruling elites and resistance to transparency, accountability and political representations (Day 2000). However, most of present day African leadership experiences have demonstrated that constitutions themselves are not automatic guarantees of constitutionalism (Mangena 2011). It is the will of the people rather than the text of the constitution that is central to the entrenchment of constitutionalism. Most African societies have been treated to a convolution and bastardization of constitutionalism and growing impotence of the judiciary in the face of countless acts of impunity, executive lawlessness and economic brigandage by praetorian guards that had imposed themselves on the political landscape of the nation (Oyebode, 2005:38).

Therefore, for the improvement of ethical leadership in Africa, traditional resources should not be taken for granted. In most cases, there is not such a big difference between traditional forms of governance and principles such as participation and accountability. Viewed as full and creative partner in Africa's progress, traditionalism offers and represent a great deal that is inspiring and progressive and worthy emulating. A great deal of African democracy is already in place- whether or not it goes by that name- which needs to be unveiled, protected and promoted with pride and determination. There is need for a genuine commitment and adherence to ancient ethics, embracing the tenets of democracy and weaving them together with the indigenous institutions that Africans respect and believe in. The ingenious exploits of the Mutapas, Shakas and Moshoeshoes in weaving a tapestry of synergies brings together the leadership and power resources of Ubuntu, the military, political, governance and economic systems coupled with an eye at international diplomacy is an attributable act of Africa to statecraft genius which must form a foundation for authentic African leadership.

5.6   Conclusion

The research examined the traditional resources for ethical leadership in ancient kingdoms and empires of Southern Africa. The leadership styles, and key tenets of traditional leadership such as Ubuntu, their political systems, governance, religion and economies. As explained earlier, the leaders were able to develop stable empires partly because they had thriving militaries, governance institutions and economies and the communities were apparently well fed. They ensured participation by the people in decision making on issues affecting them, gave them social and political security and brought the communities together by sharing common morals ethics and values through the African ethics of Ubuntu and religion. A lesson that today's leaders can learn from these kingdoms is that thriving economy, peace, security and a happy loyal population are all factors that contribute significantly to the creation of a stable state and consequently to the security of those in power.

Furthermore, from the above argument, this chapter demonstrated that traditional values for ethical leader are almost the same as values highly praised or re-discovered in Western democracies. From the key tenets of traditional leadership, such issues as direct participation in decision making and conflict resolution, respect for dissent and protection of minority views and interests by requiring consensus on decisions (as compared with State electoral mechanisms where people may vote along ethnic lines), narrowing the gap between the rulers and the ruled through direct participation of all adult males in making and in enforcing rules, equitable access to land mostly by the communal land tenure system and resolutions of conflicts by narrowing differences, the incorporation of African traditional political values into modern values of governance of the post-colonial state constitutes the critical step in the reconstitution of the African state, too often perceived to be an apparatus of exploitation and oppression.

There is also a need to take note that traditional institutions have been operating for thousands of years and are still in existence, so they must hold something of value. If we understand culture as something that is malleable, rather than fixed or elevated to the status of religion, it is possible to retain what is good in these non-Western systems of governance. The leadership also needs to be brought in line with the wishes of their people and even now, there are instances of chiefs that are genuinely concerned with the welfare of their people and work toward their upliftment. Asante (2006:38) observed that, when Africans view themselves as central to their own history then they see themselves as agents, actors and

participants rather than as marginal, on the periphery of the political or economic experience of others. Africans should thus see the world through their own eyes, and must understand that they are central to their own history, not someone else.

CHAPTER SIX: AFRICAN ETHICS (UBUNTU) AND CHALLENGES TO CONTEMPORARY LEADERSHIP

6.1 Introduction

The chapter on Traditional cultural resources for leadership appropriated Ubuntu as the base line foundation for successful ethical leadership. This chapter intends to magnify the concept Ubuntu in all its manifestations. Therefore to start with the Ubuntu philosophy is derived from a Nguni word meaning the quality of being human. Accordingly Ubuntu manifests itself through various human acts, clearly visible in socio-cultural, political and economic situations as well as among family. In light of this Archbishop Desmond Tutu noted that one might have much of the world's riches and hold a position of authority, but if you have no Ubuntu, you do not amount to much. In light of this, Ubuntu reveals a world view that we owe our selfhood to others, that we are first and foremost social beings. As such, Ubuntu mirrors our humanity for each other as it can be felt and seen in the spirit of willing participation, unquestioning co-operation, warmth, openness and personal dignity demonstrated by the indigenous black population. According to Flippin Jr. (2012) from the cradle, every black child internalizes these qualities and values so that by the time adulthood is reached, the Ubuntu philosophy has become a way of being. According to Ubuntu there exists a common bond between us all and it is through this bond, through our interaction with our fellow human beings that we discover our own human qualities.

The previous chapter was focused on the traditional resources for ethical leadership in Southern Africa where it unveiled that some elements of ethical leadership today are found in the philosophy and leadership of ancient Africa. The chapter used examples of the Mutapa State of Zimbabwe, the Kingdom of Lesotho under the reign of the founder of their nation Moshoeshoe I and the Zulu Kingdom under Tshaka the Zulu. This particular chapter will explore the challenges of Ubuntu in ethical leadership. This will start by exploring the definition of Ubuntu or African ethics which implies humanity or humanness. In addition, the origins of Ubuntu will also be captured where it is noted that during the decolonization era, Ubuntu was increasingly described as an African humanist philosophy. The chapter will highlight that Ubuntu was used in the 1960s as a term for a specifically African kind of socialism or humanism found in blacks but lacking in whites. The meaning of Ubuntu becomes illuminated when the core values are expressed which include survival, respect, dignity, sharing, love, empathy, solidarity and communitarism among others. The chapter

will also proceed to capture guiding values of Ubuntu which include among others compassion, negotiations or diplomacy, appreciation of traditional values, behaviour, sharing, jurisprudence and governance and selflessness. Lastly, the chapter will present the challenges of Ubuntu in ethical leadership.

6.2 Definition of Ubuntu/African Ethics

Ubuntu is a complex word from the Nguni and Bantu languages with several definitions. The term *Ubuntu/Botho/Unhu* is therefore a Zulu/Xhosa/Ndebele/Sesotho/Shona word. A number of scholars have postulated various definitions for the subject of Ubuntu which has generated a lot of debate within public and private intellectual discussions especially in South Africa and Zimbabwe. A direct translation of the word Ubuntu is humanity or humanness. This is why the uniqueness and the meaning of Ubuntu need not be difficult to appreciate and understand even for non – Africans. This is basically due to the fact that similar morally guiding values are existential even across cultures. Sifile, Zimbiti and Chavhunduka (2016:61) citing Nussbaum (2003) define *Ubuntu* as a social philosophy, a way of being, a code of ethics and behaviour deeply embedded in the African culture. There is not only a sense of belonging in *Ubuntu* but also togetherness in the African context. In the Nguni language cluster of Southern Africa, they say *Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu* which means that a person is a person because of others (Gade 2011; Mabovula 2011). This alludes to the credence that is given to communitarianism and togetherness that is portrayed in the African communities. The African culture teaches people to sympathize with one another and to empathize or feel for each other in times of sorrow or happiness (Gade 2011). Thus, from an African's point of view, your pain is my pain, my wealth is your wealth, and your salvation is my salvation. This shows the spirit of togetherness and oneness that is held in high esteem in these African contexts. This would be translated to mean that the little that we have we will share and can survive (Nussbaum 2003). Drawing from the above definitions, what *Unhu/Ubuntu* philosophy tries to teach us is that no one can be self-sufficient, and as a result, interdependence is a reality for all (Sifile, Zimbiti and Chavunduka 2016:62). It is noteworthy that *Unhu/Ubuntu* is the pillar of human behaviour (Nussbaum 2003; Mazrui 2001). It is about ethics and society building.

In order to clearly define *Ubuntu*, it is crucial to define it in line with ethno-philosophy. To this end, Owakah (2012: 155) defines ethno-philosophy as a system of thought that deals with the collective worldviews of diverse African peoples as a unified form of knowledge based

on myths, folk wisdom, and the proverbs of the peoples. From the above definition, one can pick up two important points; the first point is ethno-philosophy as a "system of thought" and the second point is "the collective world views of diverse African peoples" and that they are a unified form of knowledge. This means that the diversity that characterizes African peoples, in terms of geographical location, history, and ethnicity, does not take away the fact that Africans have "a unified form of knowledge" that is based on group identity or community. Now, this is what qualifies Ubuntu as an important aspect of ethno-philosophy.

First generation scholars of Ubuntu such as Ramose (1999; 2014) are credited for his definition of Ubuntu as humanness. Samkange and Samkange (1980) linked *Unhu/Ubuntu* with the idea of humanism, and Tutu (1999) sees *Ubuntu* as a conflict resolution philosophy. The second generation of scholars of Ubuntu such as Eze (2010) is credited for his critical historicisation of the term *Ubuntu*. Further, Battle (2009) is credited for some deep insights on linguistic meaning of the term Ubuntu as well as his famous claim that Ubuntu is a gift to the Western World. Mangena (2012a; 2012b) is credited for defining hunhu/Ubuntu and extracting the idea of the Common Moral Position (CMP) from it and Metz (2007) whose search for a basic principle that would define African Ethics has attracted a lot of academic attention.

In as much as first generation and second generation scholars projected their various definitions of Ubuntu, what can be painstakingly noted is that at the heart of all definitions is connectivity that exists between people. Outside of Africa, *Ubuntu* is best known as a humanist philosophy associated with Nelson Mandela and Desmond Tutu. Accordingly Tutu defines Ubuntu as follows:

> One of the sayings in our country is Ubuntu - the essence of being human. Ubuntu speaks particularly about the fact that you can't exist as a human being in isolation. It speaks about our interconnectedness. You can't be human all by yourself, and when you have this quality - Ubuntu - you are known for your generosity. We think of ourselves far too frequently as just individuals, separated from one another, whereas you are connected and what you do affects the whole world. When you do well it spreads out; it is for the whole humanity (Tutu 1999: 100).

As such it can be noted that the essence of humanity is to value others as well as to be selfless in one's conduct and approach. In light of this it can be safely argued that Ubuntu is premised on the values of togetherness hence such proverbs like no man is an island entirely of himself. In Shona it is said, *Rume rimwe harikombi churu* (Translated as one man cannot surround an ant-hill). This shows the primacy community in common action. Similarly,

Mandela (1994) defines Ubuntu through verse saying, "A traveler through a country would stop at a village and he didn't have to ask for food or for water. Once he stops, the people give him food, entertain him…."

Ubuntu has created a seamless society that is bound by the values of brotherhood, togetherness, care and love for others (strangers, neighbours, enemies and self). In light of this, the term *Ubuntu* is a term used to describe the quality or essence of a person among many Sub – Saharan tribes of the Bantu language family (Eze 2008: 107). While Battle does not refer to the Shona equivalence of the word Ubuntu, and recognizes the words Ubuntu and Bantu by the common root of *–ntu* (human), Ramose uses the Zulu/isiNdebele word Ubuntu concurrently with its Shona equivalent *–Unhu-* to denote the idea of existence. *Unhu/Ubuntu* also says something about the character and conduct of a person (Samkange and Samkange 1980:38). This translates to the fact that Unhu/Ubuntu is not only ontological and epistemological concept but an ethical concept. For Battle (2009:2), Ubuntu is the interdependence of persons for the exercise, development and fulfillment of their potential to be both individuals and community. This was aptly captured by Desmond Tutu when he employed the Xhosa proverb, *ungamntu ngabanye abantu*, whose Shona equivalence is "*munhu unoitwa munhu nevamwe vanhu*" (humans are made humans by others). For Gade, this proverb means that each individual humanity is ideally expressed in relationship with others. Eze (2008: 107) affirms Gade's proposition by asserting that more critical is the understanding of a person as located in a community where being a person is to be in a dialogical relationship in this community. A people's humanity is therefore dependent on the appreciation, preservation and affirmation of other people's humanity. To be a person is to recognize therefore that one's subjectivity is in part constituted by other persons with whom one shares the world with.

In regard to the proverbial character of *Ubuntu*, Ramose (2013) opined that, *Ubuntu* is also consistent with the practices of African peoples as expressed in the proverbs and aphorisms of certain Nguni languages, specifically Sotho and Nguni. Further, another meaning of *Ubuntu* entails correct behaviour. Correct in this sense is defined by a person's relations with other people. *Ubuntu* thus refers to behaving well towards each other or acting in ways that benefit the community. Such acts can be as simple as helping a stranger in need or much complex ways of relating with others. A person who therefore behaves in these ways has Ubuntu and therefore is a full person.

Ubuntu has also been defined as something akin to a soul force. This entails an actual metaphysical connection shared between people and which helps bring connections to each other. Moreover, as an ethic, *Ubuntu* is generally in conformity with the definitions and descriptions of ethics. This include what is right or good, how one ought to behave and considerations as to what one thinks is important to do and in what ways. Further, how to conduct one's relations with other people and being aware and prepared to be critical of one's basic approvals or disapprovals (Beauchamp and Childress 2009:1). Furthermore, Ubuntu has a deep spiritual meaning because of the pivotal role that the ancestors play in the life of an African (Louw 1995). According to religious African beliefs, ancestors dwell in the sacred or spiritual world and light the path of life, survival, health and the way forward. It is for this reason that Africans spend much of their time connecting with and praising their ancestors through the practice of traditional rituals and ceremonies. This close connection with the spiritual world allows Africans to live in harmony and create balanced relationships with each other. However, in reality it would seem that a close connection and balanced relationship which Africans are supposed to possess are fading away.

In his memorial to Mandela, the former US President Barack Obama included mention of *Ubuntu*. He mentioned that Ubuntu was a concept that Mandela embodied and taught millions. Further, Ubuntu as Mandela (1994) opined referred to the need for forgiveness and reconciliation rather than vengeance. Furthermore, from as early as childhood, Africans learn that as human beings they are one. This kind of socialization of oneness is a reality for the traditional African people because as human beings we possess a biological relatedness. This implies that we all originate from the same ancestral stock and we are closer to each other than we are inclined to believe. Moreover, we all share the common desire of the need of spiritual knowledge and as human beings we all have the same destiny, a common humanity and therefore we have to recognize and acknowledge our oneness and work towards a common destiny (Goduka and Swandener 1999).

The meaning of Ubuntu becomes illuminated especially when the key values are expressed. The core values are inclusive of survival, respect, dignity, sharing, love, empathy, solidarity, communitarianism among others. These values of Ubuntu have been passed down from generation to generation and have been woven into the African fabric of life as African ethics meant to be adhered to. These social values enable the Africans to create and maintain quality human relationships especially since their meaning in life depends on it. It is therefore easy to understand how Ubuntu has become a way of life and why it is enormously valuable and

crucial as an experience and concept because the meaning is at the heart of all humans and helps relationships (Edwards *et al* 2004:19). One key aspect of Ubuntu is that, at all times, the individual effectively represents the people from whom he or she comes from and therefore tries to behave according to the highest standards and exhibit the virtues upheld by his or her society. It therefore means that people are able to judge the society from where a person comes from by judging the individual behaviour. Good behaviour reflects that the person is coming from a good society. Thus Ubuntu stresses the role that the community plays in shaping the behaviour of a person.

6.3 Origins of Ubuntu

During the decolonization era, Ubuntu was increasingly described as an African humanist philosophy. Ubuntu in this sense is a way of thinking about what it means to be human, and how we, as humans should behave towards each other (Hailey 2008). Ubuntu metaphysics is thus a component of hunhu/Ubuntu traditional philosophy that deals with the nature of being as understood by people of Southern Africa. The term Ubuntu appears in South African sources from as early as the mid-19th century (Broodryk 2002). It covered human nature, humanity, humanness, virtue, goodness and kindness. The concept was popularized in terms of a philosophy or worldview as opposed to a quality attributed to an individual beginning in the 1959's notably in the writings of Jordan Ngubane published in the African Drum Magazine. According to Broodryk (2002) from the 1970's, Ubuntu began to be described as a specific kind of African humanism. Based on the context of Africanization propagated by the political thinkers in the 1960's period of decolonization. Ubuntu was used as a term for a specifically African (or Southern African) kind of socialism or humanism found in blacks but lacking in whites. This was in the context of the transition to black majority rule in Zimbabwe and South Africa. The first publication dedicated to Ubuntu as a philosophical concept appeared in 1980. *Hunhuism* or *Ubuntuism* is presented as political ideology for the new Zimbabwe, as Southern Rhodesia was granted independence from the United Kingdom.

From Zimbabwe, the concept was taken over in South Africa in the 1990's as a guiding ideal for the transition from apartheid to majority rule. The term appears in the Epilogue of the Interim Constitution of South Africa (1993). "Therefore, there is need for understanding but not for vengeance, a need for reparation but not for retaliation, a need for Ubuntu but not for victimization". In South Africa, the origins of Ubuntu can be traced back to the indigenous societies living in the Transkei and Ciskei regions. The origin of Ubuntu developed along

deep spiritual lines within the traditional indigenous African family system inclusive of the living, dead and those unborn (Mbiti cited in Goduka and Swandener 1999:42). Ubuntu has developed over ages and has become a way of life that Africans believe in, trust and practice in their daily interactions with others.

Since the political changes in South Africa in 1994, the term Ubuntu has been used frequently and many South Africans have only heard or even read about it within the last ten years (Goduka and Swandener 1999). Literature and research vividly indicate that Ubuntu was existential as an inherent cultural value system for the past few centuries. Ubuntu is also argued to have originated as a result of socio-economic reasons when African communities had to work together in order to survive. Therefore, this implies that the inception of Ubuntu was spontaneous. From this point on, it has developed in the African context over decades, has shaped the culture and mirrors of a heritage full of traditions, values, norms and beliefs. Broodryk (2002) opined that Ubuntu originated from a communal lifestyle. This kind of lifestyle was one in which traditionally, African communities lived together and shared symbiotic relationships with each other. This implied sharing of basic needs such as shelter, water, and food. Mbigi and Maree (1995) and Broodryk (2002) share a common ground that the origin of Ubuntu lies in communities which were underprivileged, poor and could not survive on individual efforts alone.

Sifile *et al* (2016:64) citing Murithi (2007), asserts that some of the core values of *Hunhu/Ubuntu* are communalism, interdependence, compassion, empathy, respect and dignity. Mbigi (2004) further explained that one becomes what he or she is because of copying the good behaviour displayed by other people. Dziro and Rufurwokuda (2013) note that the package children should have includes training them in the African philosophy of *Hunhu/Ubuntu*. It can be argued that the community is like a spring board or foundation that gives the individual person an opportunity to express their personality (Sifile *et al* 2016:65). This means that one can live in a community where good things are done but still fail to uphold the *Ubuntu* culture, so it is up to the individual to accept or reject the good behaviour (Sifile *et al* 2016:64; Mbigi, 2004; Gyekye, 2002). Kempker (2009) talks of personal leadership as a position that one holds and it is about how you choose to act. So, this again can change how people behave because it is touching the personal. Mastrangelo *et al*. (2004) and Verrier and Smith (2005) concur that people have to uphold the principles of *Ubuntu* in order to remain honest, fair, dignified and excellent which helps leaders in performing their responsibilities professionally.

Ncube (2010) asserts that;

> a few African leaders have exercised *Ubuntu* as a doctrine of leadership and that is why there is corruption across the length and breadth of the continent. However, the practice of staying in power for long might have been influenced by the cultural practices that were upheld in Africa where traditional leaders (Kings and Chiefs) were appointed through the spirit mediums and they ruled up until their death. After their death, successors from the same lineage or bloodline would be appointed as leaders. This was seen at the appointment of King Moshoeshoe to replace his father. Such tendencies have permeated the minds of the African leaders such that this ended up clinging to power.

Accordingly, they manipulate the constitution so that they can extend their terms of office. For example, Paul Kagame, Yoweri Museveni among others (Mbecke 2017). In the Southern African context we also had Robert Gabriel Mugabe and Hastings Kamuzu Banda who held the presidential office for almost four decades (Kaseke n.d). These practices somehow constituted a departure from the African Shona practices which advocated for rotational leadership as confirmed by the saying *Ushe madzoro hunoravanwa* (leadership should be rotational and everyone should have the opportunity to lead and rule). These practices have made it imperative to explore the guiding principles of Ubuntu. The Western practices as compared to which call for democracy where leaders are changed through electoral processes which are based on one's charisma and ability to garner more votes in an electoral process.

6.4 Pillars of Ubuntu/ Guiding Values of Ubuntu

Mbigi (1995) extracted five key social values of Ubuntu based on the collective way of life. This is made painstakingly clear by the finger's theory. However, the principle behind this theory can best be explained by the African proverb, "A thumb, although it is strong cannot kill aphids [lice] on its own, it will require the cooperation of other fingers" (Mbigi and Maree 1995:110). The theory brings out two lines of thought of which it firstly can be seen as individual persons who act together in a collective manner in order to achieve a certain goal. In the second line of thought, the fingers represent key values which are necessary to form and maintain a guiding culture. Mbigi (1997) posits that the five fingers that stand as guiding values are solidarity spirit, compassion, respect, survival, dignity and respect. These values have always been part and parcel of African culture. In the African context, these values are the "assegais" (spears) which are used to defend brotherhood, manage society and also interaction with one another.

6.4.1 Survival

Survival constitutes the heart of Ubuntu and it entails the ability to live and exist in spite of difficulties. The beloved continent of Africa is known for its drastic weather conditions, geographical disparities and poverty. Basic resources such as fresh water and food are naturally scarce. Furthermore, South Africa where *Ubuntu* was popularised has a long standing history of ethnic wars political organizations along racial lines and racial segregation. It was especially during the Apartheid years from 1948 to 1994 that many of the African communities became marginalized. The already scarce supply of resources such as supply of food, housing and water was neglected. The limited resources, the poverty and oppression made survival to become a serious necessity among the African communities. Despite their differences and confrontations, African communities realized that survival could only be achieved through reliance on each other. The African people therefore learnt to survive through brotherly care and not individual self-reliance. As a result, Africans developed a collective psyche and it is this psyche which allows and still allows them to pool their resources, preserve and create the African communities. The period of struggle was a time to portray individual responsibility, sacrifice, suffering, a spirit of service towards survival and accountability (Mbigi and Maree 1995).

To address survival issues, Africans found ways of increasing their capacity through collaboration and collectivism. Through this collective and collaborative spirit, Africans developed a shared will to survive and also developed a collective identity and unity. In South Africa, for instance, this kind of collective and unified traditions can still be observed amongst some African communities like the townships and squatter camps where accommodation, food, water and other resources are still shared. Many African communities during the times of struggle were built on cooperation and collaboration thus an African is heavily socialized to think in collective and collaborative ways. This is different from the Western perspective where people are atomistic and individualistic. Their survival is premised on individualism where survival revolves around the satisfaction and fulfilment of one's interests rather than groups.

6.4.2 Spirit of solidarity

Very closely related to survival is the solidarity spirit because a spirit of solidarity was created through the combined efforts of each individual for the survival of their community. The Ubuntu value of solidarity can be best described metaphorically where one finger cannot crush a grain of wheat on its own (*Chara chimwe hachitswanyi inda*), it needs the help of the

other four fingers, (Mbigi 1997). The meaning behind this metaphor is that difficult goals and tasks can only be accomplished collectively. African communities share a non-individualistic value systems from early childhood. Africans are socialized to undertake the needs of the community unlike the idea of the "self" which characterize the Western communities, hence the individual identity of an African is almost non-existent. According to Mkize (cited in Nussbaum, 2003a: 3), the African view of personhood denies a person can be described solely in terms of the physical and psychological properties. It is with reference to the community that a person is defined. Personal interests become less important than community needs. This results in feelings of pride and responsibility for the community. The status of a person in an African community is once again expressed by the meaning of Ubuntu: "I am because we are". The solidarity spirit of Ubuntu can be seen as the opposite of selfishness, competitiveness and hostility.

Solidarity, which to an African consist of interpersonal, biological and non – biological bonds are created and maintained by spiritual values. Solidarity spirit permeates every aspect of an African life and is collectively expressed through singing, effort in work, initiation and war rites, worship, traditional dancing, hymns, story- telling, body painting, celebrations, hunting, rituals and family life.

To Africans, practicing the social values of Ubuntu enables them to be part of a culture which embraces humanity, common understanding, unconditional support and a sense of unity. According to Mbigi (1997:53) in African communities the spirit of solidarity is harnessed through collective works such as:

Nhimbe – a family may call for help from other villagers and provide beer and food.
Jangano – two or more families decide to work in other's fields based on mutual trust.
Jakwara – collective thrashing of grain.
Madzoro – the villagers take turn to look after cattle, goats and sheep.

Through these collective works and the belief in solidarity, Africans develop intense feelings of communalism and unity. It is easy to see that within the African people the spirit of solidarity is created through affectionate bonds that exist amongst the members of the community.

6.4.3   Respect and dignity

Respect and dignity are considered as important values in most societies and cultures. For the African culture, it is even considered as one of the building blocks. In general, respect refers to an objective, unbiased consideration and regard for rights, values, beliefs and property

(Mazrui 2001:42). Respect can range from people exhibiting great respect towards each other to no respect at all. It has often been argued that only by showing respect to others one can gain the respect of others. In Ndebele or Zulu *"Ukuhlonipha"*, meaning deep respect is one of the most central values of the Ubuntu world view as it stipulates the social position of an African in society as well as it brings forth and highlights a whole set of authoritarian and hierarchical relations that are found within an African culture. According to Broodryk (2002), respect within the African context is observed in the following ways:

> The respect for authority within the society. Respect stipulates the authority that parents have over children, elders have over younger people and tribal kings have over their tribesmen and women. The youth must respect the elders in the society especially in their last years before elders transcend into the spiritual world. The way in which Africans treat those that they come into contact with. Africans generally respect others regardless of another's position in the community or whether they are known or not; it is a state of mind for an African.

From the above mentioned ways, it is reasonable to assume that respect is an essential value which Africans have to possess and exercise daily and it allows for an interactive process to take place through which an African can achieve self-respect and thus be dignified. Hence, respect is manifested in the way in which people conduct themselves around others who are both familiar and unfamiliar. In addition, respect is one of the foundations on which the African culture is built and therefore it determines the life of an African.

A tradition within African cultures which is well respected is referred to as *'lobola'* (brideprice). *Lobola* is a marital custom in which an amount of money or cattle is given by the groom to prospective in-laws for the hand of their daughter. In the African milieu, the tradition of *lobola* has become a central symbol of respect. Closely related to respect is dignity. Accordingly, the Oxford dictionary (1988) delineates dignity to be a quality which earns or deserves respect. From childhood on, Africans learn that behaviour towards those in authority such as the king, the elders and other members of the community should always be respectful and these members of society become dignified through respect. Therefore, it is easy to understand how the value of dignity flows out of the value of respect.

Dignity is part of an African's daily life because Africans always take into consideration the human worth and interconnectedness of people which is different from the Western perspective which breaks the mortar that connects people by spearheading the isolationist tendencies. Africans are known for dignifying the aged by allowing them to reside with families, the immediate and extended. Whilst in the Western scenario, the aged are normally detached from their families instead they are sent to the Old People's homes and service

centers for older persons where they are taken care of by people who are paid to take care of them. The Western practices also rely on the primary caregivers to take care of their older persons. According to Ziemba (2002) research on family caregiving of the elderly has concentrated on the "primary caregiver," or the person who provides the most care to the patient, or who has the principal responsibility for the patient's care. This approach tends to obscure the involvement of—and consequences to—other family members or the family unit. In the African context, the aged are taken care of by the family members (Dilworth-Anderson, Williams and Gibson 2002; Louderback 2000). As a result, elders continue to live in the community and impart their wisdom onto the younger generations. According to African traditions, the death of a married man is dignified by his younger brother who is expected to take responsibilities of his deceased brother. These responsibilities include cohabiting with the widow and producing children with her, thus the lineage of the deceased brother is continued.

6.4.4   Compassion

Another crucial guiding principle of Ubuntu is compassion. This is a human quality of understanding other's dilemmas and wanting to help them. However, in the African milieu compassion is the reaching out to others and practicing humanity so that relationship friendship can be formed. The underlying belief amongst Africans is that all human beings are connected and share a common and communal responsibility for each other (Mokgoro 1997). Therefore, the social value compassion is important in the African culture and to an African. From an early age, Africans learn that they are interconnected to each other and that sharing and giving is the only way one can receive. They believe, that they belong to a bigger community and that acts of compassion create and maintain this interconnectedness between human beings. This is why most Africans are willing to help members within and out of their community. "*Ukwenana*" is an act practiced by most Africans and it entails giving unselfishly without expecting anything in return (Nussbaum 2003a). "*Mahala*" (for free) is another act of compassion practiced which means the sharing of food, shelter and other commodities for free and not expecting anything material in return. It is evident that from such acts of giving, intense feelings of comradeship develop in African communities.

Through acts of compassion, Africans have created a foundation on which a culture of sharing and caring is built. These acts of compassion highlight the warm and expansive nature of the community. One of the ways of how Africans maintain quality relationships is by simply reaching out and helping each other (Mbiti 1990). When one is socialized within a

culture that encourages helping others, it becomes part of one's psychological make–up and it is difficult to unlearn such a quality and Africans display compassion towards all aspects of life. To an outsider it shows the interconnectedness between members of an African community. For an African, these compassionate acts show a kind love, which is an important part of communal lifestyle.

Africans view life, love and caring in a pluralistic way. Love for another member in the community means that you do not search for good for yourself but also for others around you. This springs from the need to help other people. King (1999) argued that this expression of compassion within the African community can be equated to a term in Greek philosophy referred to as "*Agape*". *Agape* is described as love in a pluralistic manner, which does not stem from differences or qualities that people possess but rather it develops from the need to help others and be helped by others. It is important to note that, compassion even becomes a person's desire and it enables Africans to achieve meaning in life and maintain meaningful human relationships.

The description shows, that respect and dignity are central values which highlight a distinct African way of life. Together with survival, solidarity spirit and compassion these values constitute the African value system Ubuntu. The table below was adapted from Broodryk (2005:175) and it shows some positive attributes (values) of the African Ubuntu Philosophy and the meanings too.

Ubuntu Attribute	African Ubuntu Meaning
U – Universal	Global, Intercultural brotherhood
B – Behaviour	Human (Humane), caring, sharing, respect, compassion (love, appreciation)
U – United	Solidarity, community, bond, family
N – Negotiation	Consensus, democracy
T – Tolerance	Patience, diplomacy
U – Understanding	Empathy (forgiveness, kindness)

From the table above, attributes such as universalism, behaviour, unity, negotiation, tolerance and understanding are also key values in as far as Ubuntu is concerned. Broodryk (2005) noted that UBUNTU as an attribute is actually an acronym where 'U' represents Universal and in line with the African Ubuntu meaning implies global intercultural brotherhood. In this scenario, it implies that Ubuntu is borderless and it cuts across cultures. Then the letter 'B' stands for Behaviour which encompasses traits such as caring, sharing, respect, compassion and respect. Such favourable characteristics should define acceptable behaviour in the African community. It can also be noted that such values are also evident in the Western ethical leadership template where people are expected to show respect, compassion etc. to their counterparts. The next letter 'U' stands for United, where it makes reference to solidarity, bond, community and family. Unity is seen in the oneness that is exhibited in the community and family institutions. The letter 'N' stands for negotiation which encompasses democracy and consensus hence dialogue is a crucial aspect in African philosophy. The letter 'T' represents tolerance which captures attributes such as patience and diplomacy. Lastly, the letter 'U' which implies understanding which is exhibited through empathy which is seen in forgiveness and kindness. This model really captures the need for oneness, communalism and great co-operation between and among people (leaders, followers, managers and subordinates etc).

6.4.5 Negotiations/Diplomacy

Peaceful negotiations, diplomacy and accommodation are also pillars of Ubuntu. In Zimbabwe, for instance, Ubuntu was used to bring together the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) and Patriotic Front Zimbabwe African People's Union (PF ZAPU) after political tensions that manifested in the Midlands and Matabeleland disturbances of the early 1980s (Mangena 2011). The 22 December 1987 Unity accord was entered into in the spirit of Ubuntu where people had to put aside their political differences and advance the cause of the nation. Apart from that, the Global Political Agreement of 2008 which led to the signing of the Government of National Unity (GNU) also saw Ubuntu being deployed to deal with the political differences between ZANU-PF and the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) formations as a result of the disputed elections of March 2008. The violence, intimidation and victimization which preceded the run-off election then sown the seeds of fear and apprehension among the generality of the Zimbabwean population and so it took Ubuntu to remove the fear and demonstrate the spirit of "I am because we are; since

we are therefore I am" (Mbiti, 1969: 215). The point is that the two political parties and Zimbabweans in general needed each other in the interest of the development of the nation.

In South Africa, Desmond Tutu, who was the Chairperson of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), which was constituted to investigate and deal with the apartheid atrocities of the 1990s, demonstrated in his final report that it took Ubuntu for people to confess, forgive and forget. In his book: *No Future without Forgiveness*, published in 1999, Tutu noted that, "the single main ingredient that made the achievements of the TRC possible was a uniquely African ingredient – Ubuntu*."* Tutu maintains that, what constrained so many to choose to forgive rather than to demand retribution, to be magnanimous and ready to forgive rather than to wreak revenge, was Ubuntu (cited in Richardson 2008: 67). As Eze (2011: 12) would put it, "the TRC used Ubuntu as an ideology to achieve political ends." As an ideology, Ubuntu has been used as a panacea to the socio-political problems affecting the continent of Africa, especially the Southern part of the continent. This means that Ubuntu as the traditional thought of Southern Africa has not been restricted to the academic alone but has also found its place in the public sphere where it has been utilized to solve political conflicts and thereby bring about socio-political harmony. The notion of negotiation is also employed immensely in the Western perspective where diplomacy is used widely by nations such as the USA, the UK among others in engaging with other countries. In light of this, tolerance has been engrained in the tenets of democracy where pluralism is promoted. Pluralism exhibits the nuances of tolerance as divergent views are accommodated in the same political field.

6.4.6   Appreciation of Traditional Beliefs

Ubuntu implies an appreciation of traditional beliefs, and a constant awareness that an individual's actions today are a reflection on the past, and will have far-reaching consequences for the future. A person with Ubuntu knows his or her place in the universe and is consequently able to interact gracefully with other individuals (Bennett and Patrick 2010). In the African thought, it can be argued that those who uphold Ubuntu throughout their lives will, in death, achieve a unity with those still living. Whilst in the Western thought, an individual is a pre-existent and self-sufficient being and exists prior to, separately and independently from the rest of the community or society. Ubuntu defines the individual only in terms of his or her relationships with others in the community as these relationships change, the character of the individual changes. An individual constitutes multiple personalities corresponding to his or her various roles in society.

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6.4.7 Behaviour

A key concept associated with Ubuntu, or Hunhu, is behaviour and interaction in the context of various social roles. For example, in the African context, a daughter-in-law traditionally kneels down when greeting her parents-in-law and serves them food, as a sign of respect (Masango 2002). She maintains the highest standards, because her behaviour is a reflection on her family and on all the women raised in that family. The daughter-in-law does this as part of the ambassadorial function that she assumes at all times. A woman's deference to a husband or brother does not imply that the woman is subordinate, only that she possesses *hunhu* and knows the proper attitude and behavior for each social circumstance. This differs from the Western practices where submissiveness by women is viewed as a violation of women rights. There are feminists who are advocating for the equal rights whereby women should enjoy equal rights as their masculine counterparts. Such practices cause the behaviour of women to be somehow at par and seemingly confrontational unlike the reverential behaviour that women exhibit to their male counterparts in the African context.

6.4.8 Sharing

According to Samkange (1980), sharing is only one of the many virtues encompassed within hunhu/Ubuntu. In the ethical domain of hunhu, all visitors are provided for and protected in every home they pass through, without the expectation of payment, and do not need to carry provisions when they are on the road, as long as they dress in a respectable manner. Every individual who is aware of the presence of a visitor within a locality should try his or her best to make that visitor comfortable. This point is fortified by Mandela, who mentioned that,a traveler through a country would stop at a village and he didn't have to ask for food or for water. Once he stops, the people give him food, entertain him (Mandela 1994). That is one aspect of Ubuntu but it will have various facets. This gesture of welcoming and accommodating visitors might not be tenable in the Western domain which is characterised by individualism thus making it difficult for people to be concerned about others but themselves only. Ubuntu does not mean that people should not address themselves. The question therefore is: Are you going to do so in order to enable the community around you be able to improve? It is therefore apparent that, sharing is an important value of Ubuntu.

6.4.9 Jurisprudence and Governance

The concept of *hunhu* is also essential to traditional African values of jurisprudence and governance. Under *hunhu*, a crime committed by one individual against another extends far beyond the two individuals and has far-reaching implications for the people from among

whom the perpetrator of the crime comes. *Hunhu* jurisprudence supports remedies and punishments that tend to bring people together. A crime of murder might be remedied by creating a bond of marriage between the families of the victim and the accused, in addition to punishing the perpetrator both inside and outside his social circles. The family and the society from which the criminal came are regarded as a sort of "tertiary perpetrator," and are punished with a fine and social stigma that can only be absolved by many years of demonstrating *hunhu* or Ubuntu. This differs from the Western perspective where justice should be meted at the perpetrator and it should end with the perpetrator being charged and punished. It must not encroach to the family or society. This continues to exhibit the atomic individualistic approach that the Western perspective has *vis-à-vis* the communal way of life enshrined in Ubuntu.

6.4.10 Selflessness

A leader who has *hunhu* is selfless, consults widely and listens to his subjects. He or she does not adopt a lifestyle that is different from his subjects, but lives among them and shares what he owns. A leader who has *hunhu* does not lead but allows the people to lead themselves. Forcefully imposing his or her will on his people is incompatible with Ubuntu. Further, people in general should also exhibit selflessness in their day to day lives as it is a crucial pillar of Ubuntu. Prozesky (2003: 5-6) has identified the ten qualities or rather pillars that are characteristic of Ubuntu, it is important to remark that these ten qualities are not exhaustive and have also been captured by other scholars presented above. The justification of using Prozesky's ten qualities is that they aptly capture the essence of Ubuntu as an aspect of ethno-philosophy. Prozesky's ten qualities are as follows: humaneness, gentleness, hospitality, empathy or taking trouble for others, deep kindness, friendliness, generosity, vulnerability, toughness and compassion.

6.5 Challenges of Ubuntu in Ethical leadership

According to Nabudere (n.d:1) the Ubuntu philosophy, in its different settings, is at the base of the African philosophy of life and belief systems in which the peoples' daily-lived experiences are reflected. The Ubutnu philosophy is practically used on a daily basis to settle disputes and conflicts at different levels on the continent and is therefore crucial to the idea of reconciliation and leadership (Nabudere n.d). This gives evidence to the vitality, dynamism and vibrancy of this philosophy in whatever African linguistic expression it may be expressed. However to the contrary, it does not follow that all the African people propagate or are even consciously aware of the philosophy as such. Indeed, some of those who are

aware of it sometimes dismiss it as a post-colonial `Utopia' invention and/or a `prophetic' illusion crafted by the African political elites during the age of decolonization. Some of the cynics even question the philosophy on the ground that, at best, it is a "Bantu" philosophy not related to the ways of life and outlook of other "tribal" groupings of Africa.

Similarly, Ubuntu has been criticized for being narrow in its focus because its origin is attributed to the Bantu people and yet there are numerous tribal groupings in Africa. As such, the Africanness of Ubuntu becomes questionable as it is only attached to the Bantu and yet it is referred to as the African philosophy. In this vein, it seems as not representative of all the African practices and traditions. Given this background should Ubuntu be therefore formed on African rather than purely Bantu philosophy. However, it must be stressed that talking about African philosophy does not mean essentialising the African experience as being unique and valid outside actual lived experiences and histories. African philosophy in its current form is about a resistance to the Western philosophical discourse that denies Africa its contribution to world knowledge and civilization (Masolo, 1994:1). This in turn calls for the universalization of Ubuntu as an African Philosophy.

Paulin Hountondji and Marcien Towa are famous critics of the idea of a philosophy defined as the worldview of an ethnic group to be representative of a whole continent, arguing that philosophy is not the expression of a culture but the very possibility of stepping out of that culture and the unexamined collective opinions it carries in order to develop individual and critical thinking: folk wisdom expressed through proverbs cannot be considered the equivalent of philosophical argumentation, and one cannot speak of African philosophy in the absence of a universal written tradition because in oral cultures the function of memorizing is so demanding that it makes critical distance impossible. Hountondji (2002) also made the point that equating philosophy and culture would mean that everybody shares the same view in a society where unanimity would be a value; consequently, the political danger of legitimizing authoritarianism in the name of philosophical consensus could hardly be avoided. Thus traditionalism could be valued even when oppressive—to women, for example, when it comes to practices such as female circumcision. The criticism of "ethno-philosophy" on the other hand has however been denounced as accepting an exclusivist Western notion of philosophy that fails to comprehend the challenge African and other speculative traditions present to ethical thinking from a traditionalist perspective (Hountondji 1983). The contestations on whether Ubuntu is indeed a philosophy or not existent among

scholars is also present among politicians and leaders hence the absence of a common template for ethical leadership continent wise.

In addition, in as much as Ubuntu is a commendable African philosophy that gives much emphasis on humaneness, communitarianism, respect, diplomacy, empathy, solidarity, intercultural brotherhood, patience and consensus among other values, a number of challenges have been leveled against it. Such as why a continent with such a rich and wholesome culture could allow genocide to occur in Rwanda and why several tribal clashes and civil wars are happening in the land where supposedly Ubuntu understanding is rooted? Is there no danger therefore to romanticizing the Ubuntu thoughts to the extent of even forgetting to deal in reality with the root causes of certain conflicts? And many other questions can come up to keeping in mind that Ubuntu is not the only absolute approach to understanding the life of human beings, though it has its fair share and contribution for the peace culture.

In addition to the above, Louw (2009) points out that, because of its thrilling prominence on community, Ubuntu democracy may be mistreated to legitimize excesses as what Themba Sono (1994) calls the constrictive nature or tyrannical custom of a derailed African culture, especially its "totalitarian communitarianism" which "frowns upon elevating one beyond the community". The role of the group in African consciousness, says Sono (1994:7), could be overwhelming, totalistic, and even totalitarian. Group psychology, though parochially and narrowly based..., nonetheless pretends universality. This mentality, this psychology is stronger on belief than on reason; on sameness than on difference. Discursive rationality is overwhelmed by emotional identity, by the obsession to identify with and by the longing to conform to. To agree is more important than to disagree; conformity is cherished more than innovation. Tradition is venerated, continuity revered, change feared and difference shunned. Heresies [that is the innovative creations of intellectual African individuals, or refusal to participate in communitarianism are not tolerated in such communities (Louw 2009).

In short, although it articulates such important values as respect, human dignity and compassion, the Ubuntu desire for consensus also has a potential dark side in terms of which it demands an oppressive conformity and loyalty to the group. Failure to conform may be met by harsh punitive measures (Sono, 1994:11, 17). Avoiding this 'dark side' poses one of the most important challenges of Ubuntu as a social ethic, namely that of affirming unity while valuing diversity, of translating "I am because we are" into "we are because I am". As such, it

is the challenge of developing an emancipatory understanding of Ubuntu, an understanding that would effectively meet "the essential issue of politics formulated by Hannah Arendt as 'handling plurality'' (Boele van Hensbroek 1999:201).

Further on agreement, exponents of Ubuntu regularly note that, African traditional culture has an almost infinite capacity for the pursuit of consensus (Louw 2001: 19). In light of this, the African traditional culture leaves room for consultations and consensus from the family level to the community level. While regular democracies involve majority rule, traditional African democracies rather operate in the form of some lengthy discussions. Ramose (2008) observed that the communal ethos of African culture placed a great value on solidarity which in turn necessitates the pursuit of unanimity or consensus not only in such important decisions as those taken by the highest political authority of the town or state, but also decisions taken by lower assemblies such as those presided over by the heads of the clan, that is the councilors. It is therefore apparent that a serious challenge of Ubuntu is that of underscoring the importance of agreement. This desire to agree which is least in theory is supposed to safeguard the rights and opinions of individuals and minorities is however sometimes sacrificed at the altar of enforcing group solidarity. Therefore, because of this extreme emphasis on community, Ubuntu in democratic terms may be abused to legitimize what Sono (1994: xiii, xv) terms the constrictive nature or tyrannical custom of a derailed culture alluded to earlier on, African culture, especially its "totalitarian communitarianism" which frowns upon elevating one beyond the community. Hence it is within this backdrop that indeed Ubuntu has a serious challenge.

The role of the group in African consciousness is yet another serious challenge of Ubuntu. As Ubuntu stresses the importance of existing as a group and not in isolation or as individuals, the role of the group has its own negatives in as much as it is encouraged. Sono (1994:7) propounded that; the role of the group in African consciousness could be overwhelmingly totalistic and even totalitarian. Group psychology, though parochially and narrowly based, nonetheless pretends universality. This psychological mentality is stronger on belief than on reason, at the same time on sameness than on difference. Further, discursive rationality is overwhelmed by emotional identity, by the obsession to identify with and by longing to conform to. Agreement thus becomes more important than disagreement and cherishing of conformity than innovation. Tradition is therefore venerated, continuity revered, change feared and difference shunned.

The innovative creations of intellectual African individuals or refusal to participate in communalism (heresies) are abominable in such communities and not to be tolerated at all. Therefore, it is clear that existing as a group as per the guiding values of Ubuntu has serious challenges. Further, although Ubuntu articulates such important values as respect, consensus, compassion and human dignity. The Ubuntu desire for consensus has a potential dark side in terms of which it demands an oppressive conformity and loyalty to the group. Failure to conform attracts serious punitive measures (Sono 1994:11-17). To avoid this dark side stands as a serious contest and challenge against Ubuntu as a social ethic, namely that of affirming unity while valuing diversity, or translating, "I am because we are" into "We are because I am". As such it is a challenge of developing an emancipatory understanding of Ubuntu, an understanding that would effectively meet the essential issue of politics formulated by Hannah Arendt in Hensbroek (1999: 201) as handling plurality. Hence it becomes apparent that the desire for consensus in Ubuntu stands as a challenge.

The principle of multi-party systems of Western democratic cultures has proved to be adversarial and a serious challenge undermining the principle of solidarity in traditional African political culture. This serious challenge has been central and still rages debate among the African philosophers concerning the appropriateness of Western style multi – party democracy in African societies. In light of this Wiredu (1998:75) raised a case for an African non – party polity and argues for a consensual democracy which draws on the strength of traditional indigenous political institutions which as such do not place any group of persons consistently in the position of a minority. It rather aims to accommodate the preferences of all participating individuals and not parties, however on another note, in line with this, Ramose (2002) pointed out that traditional African political culture embodied and invited progressive opposition through the principle of consensus seeking, not that he underscores the importance of opposition for a democratic dispensation. Importantly Ramose, whilst not so much against multi – party Western democracy, is for the maintenance of the African solidarity principle, precisely because it safeguards the rights of individuals and minorities better than any majoritarian democracy could. Hence his strong emphasis on the Northern Sotho (Sepedi) saying, *"Kgosi ke kgosi ka batho"* (the sovereignty of the king derives from and belongs to its subject) (Eze 2008:388). All this serves to show how multi–party systems of Western democratic cultures challenges African ethics.

However, in response to the question on how attainable and practicable the solidarity or rather consensus at which the Ubuntu democracy aims, reference becomes crucial (Wiredu

1998:380). Illuminates the importance of the willingness to compromise and made important reference to the voluntary acquiescence of the momentary minority. This allows the community to come to a decision and follow a particular course of action, an important outcome in a world that often requires quick decisions to retain control. Ubuntu in democracy allows for agreements to disagree (Wiredu 1998).

The insufficient dissemination and sensitization about the Ubuntu philosophy is a serious challenge of Ubuntu. Although the Ubuntu philosophy is associated with positive attributes, it is not well disseminated to peoples within African societies. Consequently, some people do not know anything, or know very little about its foundational concepts. This is even more pronounced in African towns and suburbs in urban centers where different people with different socio – cultural backgrounds and without extensive and ancient family ties live together (Bujo 2001). On the contrary, some Eastern and Western cultures have documented their philosophies and have disseminated them into educational systems, unlike the African scenario where training is still based on foreign ideologies, and African theories are not taught. Therefore, big business in Africa is still dominated by theories that were created within and for individualistic cultures (Western cultures) that do not match the communal culture of an African society (Lutz 2009:317). It is quite saddening that most people running an organization in Africa fail if they do not practise what they are taught in schools, especially at tertiary level and are ill–equipped to practice anything else. Various stakeholders who range from media houses, educational systems, government and community have a serious role to play in the sensitization of people on Ubuntu. Cognizance should be taken of the fact that some of the valued African traditional practices, customs and rituals are becoming obsolete in a changing modern environment. It is therefore evident that Ubuntu has a challenge of insufficient information dissemination and sensitization about the Ubuntu philosophy.

African Ubuntu philosophy is based on unrecorded practice hence a serious challenge. The major challenge on African indigenous knowledge is that it is not written down and is mostly transmitted from one generation to the next mainly through oral tradition (Afro–Centric Alliance 2001). Successive generations learn about Ubuntu through direct interaction within local communities. This is diametrically opposed to Western and Eastern ideologies which are carefully and well documented and are easily transmitted in schools and through various media such as the internet, books, magazines, journals etc. African philosophy (Ubuntu) is therefore devoid of ancient written tradition, which makes it very difficult for the younger

generation to practice the African Ubuntu philosophy fully. All this brings out the fact that Ubuntu is based on unrecorded practice hence a serious challenge.

Another challenge to the African Ubuntu philosophy is the proliferation of some foreign ideologies. Important values or rather guiding principles of Ubuntu are inclusive of consensus, human dignity, solidarity, morality among other things (Rugeje 2017; Mangena 2011; Bujo 2001). Modern African societies have become composed of people from a variance of backgrounds and cultures. Therefore, understanding and practicing some of the principles of Ubuntu have become problematic due to the multi – cultural challenges. In South Africa, homosexuality has been legalized and it threatens the very existence of African ethics. In light of this, it can also be argued that what really is African about the African philosophy is basically an issue of geographical location but the actual practices and values have been affected and diluted by some foreign practices and ideologies.

Further, in countries like Zimbabwe, homosexuality has been outlawed and castigated though it is manifest in some communities. Malawi dismisses gay marriages as criminal offenses under the Malawian statutes and regards it as gross indecency and unnatural acts contrary to the laws of Malawi. This was evidenced by the case of two men, <u>Mr Steven Monjeza and Mr Tiwonge Chimbalanga</u> who arranged to wed but were arrested on 28 December 2009 and jailed for 14 years. In passing judgement, the Chief Magistrate Judge Siwasiwa (Malawi Government 2010a, BBC 2010b) ruled that, "The engagement and living together as husband and wife of the two accused persons who are both males transgress the Malawian recognized standards of propriety since it does not recognize the living of a man with another man as husband and wife. Both these acts were acts of gross indecency.

International bodies including the NGO's, governments, human rights groups, some religious groups and international organizations, including the United Nations made a public outcry over the case that compromised African ethics. After the UN Secretary General, Ban Ki Moon intervened by visiting Malawi, the two gay prisoners were pardoned on 28 June 2010 by the Malawian President, Dr Bingu wa Mutharika (BBC 2010). This case was and still is symptomatic of recognition of larger forces that are having an impact on the Ubuntu way of life. Within the multi – cultural environment of African urban society, the synchronization of the Ubuntu philosophy with some aspects of foreign culture poses a great challenge to the upholding of principles and beliefs governing traditional African society.

A serious challenge to Ubuntu is that it was much appreciated during the decolonization era. African societies worked together during the colonial times in a bid to extricate themselves from the white imperialists. No wonder Ghana as the first independent country in Africa took the initiative to support the African cause and worked tirelessly for the independence of other African states (Gyekye 2004). Ghana under Dr Nkwame Nkrumah argued that, Ghana is not independent until the whole of Africa is independent. African's development goals were therefore predicated on unity for equal levels of development. Ghana even went to the extent of using her own financial resources to ensure the liberation of other nation states.

This clearly revealed how selfless Ghana was and this same selflessness constituted the African Ubuntu Philosophy. Nkrumah argued that, "I am not African because I was born in Africa, but I am African because Africa was born in me" (Mwakikagale 2018; Kyoso 2017). This is testimonial of how African ethics were engraved in the peoples of Africa who were proud of whom they are. Further, the formation of the Organization of African Unity in 1963 is evidence to the role of a group in Ubuntu. However, it is quite saddening that as member states ultimately gained their independence, they came out with individualistic missions to the detriment of the spirit of Ubuntu ethics (Mwakikagale 2018).

Globalization has seriously challenged Ubuntu. The process of growing into a more interconnected world with the aim of making a world economy has brought about the phenomenon of broken family ties (Masango 2002). This has destroyed the African concept of keeping the family together and the value of extended families. The role of aunties and uncles in nurturing Ubuntu is no longer visible as nuclear families take precedency over extended families. There is also infiltration by foreign cultures into the domestic cultures thereby eroding certain conducts and ethics previously held dear in Indigenous Religion. Such cultures and practices as homosexuality, rights, lesbianism, capitalism and other religious movements that do not acknowledge the Indigenous Religion concept of Ubuntu affect it adversely. Commenting on the issue of rights, the young generation has been granted these but the responsibility is lacking. The issue of rights has castigated the respect due to elders, other people and also self-respect, hence society is now characterized by erosion of values and moral decadence a feature more peculiar to Africa rather than other cultures.

Globalization has resulted in the abandonment of traditional values and practices. Further, Africans in general are now xenocentric in that they now prefer goods, services and cultural values that are foreign as they largely consider their culture and practices as inferior to those

from other countries (Gwirayi 2010). Globalization has seen the dismantling of the economic basis on which most African states should depend on and this has been occasioned by the spread of consumer culturalism spread through various media and other modern communication means. Global consumer brands such as coca cola, Hollywood films and many others have taken Africa by storm thereby creating a supermarket for foreign products. According to Masango (2002) the imposition of Western values in most African states has been part of the negatives of globalization. This has been evident in Zimbabwe for instance through dressing. Further, Western language is treated as superior than native languages. This can be asserted by Martin Luther King Junior when he said, "I have a dream that one day English language will be recognized as a language and not as a measure of intelligence". With globalization, the Nollywood film industry and entertainment have dominated and affected the lifestyle of the youths. The international dominance of the United States films is just one aspect of the spread of Western Culture. All this is testimonial that globalization is a threat to Ubuntu.

In the same line of argument, Westernization and solipsism has adversely affected Ubuntu ethics. Infiltration of the Western culture in terms of dressing, talking, interactions and nature of family relations has caused erosion of indigenous values and ethics (Idang 2015; Wahab, Odunsi and Ajiboye 2012; Lauer 2006). Western culture promotes individualism and gives attention to the nuclear family which disregards extended family relations. Apart from that, Western solipsism has eroded Ubuntu (Gwavaranda 2016). Solipsism is a philosophical infraction of perceiving one's reason as unchallengeable. Solipsism emerges as serious intellectual absolutism which resides in one's myth of thinking that their ideas are superior and are not subject to criticism. To this effect, solipsism becomes the bedrock of the domination that the West has imposed on the African race. This diametrically opposes the very concept of Ubuntu which stresses the importance of exchange and dialogue but solipsism presents us with the legitimacy of imposed ideas on Africa which are not in touch with African realities. Tragically, Africa has subscribed to the simulated expressions of power, knowledge and being hence blind adherence to solipsism (Gwavaranda 2016; Idang 2015). Therefore, it is conspicuously clear that Westernization and strict African adherence to Western solipsism has emerged to be a serious challenge to Ubuntu.

Another major practical challenge to Ubuntu is rapid urbanization. Urbanization entails the change that takes place in a country when its population migrates from rural to urban areas (Carter and Belanger 2005). The rate of which urbanization is taking place is very high and

rapid and this undermines some essential African ethics. Africans no longer display that close connection with fellow Africans and other members of society; violence in all its ugly manifestations have come to characterize life in the townships and squatter camps. According to Twinomurinzi et al. (2010:145) it would seem that the social evils of urban life could not be contained by the social values and ideals of Ubuntu. Urbanization has brought about the massive exodus of people from rural areas into urban areas and the social fabric that tie families together have been broken and some of the family ties ignored. Ubuntu therefore is castigated as it emphasizes on the essence of a family. It is disheartening that research findings reveal how Ubuntu has been extensively associated with rural societies and not urban societies. Therefore, massive urbanization means that even the so – called rural society no longer exist to perpetuate Ubuntu hence a serious challenge to Ubuntu.

Ubuntu was lastly criticized for failing to fully address the impact or the aftermath of colonialism and apartheid. The victims of apartheid emerged with the philosophy of Ubuntu to forgive their unforgivable masters who through the mouth of Frederick de Klerk could insist inspite of the overwhelming evidence of apartheid atrocities and the suffocating social inequalities. According to other scholars such as Ramose, the beneficiaries of Ubuntu were the unrepentant white supremacists who kept the economy and their social privileges that they stole during the long years of apartheid. Politically and religiously Ubuntu was used against the Bantu in South Africa.

If ever Ubuntu came close to being a philosophy, it became a philosophy of surrender, a weapon of the weak and a toxic idea that reconciled the poor victims of apartheid to their poverty and their loss in the game of life. In what transpired to many Southern African countries, South Africa and Zimbabwe included, saw Ubuntu being presented as cowardice and not Ubuntu for a man to allow the theft of his land, rape of his mother, sister or wife. Mabhena (n.d) argued that at many levels Ubuntu as wisdom and an idea that the Bantu valorized included many other forms of justice. In light of this, Mabhena (n.d) argues that Ubuntu has never been a philosophy but a clever proverb among many that unfortunately became usable by foxy politicians in calming the many poor for the benefit of the few rich and powerful players in the South African economy and polity.

Mabhena's argument was that despite the atrocities of colonialism and apartheid, the victims thereof who gained political power and subsumed heroism only focused on forgiveness, truth, reconciliation and ignored the other salient dimensions of Ubuntu such as justice (which took

the form of revenge, resistance and war itself). To him, Ubuntu would have been used to foster restorative justice and all its tentacles should have been used for both parties (i.e the colonisers and the colonised). As such, Ubuntu as a philosophy is prone to manipulation by the powerful leaders as they seek to get allegiance and loyalty from their subjects thus failing to bring about the actual values of promoting togetherness and communal position. What has happened to Ubuntu is the exact repercation of the deceitful scriptures brought by Christian colonisers who said in order to enter the Kingdom of Heaven be humble in that if you are slapped on one chick, give your enemy the other which clearly is a negation of the right to self defence in valour which is what Ubuntu stands for.

6.6 Conclusion

The research revealed that during the 1990s, the concept of Ubuntu was adapted into an ideology in post-apartheid South Africa, as a vehicle to bring about harmony and cooperation among its many racial and ethnic groups. Ubuntu is regarded as one of the founding principles of the new Republic of South Africa, and has been associated with the idea of an "African Renaissance." In the political sphere, the concept of Ubuntu is used to emphasize the need for unity or consensus in decision-making, as well as the need for a suitably humanitarian ethic to inform those decisions. The pillars of Ubuntu ideology include respect for others, dignity, solidarity, good behaviour, diplomacy, helpfulness, community, sharing, caring, trust and unselfishness among a variance of values. It is seen as a basis for a morality of co-operation, compassion, and communitarianism. Ubuntu underscores the importance of agreement or consensus, and gives priority to the well-being of the community as a whole.

The unifying worldview of Ubuntu is expressed in the Zulu maxim *"umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu,"* ("a person is a person through other persons") also common in Shona as *"munhu munhu nekuda kwevanhu."* By a Western humanist, this aphorism might be interpreted as an effective social ethic or rule of conduct, or simply as a description of the human situation. In traditional African thought this maxim has a profoundly religious significance. "Persons" includes not only living human beings, but ancestors who have already died and children who have not yet been born. Ubuntu or hunhu embodies deep respect for ancestors, and includes all the attitudes and behaviors necessary not only for a harmonious life with other individuals on earth, but with ancestors in the world beyond death and with those who will live on earth in the future. Every individual is the fruit of his or her ancestors, and will become the ancestor of all future descendants.

Ubuntu implies an appreciation of traditional beliefs, and a constant awareness that an individual's actions today are a reflection on the past, and will have far-reaching consequences for the future. A person with Ubuntu knows his or her place in the universe and is consequently able to interact gracefully with other individuals. Those who uphold Ubuntu throughout their lives will, in death, achieve a unity with those still living. In Western thought, an individual is a pre-existent and self-sufficient being and exists prior to, separately and independently from the rest of the community or society. Ubuntu defines the individual only in terms of his or her relationships with others in the community. As these relationships change, the character of the individual changes. An individual constitutes multiple personalities corresponding to his or her various roles in society.

A number of challenges of Ubuntu have been revealed in this research paper. These challenges act as serious impediments to the growth and perpetuation of Ubuntu. The challenges include, rapid urbanization, Westernization and Western solipsism, globalization and the changing political, social, economic and religious landscape which is quite different from the pre – independent times. Further, the proliferation of foreign ideas and the fact that Ubuntu is based on an unrecorded practice acts as vices to the manifestation of Ubuntu. Insufficient dissemination and sensitization about the Ubuntu philosophy has also been explained as a serious challenge of Ubuntu. The fact that Ubuntu is inappropriately negatively associated with some obsolete African traditional rituals, customs and practices is unfortunate and needs correction through education and further research.

The multiplicity of challenges outlined act as a barrier to Ubuntu hence they have to be dealt with accordingly lest Ubuntu/ African ethics are thrown into the dust – bin of history and Africa becomes a cultureless and identity less continent prone to any external culture or influence. Ubuntu through its value system is an indispensable pillar of African existentialism and has to be vigorously revived, propagated inculcated into the life of generations to come. Whereas other cultures define themselves by their culture, so should Africans also do. Europeans would never want to be African, Chinese would never want to be Indians, so why should Africans want to be everything. The Anglophone, Lusophone and Francophone or Arabic tag must be exorcised so that we remain African. Ubuntu as culture is the only indisputable foundation for a new paradigm of African leadership as will be advanced in the next chapter, which will focus on formulating a new paradigm of ethical leadership and this paradigm is derived from the traditional resources of Ubuntu. The chapter will explore the

elementary and foundational aspects that serve as building blocks for the new paradigm for leadership.

CHAPTER SEVEN: TOWARDS A NEW PARADIGM OF ETHICAL LEADERSHIP EMBEDDED IN CULTURAL RESOURCES

7.1 Introduction

It is a matter of historical and contemporary concern how the vices of misused leadership and power have led to a sustained and unrelenting abuse of the generality of the populace. Probably the point of departure for this dilemma on a continental scale was the advent of colonialism as an oppressive system which carried with it heavy undertones of impunity and executive abuse of power directed at colonial subjects. At decolonization postcolonial frames of thinking presented a new ordering of the state of affair's which presented epistemic, political, social, and economic shifts, with the transformation of the colonial subject to full personhood with supposedly all the attendant rights and privileges. This transition from subject to citizen was accompanied by euphoric high expectations of a new model of responsive, responsible and people centered leadership founded on the principles of the decolonization war which preached the gospel of equality, rule of law, justice for all and good life premised on equitable access to and distribution of wealth. The generality of followers expected a situation where leaders who had shepherded them through the hazards of the decolonization struggle to continue the fight for total emancipation in a principled manner which would see a total revolution in culture and governance. Africans wanted to define and identify themselves as equals in the global play field with the ability to chart their own destiny independent of the guardianship of colonial metropoles. They wanted to get away from the status of objects defined in terms of a superior owner where they were classified as first Anglophones, Lusophones or Francophones before being Africans. They wanted a leadership which through a second phase of decolonization – mental decolonization would define the new African agenda based on African imperatives and values.

However with the passage of time all the hopes and expectations waned in the face of a new mode of colonialism under the banner of neo-colonialism. In the neo-colonial state leaders gradually lost their principled focus, started moving away from the people and in the process became self-serving. According to Mazrui and Matunga (2003) the post- colonial state produced four leadership types which can be classified as Old Tradition such as Kenyata, Warrior such as Idi Amin and other military regimes, Sage or Teacher such as Mwalimu Julius Nyerere and Monarchial such as Kamuzu Banda. The four categories also came with different leadership styles such as intimidatory, patriachial, reconciliatory, bureaucratic and

mobilisational (Ndlovu and Gatshene 2014). The direct outcome of the types and styles of the emergent leadership then was that almost every other country after independence was unable to maintain democratic order beyond its first decade of self-rule. Within this first decade either the military captured power, or the elected President became a dictator or a civil war broke out or the ruling party outlawed opposition politics (Mazrui 2011-1).

The leadership paradigm noted above whilst as diverse as existed in the pre-colonial states differentiates itself by conspicuous disregard for the common good of the followers. With a few notable examples such as Botswana and Rwanda, the majority African countries are poorer now than they were at independence hence the continent is clamouring for emancipation, from poverty, deprivation and underdevelopment and this can only be achieved through a new leadership paradigm shift. Africa is potentially rich in that it has the natural resources and human capital which are force multipliers for development. The missing link is responsible leadership which has the capacity to move the continent forward. The paradox of Africa can aptly be summed by the Shona saying (*Kufa nenyota makumbo ari mumvura)* literally meaning poverty in the midst of plenty. With the above discussion in mind it is therefore the burden of this chapter to propose a new paradigm for African leadership founded on rational application of traditional cultural resources configured to meet the challenges of a dynamic globalizing world. Before arriving at proposing a new paradigm for Afrocentric ethical leadership the chapter will discuss the challenges facing African leaders, foundational pillars of ethical leadership based on historical experiences in the various epochs of the continent's existence which are the pre-colonial epoch, the colonial epoch, the decolonization epoch, post-colonial epoch and finally will look into the future which will usher in the new paradigm of African leadership.

7.2 Challenges to Contemporary African leadership

The Slave Trade, the Partition of Africa following the Berlin Conference of 1884-85 and the subsequent colonization of the continent thereafter are defining historical episodes and benchmarks which had far reaching implications for the social, moral and economic rectitude of Africa. The Slave Trade left scars of the indignity and dehumanizing treatment of Africans as they were traded as commodities. As slaves they were subjected to humiliation and awe and the psychological trauma whose impact is yet to be ascertained. The partition of the continent and its subsequent colonization further subjected the Africans to the indignity of servitude after being deceitfully conned of their birth right through Treaties, Christianisation

and at times outright conquership. After conquership Africans were either assimilated or acculturated to Western values at the expense of their own cultures. The Africans lost their moral compass, identity, sense of belonging and sense of humanity. Africans were conditioned to think and act in the mind frame of the colonizer.

However despite the brutal attempts to obliterate the face of Africanness the warrior spirit of Ubuntu reincarnated and drove the Africans to wage the decolonization wars which swept across the continent with determination, resoluteness and tenacity spearheaded by the freedom generation of leadership which inherited the struggle from ancestors in the form of the likes of the Mutapas in Zimbabwe, Tshaka the Zulu in South Africa and Moshoeshoe in Lesotho. The aggressive and ingenious leadership of Tshaka, the statecraft and diplomatic skills of Moshoeshoe and the entrepreneural skills of the Mutapas all inspired the Freedom Generation of the likes of Julius Nyerere, Milton Obote, Patrice Lumumba, Augustino Neto, Eduardo Mondlane, Kenneth Kaunda and Oliver Tambo to name a few of the African Luminaries whose leadership was visionary, authentic, transformative and people centered. The Freedom generation had a dream for Africa and their individual countries. Through the Freedom generation Africa witnessed how an inspiring vision, deep sense of mission, profound commitment to a cause, selflessness and readiness to make extreme sacrifices can help overcome the most formidable challenges as those that confronted them then. Imprisonment for long periods such as the 27 years of Mandela at Roben Island, perceived invincibility of the well-oiled military machinery of Apartheid of South Africa and the intransigence of Ian Smith of Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) with his infamous assertion that 'not in a thousand years' would Africans rule are all indicators of what the freedom generation overcame. Further to the credit of the freedom generation which up to this day posthumously inspired the majority of Africans, it is according to Salim Ahmed Salim Undisputable that Africa is capable of producing strong, effective, reliable and world class leaders who effectively met head on the challenges of their time and generation despite the perilous circumstances they met.

It is a tragedy that despite its profound commitment to the continent's wholesome emancipation, the Freedom Generation of African leadership was effectively undermined during the first decade of independence as alluded to earlier on. According to Ali Mazrui (2011) almost every other African country which attained liberation from European colonial rule in the 20th century was unable to maintain democratic order beyond its first decade of

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independence. This tragedy as highlighted has derailed the prospects of an African rebirth which prioritises Good Governance, Rule of Law, Economic development, Peace and stability as well as the capacity to fight poverty, hunger, disease and deprivation which are all too familiar tags of Africa. These create the nucleus of challenges confronting the contemporary African present and future leadership. These challenges facing emerging leadership must be contextualized and looked at from the lenses of the freedom generation's vision of a better and prosperous Africa. The freedom struggle was not fought just to replace the colonial master but the primary objective was to improve the lot of the citizens. It was intended to ensure larger freedoms including the right to decide how the continent or countries are governed, by whom, and for what period. It was to remove injustice and ensure that the country's resources were utilized for the betterment of all. It was to fight disease, ignorance and abject poverty. It was to transform the continent from darkness to enlightenment. However as the situation stands on the ground, most of these aspirations have been elusive and the people are even questioning the very logic of hollow independence which is feeding wealth to a few corrupt elites and slogans and empty promises to the majority.

So indeed if the ideals of the freedom generation are to be realized there is need for a serious reappraisal of Africa's approach to leadership starting from basics of revisiting the Ubuntu leadership framework which fired the struggle flames. A key consideration in refocusing on the new leadership framework must be construed on indispensable pillars of Unique and Authentic African leadership. This will be discussed in the next section.

7.3 Pillars for Afrocentric leadership

Leadership as alluded to earlier on is a societal interactive process of influence to achieve set and commonly agreed objectives. Leaders exist in society and it can commonly be correct to say what you see in a leader with a few exceptions may be a reflection of the ideals of that society. According to Ubuntu a person is a person through others meaning a person is conditioned by the environment hence common sense would conclude that through causation a good society is likely to produce good leaders and a bad one will also produce bad leaders. From the above it is therefore logical that the first step towards achieving ethical leadership is by fixing society so that it will produce the desired level of leaders who will serve the expectations of society at large. The current crop of leaders where shaped by colonial history, ideology and stereotypes and it is the burden of the post-colonial order to re-shape leadership

through a new order of unique identity, ideology and morals grounded in African history, culture and counter balanced with present realities of globalization.

7.3.1 Identity

As alluded to earlier on as Africans, the first step to Africanness is shedding of the tag of appendage identification as manifest in labels such as Anglophone, Lusophone and Francofone and accepting that we are diverse Africans whether one is Zulu, Sotho, Shona or Yoruba. The situation of diversity is not unique to Africa as it is common place in all continents hence it is important that we seek and assert a common African identity founded on our common history which at episodes was sad and tragic as during the slave trade and the inhuman treatment meted on Africans such as revealed in the story of Sarah Batman and Ota Benga. The story of the two reveals how Africas heritage has been ridiculed and the residue of the ridicule has been deeply embedded in the African psyche to the extent that it must be exorcised with new reconstructed decolonized knowledge systems. In its pre-colonial history Africa was great as manifest in performing feats of development in all fields to include mathematics, engineering, and science as evidenced by the ingenious construction of the Great Zimbabwe monuments, the pyramids of Egypt and the shaduf in the nile valley for irrigation purposes. However when colonialism came through biblical deceit and military conquest Africa lost its glory and sovereignty. With the advent of decolonization Africa regained its once acclaimed greatness with valour.

From 1956 when Ghana got its independence to 1994 when South Africa was liberated, Africa had been under bondage and in the fight against colonialism for over a century. Whilst it is said the defining moment for a man is not where you fall but where you rise and the new fight you pick, it is therefore expedient that Africa should therefore in pursuit of new trajectory adorn a new identity of a continent with unity, valour and single minded focus of navigating a future of Great leadership and prosperity through the new African dream. It must turn its tragic past into a glorious and victorious future premised on its huge potential in a vibrant young and educated population, vast untapped natural resources, good climate and strategic geographical positioning – all factors which can be leveraged to best advantage. The Africa must be proud to be identified as such, must have dignity and confidence to standout and be counted.

7.3.2 Ideology

According to the dictionary meaning an ideology is a collection of normative beliefs and values that an individual or group holds for other than purely epistemic reasons. An ideology

must embody the most closely held set of values and feelings which acts as a filter through which the cosmos is seen. During the decolonization processes African countries, because of peculiar circumstances adopted different nationalistic ideologies, either linked to the West, East or in some instances the liberal center. Africa travelled the journey through such ideologies as Socialism, Marxism, Scientific Socialism and many more and these served their purpose in galvanizing the liberation efforts. However in order to get away from the compartmentalized ideological frame of mind, Africa must now search for a transcendental ideology which builds from the collective communitarian agenda of Ubuntu. There is urgent need for Africa to develop an ideology which is founded on an enduring vision to achieve greatness through self-determination and synergizing the totality of its collective potential wealth of natural resources. Americans have the American dream which drives and motivates each and every one of them to greatness. They have travelled to the moon, gone under the seas and want to conquer the entire universe. If in the case of the pre-colonial Rozvi of the Mutapa Empire there was a burning desire to go to the moon in order to bring it down and adorn it to the king as a symbol of greatness, why then in this day and age of new knowledge can Africa not have a renewed sense of achieving extraordinary feats above the best so far. A unifying ideology which will challenge and catapult Africa to greatness, is a must. It must also be noted that ideological doctrines as lived in areas such as Religion and Politics are so potent to the extent that people are prepared to sacrifice their life for what they believe in. Islamic Jihads and Christian crusades are manifestations of how far a people can go in defense of an ideology. I would therefore, resulting from the above discussion propose an ideology of an African dream which is hinged on prioritizing Africa first for good governance, economic progress and human dignity through the practice of Ubuntu leadership.

7.3.3   Values Based Society

The West in general and America in particular is where it is because of the Protestant work ethic. According to Murove (2013:223), Reformed Protestantism fueled the spirit of capitalism characterized by endless accumulation of wealth, combined with hard work, frugality and discipline. However whilst this was the magic for success in the West, the colonial state was based on a culture of looting, laziness and exploitation and reinforced by all manner of legislation (Murove 2013:225). This historical precedent according to Fanon is the underlying reason for the economic failures of the post-colonial state because at independence African leaders adopted the colonial mindset of looting and unprincipled malpractices rather than working to change the system for uplifting the continent. Society

must therefore be re-oriented and must be inculcated with the virtues of honesty, integrity, goodness and above all the virtue of hard work as precursors to success.

The colonial mode of thinking fueled by the neocolonialist consumerism has turned Africa into a consumer society unlike its past where Africa was productive and innovative. Chinese sages said don't give a man a fish but give him the fishing tools. The same is true for our African culture where you don't hunt from the pot, but rather you must go out to hunt in the bush before you can eat meat. It is a pity however that through the loot ethic, Africa has been characterized by unscrupulousness through the new business culture of tenderspreneurship where people sit in an office, connect with cronies, get a tender and subsequently sell the tender in the process making millions without shading a drop of sweat. In addition to the above, the culture of living on donor philanthropy must be erased off the face of Africa if it is to regain its dignity and respect. The continental body such as the Africa Union is funded by donor money for its operations. Government programmes are supported by donor money and communities live on freebies from Non-Governmental organizations (NGOs). This indeed is a paradoxical disgrace because it defeats logic to imagine how such a richly resourced continent can survive by the grace of well-wishers who in the first place are siphoning their money from the same Africa. Under Ubuntu a father who cannot fend for his family is no father at all, therefore Africa must wean itself out of the donor syndrome if it is to gain respect. Society therefore must be taught to live values as espoused in Ubuntu which has been exhaustively discussed earlier.

7.3.4 Knowledge and Stem

As alluded to earlier on STEM started in Africa as far back as history has been recorded. The pyramids of Egypt, the ancient structures at Great Zimbabwe, the shaduf in Egypt, archeological discoveries of value added products and artefacts in gold, copper and iron all demonstrate competences in science, mathematics, engineering and technology hence the question of STEM must be demystified. Research and development must form part of the societal makeup. The much hyped talk about Africa's turn around cannot be realized without a serious look at the imperatives of industrialization and skills development which must also cascade to a review of education systems on the continent. The colonial industrial architecture was designed to extract raw materials at the primary levels which could feed their industries abroad. It was appropriate at the time that the skills given to blacks then were designed to the level where they could not go beyond menial and clerical work and the education system was also tailored to meet the same needs. To this extent not much has

changed over the past nearly sixty years of independence hence the urgency for a jump onto STEM education.

Through STEM, Africa must industrialize in order to value add its resources which in turn will increase its dividends from trade. Through industrialization, the continent will trade finished products, upstaging the current system were it sales raw materials for a song and imports finished products at astronomic prices. Africa in addition must leverage on its raw materials to bargain technology transfer so that industry moves to benefit the people through job creation. A lot of scarce revenue is being spend on hiring expatriates in engineering, mining and medicine to name a few. This is bad because the potential to develop homegrown STEM graduates is there and what is then needed is the political will to demystify and grow STEM through education, research and development.

7.3.5 Governance

Improvement of governance should be the number one priority consideration for any leader. Leaders at all levels must be accountable and act in a manner which makes them truly servants of the people who have elected them to positions of power. It has been observed that generally where there is a demonstrable transparent, accountable and incorruptible leadership abiding by principles of good governance, countries have made progress in socio-economic development. Good governance, democracy defined in Afrocentric terms, accountability and transparency should be nurtured and sustained and most importantly should be made integral components of societies. Africa having suffered indignity and massive violations of the peoples' rights as alluded to earlier on, should be at the forefront for the protection and respect of human and people rights. For this to be achieved it is imperative to build democratic institutions based on traditional models tailored to meet modern global imperatives, improve indigenous knowledge systems and strengthen civil societies with the aim of stimulating majority participation in governance issues.

Good governance whilst an imperative, is not an end in itself, because the ultimate objective must be for it to usher in the developmental state where economic and social transformation is a pre-requisite and in this context a number of pertinent factors need to be taken into account. Whereas in recent years some African countries have recorded strong economic growth largely attributed to the comparative advantage on natural resources and the demands of the same fueled by exponential growth in the largest emerging economies in Latin America and Asia, it is a paradox though that this growth has not however translated into further reduction of poverty nor income and wealth inequalities. Rather the inequalities in

society have widened, elites have become richer, the people further impoverished, millions rendered jobless and corruption rent seeking and arbitrage have grown to unacceptable levels with the potential for creating an implosion of society. The situation is now anarchic and must be rescued through new leadership insights, relentless fight against the scourge of corruption and institution of the rule of law. Africa must move away from the George Orwells Animal Farm where some Africans are more equal than others.

7.3.5.1 Fight against Corruption

Corruption is the exploitation of public position, resources and power for private gain. In their own conceptualization (Antony, 2008). According to Fjeldstad and Isaksen (2008) corruption is the betrayal of public trust for individual or personal gain. It is considered as effort to secure wealth or power through illegal means for private gain at public expense; or a misuse of power for private benefit. Corruption covers a broad spectrum of activities ranging from fraud, that is, theft through misrepresentation, embezzlement, that is, misappropriation of corporate or public funds to bribery, that is, payments made in order to gain an advantage or to avoid a disadvantage (Cerry 2004).

Corruption as a phenomenon is a global problem, and exists in varying degrees in different countries. While it is more prevalent in the developing countries like Angola, Zimbabwe and other Southern African countries, the developed countries experience corruption at a minimal level. The important reason for the minimal level in the developed nations is that the control mechanisms are more developed and effective than in the developing countries (Koo and Hagen, 2001). The efficacy of control mechanisms in the advanced democracies of the world further accounts for the relative political and democratic stability that these countries enjoy. Corruption has got far reaching effects to leadership and governance in Southern Africa. Landsberg (2003) posits that "corruption poses a serious development challenge. In the political realm, it undermines democracy and good governance by flouting or even subverting formal processes. Corruption in elections and in legislative bodies reduces accountability and distorts representation in policy making; corruption in the judiciary compromises the rule of law; and corruption in public administration results in the unfair and inefficient provision of services.

More generally, corruption erodes the institutional capacity of government as procedures are disregarded, resources are siphoned off, and public offices are bought and sold. Thus, corruption undermines the legitimacy of government and democratic values of trust and tolerance. According to Gilbert (2004) evidences abound to suggest that corruption creates

major impediments to doing business in countries where it is prevalent. The negative effects of corruption on national development can be monumental, and in any corrupt regime, a nation could lose billions of dollars into the pockets of the nation's leaders. Corruption has additionally affected Southern Africa's economic development. Wealthy people who are known to be corrupt are regularly courted and honoured by communities, religious bodies, social clubs and other private organizations. Corruption has adversely affected Southern African countries' economy. Financial resources which would have been used to facilitate the country's economic development have been diverted into private bank accounts abroad. More worrisome is the fact that these stolen funds meant for economic development are not invested in the country to create employment for the unemployed citizens of the country (Baloro, 2001). This is indeed the reason for high level of poverty, insecurity and widespread diseases in Southern Africa. The poverty level in Mozambique, Zambia Zimbabwe and other Southern African countries is worsening as unemployment is soaring on daily basis (Hagen, 2001). The quality of education, health and other social services is dwindling all over the country. The agricultural, general merchandising and other social services which, hitherto, provided employment for the ordinary citizens have become very unattractive.

Corruption undermines Southern Africa's economic development by generating considerable distortions and inefficiency. In the private sector, corruption increases the cost of business through the price of illicit payments. It raises the management cost of negotiating with officials and increases the risk of agreements being breached. The Human Rights Watch (2007) comments that, despite record-setting government revenues in recent years, corruption and mismanagement remain a major cause of Southern Africa's failure to make meaningful progress in improving the lot of ordinary citizens. In addition to the negative impacts of corruption on the economic development of Southern Africa, it can also be noted that corruption has fuelled democratic instability and political corruption in this region. At the heart of democratic instability in Southern Africa is corruption and bad leadership. Corruption has not only made a mockery of the basis of the authority of the state, but it poses a great challenge to the legitimacy of democracy as the best form of government (Fjeldstad and Isakson, 2008). This has consequently led to democratic instability. Corruption has reached a level in Southern Africa such that an average Southern African citizen believes that there is an inextricable link between corruption and democracy.

Political corruption which is a form of corruption perpetrated by the political elite in Southern Africa has affected the cognitive perception of Southern Africans since the beginning of the

democratic experiment. First there is doubt about the ability of any Southern African state to organize a free, fair and credible election; second there is this perception that political appointments are one sure way to wealth and elevation of social status; and third, there is also the perception that the political office holders cannot be responsible and accountable to the citizens (Charlick, 2000). The impact of this on democratic stability is clear. Electoral contest has become a do or die affair with the prevalence of contract killings, political assassinations and electoral violence resulting in the general destruction of lives and properties. Consequently, as the philosophical basis and fundamental ethos of democracy are being swept under the carpet. The legitimacy of democracy as the best form of government has been seriously eroded. Democracy is rule-driven and no election can be better than the extent to which people obey electoral rule (Ake, 2006).

7.3.5.2 *Rule of Law*

According to the oxford English dictionary the rule of law is defined as "The authority and influence of law in society, especially when viewed as a constraint on individual and institutional behaviour, the principle whereby all members of a society are considered equal subject to publicly dislodged legal codes and processes". Among some of the important components of the rule of law are such elements as equality before the law, checks and balances in the use of power. Presumption of innocence until proven guilty, independence of the judiciary, entrenchment of rights and freedoms, equal access to justice as well as a right to know the law. The rule of law rather than being a purely legal matter is crucial to good governance and breeds confidence in the population about the institutions that govern them. Further in any developmental dispensation the rule of law is a precursor to development investment both domestic and foreign because its absence will mean anarchy and unpredictability.

7.3.6 Demographic and Gender Dividends

As the present and future leadership moves towards good governance and growing the economy there is need to focus on the role of women and the youth for a number of reasons as will be highlighted below. Firstly the women of Africa have been the most dynamic and resilient force in all facets of existence. In pre-colonial society which was more patriarchal in most respect, the role of the women as a pillar of the family and community was unquestionable hence expressions such as *Musha Mukadzi* (the woman is the pillar of the home). The woman took the burden of fending for the children, looking after all the domestic chores and above all the motherly care spread into society as an ethic of love, understanding

and tolerance. *"Ura mapoko, rwunozvara mbavha nemuroyi" and "Usarase mbereko nekufirwa"* – The two expressions all related to women highlight how the magnanimity of women in their inclusive capacity to handle diversity and adversity. Further the women have played a crucial role in the struggle for independence and liberation wars either as active combatants or collaborators. In conflict zones they have and continue to bear the disproportionate burden of suffering. They have been maimed, raped and displaced and they have become victims of abuse. Noting that women constitute more than 50% of the African population, it is inconceivable that their share of the nation's cake in several countries is negligible. They continue to remain on the fringes of governance, politics, education and paid economic activity. In Zimbabwe as an example out of 210 parliamentary seats, only 26 are occupied by women. Of the ruling presidium out of 5 Portfolios only one is occupied by a women and this is so despite the fact that the millennium development goals as set by the UN encourage the movement towards a 50-50 representation of women in all activities by the year 2030. Whilst the question of women representation should not just be based on numericalism, it must of necessity be noted that women are a powerful force multiplier which when properly empowered and allowed to make full use of their potential will unleash an irreversible movement towards political, social and economic emancipation of the continent.

Another area of critical importance is the need to recognize the current demographic trend where 60% of Africans are below the age of 40. With this statistic representing over 200 million people aged between 15 and 24, Africa therefore has the youngest population in the world. According to the World Bank 2011 report, between 2000 and 2008 Africas working age of 15-64 grew from 443 million to 550 million an increase of 25%. In annual terms this is a growth of 13 million per year of which if the trend continues the continent's labour force will be 1 billion strong by 2040 making it the largest in the world and surpassing both China and India (McKinsey Global Institute 2010). Whilst in some circles the demographic youth bulge has been taken as a threat to Africas future stability because of the rising prospects of unemployment, it is my considered view that the demographic dividend be considered a strength which if combined with the abundance of natural resources and exposure to world class technologies should certainly spur the continent on an upward trajectory for growth.

Having looked at the possible pillars of African leadership for the present and future, 1 will now propose a new leadership paradigm which must move Africa into the future. The continent must be moved away from the stereotype of the peripheral Dark Continent characterized by backwardness and pessimistic leaders who can't change the fortunes of their

countries for the better and leaders who cannot rise beyond narrow individual desires of primitive and obscure accumulation of wealth which in most cases is stolen in a kleptocratic manner. The 21st century has been declared as Africas century hence new leadership must strive to realize this dream of asserting Africas voice and position in global discources.

7.4 New Leadership Paradigm for Ethical Leadership

In this section an attempt will be made to restate what should be understood as Afrocentric Ethical Leadership, its theoretical basis, the possible principles for leaders and followers in a new interactive matrix of relationship and a projection of what traits and skills are considered necessary for the new leadership to be impactful.

7.4.1 Ethical Leadership - Afrocentric Perspective

From an Afrocentric perspective Ethical leadership is a shared phenomenon and responsibility in a mutually interactive relationship between leaders and followers which seeks to consolidate and direct the positive societal synergies and resources for the achievement of common goals. The cardinal pillars of ethical leaderships should be founded on morality which entails the endorsement of Unhu/Ubuntu as central to human endeavor, unity (*Kubatana, Ukubambana*) and collective energy. (*Amandla* in Zulu,*Seriti* in Sesotho and *Simba* in Shaona) are central as a life force of which without it there is no movement. From the above it can be deduced that the point of departure for African Ethical Leadership is community centeredness rather than the atomistic individualized leadership of the West. In Zulu they say *Sibantu bonye, Amandla ngeethu*, in Shona *Tirivanhu vamwe, masimba ndeedu,* all meaning we are one people and commonly the power belongs to us. Through oneness, collective synergy and power, it is possible to achieve all objectives and overcome obstacles. It is from this basis that Ethical Leadership is therefore that type of leadership that fosters inclusive wellbeing and common belonging with the ability to sponsor peace and harmony through love. Ethical leadership must foster change and envision a future of positive progress. It must be people centred, have a sense of community solidarity and purposive unity. It must create durable support structures and must be based on a thorough knowledge of the cultural resources obtaining in stake holder communities at different times in history. Above all Ethical Leadership must deliver the good life to followers based on equal opportunity, justice for all and respect and dignity in pursuit of excellence.

7.4.2 Leadership Philosophy

The new African leadership must be based and grounded on the authentic philosophy of Ubuntu as a functional pragmatic, life doctrine to promote unity, justice, transparency and

accountability in pursuit of robust positive socio-economic transformation with its communitarian thrust, Ubuntu as a doctrine must not be just for leaders but must be used as a societal transformational tool. Societal values and virtues must undergird the ethical standards of both leaders and followers. Through Ubuntu every citizen must be their brother/sisters' keeper through an automatic peer review which abhors the bad and promotes the good. Ubuntu must be elevated beyond rhetoric and romanticism to a doctrine and philosophy which every African must identify with without apology. Ubuntu must not be viewed as a subculture of other cultures. It must be viewed as a complete philosophy in its own right hence it must be propagated as a standalone entity with its own merits and demerits. The Ubuntu leadership ethic must be demystified and unshackled to the extent that it must not be taken as a return to antiquity and primitiveness but must be regarded as a movement into the future with human dignity and a strong sense of identity and belonging.

7.4.3 Principles of the new Leadership Paradigm

As we reflect on a new paradigm of leadership, we should advance and be cognisant of the narrative that instead of constantly enumerating what has been done wrong by leaders in our history, we should now ask ourselves inclusively, what, no matter how small or seemingly insignificant, we are doing as individuals, members of organisations, part of a community, professions of whatever station we have in society, to advance the cause of Africa and the dignity of its people. What are we doing to advance the spirit of Ubuntu leadership and followership as a precursor to developing our countries and continent? It is in light of the above that in the new leadership paradigm from the smallest station to the National and Continental leadership we observe a few principles 'I' consider indispensable to effective ethical leadership.

7.4.3.1 Envision

First like our founding Fathers' of the freedom generation and those that preceded them in fighting colonial occupation, present and future generations of leaders should be implored to hold fast to a new vision of the continent and their individual countries and stations where unity, peace and prosperity is the ultimate goal. The leaders must remain steadfast to their convictions, underpinned by morality and humanity. They must constantly strive to achieve their vision in the face of all obstacles and resistance from friends or foes. The leaders must be alive to the fact that the road to prosperity is not a stroll in the park but rather an arduous and perilous but rewarding undertaking. The task must be pursued with agility, initiative, depth and synchronized to achieve common outcomes. In order to envision, the leadership

must tap into the wisdom of forebears and insightfully explore and employ new knowledge in science, technology, engineering and mathematics. The leaders must not just be orators of the vision, but they must be stewards who can also walk the talk leading from the most vantage point where they can use wisdom to think in depth, see things in depth and ultimately act the encounters in a deep and effective way. The ultimate depth to be achieved is when leaders can martial all national resources to include 'people' in a manner that creates synergy for goal accomplishment. No vision can ever succeed when leaders operate in the narrow confines of political parties, ethnic, religious and racial groupings. Leaders must develop a broader all-embracing posture which creates a united, social and functioning entity.

7.4.3.2 Appreciate the Past inorder to build the Future

So often you hear Africans preach the message that 'forget the past it's behind us'. This in my view is illogical and defies African age old wisdom which in Shona says, '*Usakanganwe chezuro nehope*' translated meaning is that 'avoid short memories' and also '*kwaunobva kanda huyo, kwaunoenda usiku*' meaning don't forget where you are coming from because your destination is uncertain. Similarly in crude manner the English expression that 'we can forgive but we will not forget simply tells us that its fallacy to wish away the past. In order to understand where we are headed, current and future leaders must forge a deep appreciation of where the African renewal journey has taken us so far and how we have arrived where we are today. Africa stands proudly upon the legacies of millions of individuals who sacrificed their entire lives to ensuring that future generations would have a better life and greater opportunities.

Whilst we reflect on the journeys travelled by the freedom generation of leaders, we must never forget that the struggle was fought not by leaders alone, but the thousands upon thousands who provoked conversations and debate in town halls, in the communal homesteads, schools, university lecture halls, in markets or even in the township bars and taverns. The struggle was everyone's war and each person was a self-contained command post hence the view that the new leadership paradigm must embrace everyone's purposive participation in the new vision. The new leadership must Drive change on the energy of all citizen regardless of colour, race, creed, ethnic group or political affiliation. A future of success must be a cherished common commodity. With the above in mind it is prayed that current and future leaders must skillfully scrutinize and reflect on our past in order to construct a prosperous future.

7.4.3.3 Globalise, Localise and Connect

Chitsva chiri muru tsoka is a Shona proverb which means you can only discover new knowledge about the world if you travel. Whilst the travel was physical in similar manner to the Chinese saying that a thousand mile journey starts with one step, today in this increasingly interconnected world, the current and next generation of leaders and citizens must view themselves from the perspective of the global as well as the local. Uniquely empowered through new technologies and new social constructs, an opportunity to gather unprecedented amounts of new knowledge and to connect and mobilise thousands upon thousands of like-minded individuals across the globe has been presented. As leaders and citizens of the future, the most honoured responsibility is to use the newly acquired global knowledge for enhancing the local environment. Hybridisation of knowledge built upon a firm footing of Ubuntu culture will mean as Africans it's possible to acquire new knowledge, integrate it into our designs and develop purely African solutions to solve our challenges. Globalisation, rather than being a challenge to African culture and way of life can be a rare opportunity not to be missed which also cannot be wished away. In globalization there is diversity which as a strength can teach us to appreciate other cultures but at the same time maintain our own as the yardstick and foundation for any innovation.

7.4.3.4 Drive Change through Transformation

In order for nations and organisations to usher in a new developmental trajectory, there is need for a total mindset shift in leadership practice. Leaders have to move from top down leadership centered styles to inclusive participatory interactions. Leaders have to mobilize, motivate and empower followers so that they voluntarily commit themselves to perform beyond the call of duty. In order to achieve intrinsic follower motivation, leaders must be able to inculcate the spirit of harmony, solidarity, empathy, unity and co-operation across rank, gender, and other social affiliations. The spirit of Ubuntu must be invoked at the work place, in the family, in the church and in all life's pursuits and the goal should be to create a united family like solidarity atmosphere. The imperatives for transformative change are urgent, necessary and indispensable. As Africans we must stand tall and proud with the knowledge that our culture has withstood with valour and resilience the negative effects of over a century of domination. We achieved the impossible and tamed the untamable. We transformed the once enslaved to the new master, instead of vengeance we magnanimously created egalitarian dispensations accommodative of past foes and friends. The same miraculous feats of magnanimity displayed by the Mandelas and Nyereres of the freedom generation should be the same spirit to drive the transformation to Africas future. The

magnanimity of king Moshoeshoe who refused to revenge but accommodate the killers of his ancestors, the cannibals, should be the same spirit which should drive Africas future, national and global interactions and relationships. Reconciliation, accommodation, peace and justice should be the bedrock of our survival. Harmony and order, resonance and community should underpin our pursuits for life success. As leaders and followers, change and transformation to a newer peaceful and prosperous order should be a cherished and well guarded ideal. The tragedy of the post-colonial post freedom generation improprieties of military coupists, dictators, despots and unprincipled adventurers masquerading as national and continental leaders should be confined to the archives of history and only referred to as reference to taboos never to be repeated in a newer authentic and sophisticated African leadereship culture.

7.4.3.5 Establishment of Transcendent Institutions

The failure of African leadership has been in the main, from an analytical perspective, attributed to the absence or non-existence of strong governance institutional frameworks and this has largely resulted in the compromise to the rule of law. When there is no rule of law, survival becomes a case of the fittest devouring the weak and this results in anarchic societies synonymous with the situation in some countries in Southern Africa. Management of successful economies, sound inclusive financial leadership fight against kleptocracy and institutionalized crime and corruption, delivery of justice and effective provision of basic life necessary services in health, poverty alleviation and other social amenities should all be predicated on the existence or establishment of transcendental institutions which must live beyond the life or tenure of individual leaders. Africas tragedy has been partly because of its insatiable appetite for ushering in new orders of governance to suit individual tastes. Each leader who comes in wants to start anew hence the learning curve never ends. Institutional memory and continuity which are critical components of any successful dispensation are compromised in the process. You need institutional memory to dig into past archives in order to avoid obvious pitfalls. It is said only fools want to learn from their mistakes otherwise there is wisdom in the Shona proverb 'Takabva neko kumhunga hakuna ipwa' literally meaning that there is nothing new under the sun, therefore use ancient wisdom to chart an intelligent future.

Leaders must establish effective governance institutions to guarantee the citizens access to their government. There should be adequate checks and balances to assure transparency, accountability and impartiality. Civil society must be strengthened and their role in holding

leaders accountable should be magnified. In Ubuntu, transparency, accountability and impartiality as well as the oversight role of the citizenry or followers are entrenched through the Dare (Governing Council Arrangement). Decisions of the Dare are always consensual hence the strength of African democracy is its inclusive nature of dialogue and strong consultative structures which eliminate room for unnecessary retrogressive dissent.

7.4.3.6 Managing Succession

One of the hall marks of good, effective and successful ethical leadership is grooming and transforming followers into successful leaders in their own right. Those who voluntarily hand over power to those they are confident about will retire in grace and honour with the full knowledge that the affairs of the state will remain in safe hands. The tragedy of Africa though is that once someone gets into a position of leadership, it is by divine right that they remain there. Examples are abound of life presidents' who died in office, leaders who believed they were the only capable ones staying in office in perpetuity and those who manipulated the electoral systems and tempered with constitutions just to get the passport to hang on to power. In most cases power and leadership changes have resultantly been through military interventions, popular peoples' uprisings and forced power changes through manipulation of party machinery. In South Africa, except for the transition between Mandela and Mbeki, all the other transitions have been acrimonious and embarrassing ousters. In Zimbabwe long ruling Robert Mugabe had to be removed with the aid of the military. Throughout his long reign he used to say it was not his responsibility to anoint and groom a successor and that he would live once the people said so, but when the people marched into the streets pressing for his ouster he advanced that those calling for his ouster were sponsored opposition and it had to take an impeachment motion to finally convince him to quit. In similar manner, when Zuma was pressed to leave on allegations of state capture and corruption he vehemently refuted the charges and only managed to say that he did not see anything wrong in what he did whilst in office. In other dispensations leaders had forced the changes in constitutions to facilitate their long stay in office and the net effect of these manouvres has been wide scale disgruntlement which at times has resulted in dissent and rebellion. Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda are examples where constitutions have been changed to facilitate the extensions of Presidential tenure, but all are now fighting incessant rebellions. With the above in mind, Africa needs a new model of succession and transition planning which caters for predictability and harmonious transition from one leader to the next.

African dance culture provides a practical model for leadership change and transition culture. The *Muchongoyo* dance, *Jerusarema* dance and even the *Shangara* (all Zimbabwean dances and similar ones in South Africa) are conducted in a circular formation. People dance to the drum beat and singing. In turns a dancer goes into the ring, picks on a partner and they display all their known skills to the best of their ability. At the pick of their display onlookers ululate and clap hands in approval or disapproval after which the couple gives way to the next cognizant that overstaying in the ring brings boredom and ultimate booing which will be disgraceful. The moral of this dance culture is that as a leader volunteer your service, perform to the best achievable level and give way to others when you are still appreciated. The saying *Ushe madzoro musiyidzanwa* reinforces the idea of rotational leadership. *Dzoro* is a practice of rotational herding of cattle where each cattle owner take turns to herd the beasts hence similarly leadership is everyone's responsibility and never to be reposed in one person.

The key responsibility for the new generation of leaders is therefore their capacity to develop and inculcate a culture of responsibility into all citizens so that they become moral torch bearers who can assume leadership at any time irrespective of their station in life. The entire follower population must be developed into self-leaders who will find higher responsibility as a call to duty and not as an avenue to self-aggrandizement.

7.5 Pertinent Issues for the New Leadership Paradigm

The proposal for the adoption of the Ubuntu philosophy as a guiding doctrine for the new leadership paradigm pre-supposes that the leadership must be a leadership to look after the total interests of all followers irrespective of their diversity in their various pursuits such as politics, religion, profession as well as class, group, race and ethnic persuasions. Whereas the spirit of the founding fathers of the independent African states was the establishment of non-racial, united independent countries the reality on the ground is the exact opposite in that Africa is now more polarized than it was ever before. Whereas in the colonial period divisions were mainly between the colonial master and subject indigenous African, today countries are divided along party political groupings, religious affiliations, sectional interests and ethnic identities. In most cases the divisions are so acute that besides the national flag and the national anthem, there is no other symbol of national identity. Leaders in positions at state level have failed to define what is the national agenda, the real national question, the common rallying point, the real object which every citizen must yearn to defend and die for.

The transition from the liberation ideology to state centered ideology need to be revisited because failure to do so is manifesting in structural faults which have the potential to hold Africa back in perpetuity. At independence most countries preached reconciliation and tolerance, but it would appear the gesture was only directed at the erstwhile colonisers and not towards fellow blacks who were of different political bearings to those of the dominant liberation movements. These were and continue to be tamed agents of the former enemy who is now coming through neo-colonialism. For this reason the rift between and among blacks is far from being closed and the situation is further worsening by the emergence of the new fundamentalist like religious groupings where even in families wife and husband cannot see eye to eye because they belong to different churches.

This situation needs to be managed if Africa is to move forward. In mature democracies, there is always unity around common national interests despite differences in the tactical approaches to support the national interests. In the USA as an example being Republican or Democrat is otherwise a label for two sides of the same coin but in liberated Africa for example if you don't belong to the dominant liberation party then you are an agent of regime change qualifying to be an enemy of the state. This state of affairs needs to be managed the Ubuntu way. In Ubuntu philosophy a leader is supposed to be a pacifier, a unifier, a magnanimous custodian of peoples power hence expressions such as '*Ishe ndi Makumbe, Maunganidze mutongi wezvese'*. Further the expression '*Ura mapoko, rwunozvara mbavha nemuroyi'* tells that the same mother can give birth to thieves and witches but she can't disown the offspring. This therefore calls for a mature and sober approach where the new leadership must transcend artificial divisions and fault lines in favour of uniting all followers towards a common rallying point for progress to be realized.

7.6 Leader Selection

The leadership selection process, criterion and mechanisms play a key determining feature of the nature of the leadership that emerges at the end of the exercise. Currently the Western sponsored models of democratic leadership selection are based on the secret ballot. The key facet of the secret ballot is numericalism hence at stake is the game of numbers. To this extent contestants have gone to great lengths to try and manipulate the ballot system hence the many contested electoral results in Africa. Whether it is fact or fiction that votes are rigged, the truth of the matter is that Africans in general have lost faith in the ballot system hence there is need for urgency in coming up with a template which can produce credible,

uncontested legitimate fully representative leadership. In this respect the Ubuntu resource of consensus appears to be the solution to leader selection crisis given that historically Africans have always arrived on communitarian consensus. The current fashionable buzzword is African solutions for African problems, and if this is to be so, why then should Africa remain chained to imposed alien selection processes which are proving to be a disaster. What is the impediment to thinking outside this imposed box of Western style democracy which is not working. Pre-colonial Africa thrived on consensus democracy, the freedom generation thrived on consensus and it is the post –colonial era which has put the train off the rails because of the so called superior transparent democratic elections which for all intends and purposes have proved to be more opaque and not credible. Africa needs to rally all its people through their various interest groupings into a national conference which will select an acceptable national leader who will be moulded to work for the nation and not be hamstrung by narrow sectional interests. In the selection process key leadership attributes need to be looked at as a guide.

7.7 New Paradigm Leadership Attributes

With the evolving nature of the struggle to consolidate the liberation gains of Africa, there is an equal need to look at how the new leadership can live up to challenges of a fast changing global environment. Whilst the fight against colonialism was a clear cut affair with defined boundaries and fronts, known and identifiable enemies, the current war to consolidate independence is different. The enemy in our midst is now poverty, underdevelopment, hunger, unemployment, disease pandemics, ethnicity and corruption to mention a few. Above all the North South divide threatens to want to confine Africa to the periphery of development, exploit its resources and condemn it to a basket case, reliant on aid and grants. The asymmetrical nature of the new struggle certainly calls for a closer look at what should be the makeup of the men and women who will lead the African rebirth process. Whereas courage, resoluteness, principled focus, will power and charisma in pursuit of the liberation objective was critical for the decolonization effort, the contemporary challenges will certainly have more demands upon leadership hence the need to examine new insights of what will constitute the new leadership as we migrate from the ambivalent post-independence leadership menace to a new era of the African reality.

7.7.1 Patriotism

Candidates for leadership must be men and women with unquestionable patriotism and loyalty to their countries and the African cause in general. They must have intrinsic love for their country and must be devoted to the duty of servitude. They must regard leadership as a calling to servanthood rather than a vacation or job to self-enrichment. They must be prepared to pay the supreme price in defence of the mother land. The freedom generation of comrades such as Nelson Mandela of South Africa, Eduardo Mondlane of Mozambique, Augustino Neto of Angola and Hebert Chitepo of Zimbabwe are examples of iconic heroes who sacrificed their entire lives to the liberation of their countries for no reward. In some cases they gave up promising careers at the prime of their young lives and chose the arduous and perilous journey to share the trenches with the suffering masses fully aware of the hazards they were going to meet. Imprisonment, torture, assassinations, murder and all forms of brutality were all a wide cocktail of the perils of choosing to lead, which they consciously chose to endure. Potential leadership candidates must share and believe in the values and founding principles of their countries and not revisionists who want to turn the clock of freedom backwards. They must not be proxies of foreigners and must stand for the cause of their people.

7.7.2 Ethics of Potential Leadership

Candidates must be torch bearers of the African ethical compass moulded around Ubuntu. They must be able to usher in value centred leadership in their dealings. A value centred leadership is just, honest, transparent, accountable and capable of building harmonious communities and teams in all facets of life. Political leaders must be proud of their identity and culture and must propagate with vigour and without apology the importance of culture based development models of society. The leaders must be aware of cultural and ethical relativity and diversity and in turn must be able to manage intercultural relations cognisant of the heterogeneity of the modern global population trends.

Leaders must not take Ubuntu as an appendix to their life. Rather they must live Ubuntu, it must be practiced in word and indeed. Nelson Mandela and Desmond Tutu are iconic figures who lived, practiced and preached Ubuntu. They showed the world that Ubuntu is not about antiquity, they unveiled its sophistication as a rare doctrine for managing cross cultural conflict and diversity in modernity. Through Ubuntu science and humanity can co-exist for the benefit of mankind hence it (Ubuntu) becomes an indispensable leadership imperative. Rather than have leaders who mimic and imitate foreign culture, Africa needs authentic

ethical leaders who are true to their nature. All developed nations have a distinct feature of being culturally and ethically distinct. Whilst so much has been written about classical Western ethics, Chinese ethics, Indian ethics to name a few, you rarely come across books with African ethics yet in terms of population Africa is third following China and India. It is therefore imperative that in order for Africa to rise and take up its position, it must show the rest of the world what makes it distinct. Ubuntu should therefore be the defining label for African Ethics and leadership culture which is invaluable to development through solidarity, survival and unity.

7.7.3 Power, Influence and Charisma

Leadership must be given to those with power in all its manifestations, but with the potential to use that power for the general good. Tshaka of the Zulu empire, King Moshoe of Lesotho and the Mutapas of Zimbabwe all succeeded because they had power in their different ways. Leaders need power to influence events and processes. They need power to mobilise and marshal resources and direct them towards goal achievement. They need power to get their way in international institutions. Leaders must be resolute in defence of national interests. They must fight pressure from within and without and must be prepared to face negative consequences as long as they are standing on the peoples' side. Robert Mugabe was vilified and put on sanctions for his principled stand in defending the black majority's right to land which was at the core of the liberation struggle for Zimbabwe. It is for this principled stand that even after being forced to stand down, his legacy is still defended.

7.7.4 Knowledge and Skills

Potential leaders must have basic knowledge and skills in leadership, management, the economy, governance and international relations. Leadership is no longer about slogans and promises but a game of delivery. People want jobs, they want good social services, they want quality life and this can only be achieved if the leaders can modernize, industrialise and grow their economies and national wealth. Because the globalization trend and competition for development resources is unstoppable, discerning leaders with the capacity to identify, grab and exploit opportunities will win the current struggle for economic freedom. The information overload and clutter available through the various technological advances is overwhelming. Cultural imperialism and global consumerism are threats confronting Africa and the third World to the extent that they have become slaves of Western commodities to the extent of shading their own culture and products. There is an urgent need for knowledgeable leaders who can spur the academic and all information propagations to aggressively develop

and sell Africa to the world. There is a need for leaders to lead in the battle of liberating the African mind so that citizens can begin to believe in themselves. The need to emancipate the African mindset from over a century of acculturation is daunting but it is doeable.

7.7.5 Transformation Capacity

For a very long time Africa in general has been subjected to bad governance, economic regression, instability and proxy little destabilizing wars and the scourge of corruption, all which have manifested in the underdevelopment of the continent and its people. With new thinking focusing on the rebirth of the continent, there is need for urgency in identifying leaders with the capacity to transform and drive change for the better. The Transformational leaders being looked for are people with a passion for developing their country and people, elevating all to greater heights. People must be developed, empowered and motivated so that they can take charge of their upliftment. Opportunities must be opened for all to exploit and the national cake must be shared by all in the form of social services and amenities such as infrastructure in road, rail, air, water and electricity. Hospitals, schools, colleges and universities must be upgraded and expanded to meet international standards.

The Transformational leader must work to restore the dignity and self-worth of citizens by propagating the culture of self-reliance, duty in rebuilding the country and shunning the culture of the donor syndrome. Donors have promoted a culture of laziness and many a people now believe in manna from the donors as opposed to giving the self a hard earned day's work. The transformational leader must fight all societal ills such as greed, corruption, nepotism and patronage. The culture of inner cabals, kitchen cabinets and king makers must be dismantled and replaced with accountable and transparent institutions.

7.8 Conclusion

The chapter was an attempt to expose the researcher's views on the new paradigm of leadership for Africa in response to the growing and loud calls for the renewal of the continent at large and independent countries in particular with a focus on Southern Africa. Whilst noting that the pre-colonial period and the freedom struggle epoch presented the best of African leadership, the colonial occupation era and the period immediately after independence to date has been characterized by bad and non-ethical leadership which has taken Africa back to underdevelopment, instability, wars, hunger, disease and poverty contrary to the expectations of the general population who were optimistic about a better future as promised by the freedom generation of leaders.

In order to propel Africas rebirth the chapter proposed a set of possible pillars for a new leadership paradigm and key among these were identity, ideology, values, knowledge, governance and the question of gender and demography. From these a new paradigm of Afrocentric Ethical leadership was proposed anchored on the philosophy of Ubuntu as a key resource. In projecting the Ubuntu leadership it was opined that leaders need a clear vision of Africa based on an appreciation of the fundamental founding principles of the freedom generation of leadership. In addition the leadership needed to be aware of the need to connect globally whilst acting in accordance to dictates of the local situation as a means to harmonise and manage the ever confusing conflict of information overload occasioned by modern technology. In addition it was considered prudent that leaders drive change in order to achieve a better life for the followers through the establishment of supportive institutions. Under the new paradigm the need for managing succession was considered as an important feature of mature democratic practice aimed at avoiding the current anarchy characterizing leadership changes.

In order to manage the new leadership paradigm and bring it to fruition there was a need to put in place proper selection procedures which should move away from the Western imposed numerical democracy through the ballot to a consensus based system which considers the attributes of Patriotism, values and ethics, power, influence and charisma as well as knowledge and skills and one's transformational potential. To sum it up, the chapter called for authentic African leadership based on the resources of Ubuntu which should not be construed as return to antiquity but which should be considered as the rebirth of an African distinct leadership model. The logic of an African leadership model is that with a population of over a billion, third from China and India and with a potential to be the most populous in forty years according to World Bank projections. There is no way for Africa to continue to play 2nd fiddle in the propagation of its ideas and influence to the world.

CHAPTER EIGHT: GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

8.1 Introduction

The main focus of this chapter is to make general conclusions and recommendations to the study as a whole. The chapter presents a conclusion of this study in the light of the need to explore the efficacy of African cultural resources for ethical leadership in the post-colonial southern Africa. The chapter will thus provide a synopsis of the whole study by drawing some conclusions from the preceding chapters. The chapter will end with recommendations on how the African traditional resources can contribute to ethical leadership in the Southern African region. Southern African cultures are endowed with rich traditional ethical values and principles such as Ubuntu/ Unhu which can go a long way in moulding and bolstering a reliable framework for ethical leadership in Southern Africa. As such, the adoption of traditional ethical resources for ethical leadership create the potential to a successful leader who is capable of providing comprehensive well-being for their followers. This study consists of eight chapters inclusive of this one.

8.2 Overview of the study

Chapter two explored the theoretical perspectives undergirding leadership. In this chapter the term leadership has been defined as the influence of a leader, the ability, the art or process of influencing people so that they will strive willingly and enthusiastically towards the achievement of the group's mission. The chapter explored the evolution of leadership theories in order to provide a broader theoretical framework for the study. Bearing in mind that theories have been reformed and modified with the passage of time, it was argued that none of these theories should be regarded as irrelevant. The most important aspect to note therefore is that situations, contexts, culture, work environment and other socio-cultural imperatives remarkably impact the leadership styles. These leadership styles must be commensurate with the reality of changing times (Amabile Chatzel, Moneta & Kramer: 2004).

The Chapter discussed the Ubuntu leadership model in which it was deduced that this type of leadership is based on the understanding that ethical leadership implies making a conscious paradigm shift from leadership for followers to leadership with followers. Rather than being leader centred, Ubuntu focused on group effort and it is this element which must be exploited in order to bring about a new model for ethical leadership in Africa. The chapter also

proceeded to examine the leadership roles and how they impact on leadership. Additionally, the leadership styles namely laissez faire, autocratic leadership, democratic leadership, transactional and transformational leadership were critically discussed. Leadership qualities such as respect, serving, justice, honesty and community were also presented. Lastly, the chapter also highlighted the concept of African leadership experience where it interrogated the relevance and the utility of the Classical Western leadership models and determined how they relate to cultural traditional leadership models. The African leadership experience attempted to illuminate the underlying causes of Africa's leadership failures as lying in the history of colonization and the need to decolonize the mind. Africans seem to take Africa as a property of the colonizer rather than their own and this explains why there is massive corruption and looting of state resources. To that extent, it was identified that there is an ideological and moral gap which must be filled through education and re-orientation if the ideals of ethical leadership are to be realized in Southern Africa.

Chapter three, in concluding the debate on the theories of power what appears to be a common thread is that power is an everyday phenomena governing social interaction at various levels ranging from individual, group, organizational or even state to state in international relations. Power has been defined as power over something or power to do something hence the bottom line was that power was something dynamic in such a way that its effects are felt differently. Since there is no one group or individual with the monopoly of power, it remains an area which is always open to contestation in human existence. The Functionalist theory of power sees it as a collective national resource, Democratic pluralist theory of power sees power as something dispersed and located in the many, the elite theory sees power in the hands of a privileged few, the Marxist class theory sees power as contested between the rich and the poor, and the feminists see power as domination by men hence they see the need to develop more gender sensitive models of power such as transformative approach to power. All theories were found to be relevant to the study of power because no theory on its own can adequately capture all our human conceptualization of power.

The chapter also analyzed the various sources, forms and bases of power and how they are applied in leadership styles. Power comes in various ways, each of which has different effects on the targets of that power. Some derive from individual characteristics, others draw on the aspects of organizational structure. Whether they are aware of it or not, professionals use their power to extend their ethics (or lack of ethics) to other members of the organization.

This happens especially during those instances when they influence the organizational members to follow a certain pattern of standard institutional procedures. Power is not a preserve of the leadership, rather it can be wielded by basically anyone within the organization. The chapter examined reward power, expert power, coercive power and referent power as the bases of power. The chapter went on to demonstrate the interconnection between power and leadership. In conclusion, the chapter unpacked the notion of power as understood in the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Africa. In this discourse on power it was noted that in both the Western and pre-colonial Africa dispensations, power and leadership were, and in the case of the contemporary Western practice, remain a tool for enabling positive change for the good of the followers. However, the situation of post-colonial Africa has marked a tragic departure from the past where the majority of leaders with a few exceptions believe in a 'strong man rule', weak institutions and even failed governments which facilitate pillage of state resources is something that is caused by the political culture of the personalization of the state power by one individual. With this line of argument it is in no doubt therefore that the Western models of power and leadership may not be the best for post-colonial Africa.

Chapter four discussed some ethical traditions with specific reference to their impact on ethical leadership. The chapter commenced by defining the term ethics with the intention of capturing the underlying issues under ethics. In the light of this objective, the chapter explored the theoretical ethical underpinnings and foundations of ethics. The thrust was to give an exposition of the importance of ethics in the contemporary governance systems and efforts. The chapter therefore concluded by exploring the relationship between ethics and leadership. This therefore created a foundation upon which ethical leadership should be premised. Whilst in general terms ethics is about knowing how we ought to live as responsible rational beings with the capacity to differentiate the good from the bad, it is however important to note the existence of cultural diversity and the ethical traditions that are found in these diverse cultures of the world. This therefore calls for human beings all over the world to appreciate and understand cultural diversity whilst at the same time maintain their own cultural compass.

It was noted that predominantly literature on ethics in Africa is on Western ethical traditions that are usually premised on individualism and the discourses on human rights. The important ethical tradition which is universally indisputable is that the human being must always be treated as an end and not as a means to someone else's purposes. The golden rule that says

treat others as you would wish to be treated is central to most of the world ethical traditions and this ethical principle concurs very well with Ubuntu ethics which says that a person's humanity is recognized in the humanity of others. The general point of divergence between Western culture and Ubuntu Ethics is that in Ubuntu prioritizes community and the need to support communitarian goals for the wellbeing of all rather than the competitive acquisition of wealth which has become synonymous with Western individualism. Ubuntu as an ethic therefore is unique and distinct and as such it must not be regarded as a romanticized invention of post-modern African Scholars who want to simply arouse a non-existent African identity.

Ethics in all its traditions is at the core of leadership and can determine the level of success and effectiveness of leadership not with-standing the obvious dilemmas of unethical leaders who succeed in their personal pursuits such as Hitler did. However it has to be noted that as generally as human beings ethics plays a more pivotal role in societal interactions. Virtutes such as trust, sincerity, integrity, empathy and respect become central and will define how leaders will be followed, acknowledged and supported. The debate on ethics cannot successfully be concluded without mentioning the counterpoising views on ethics drawn from Machiavellian linked scholars who advance a number of views which suggest the non-existence of ethics especially in politics and international relations. In one of his writings, 'The Prince' Machiaveli reflects on the duality of ethics between leaders and followers where evil acts can be undertaken for the sake of maintaining a grip on power over the state while the same cannot be condoned for followers. The Machiavellian approach to ethics has unfortunately found currency among most of the African leaders and this explains the moral decay the continent currently finds itself in. Ethics therefore is indispensable for good and effective leadership. For this reason, ethics must be a taught in all institutions of society as the an indispensable requirement for leadership.

In chapter five, my focus was on examining the traditional resources for ethical leadership in ancient kingdoms and empires of Southern Africa. The leadership styles, and key tenets of traditional leadership such as Ubuntu, their political systems, governance, religion and economies were discussed. As explained earlier, the leaders were able to develop stable empires partly because they had thriving militaries, governance institutions and economies and the communities were apparently well fed. They ensured participation by the people in decision making on issues affecting them, gave them social and political security and brought the communities together by sharing common morals ethics and values through the African

ethics of Ubuntu and religion. A lesson that today's leaders can learn from these kingdoms is that growing economies, peace, security and a happy loyal population are all factors that contribute significantly to the creation of a stable state and consequently to the security of those in power.

Furthermore, from the above observation, this chapter demonstrated that traditional values for ethical leader are almost the same as values highly praised or re-discovered in Western democracies. From the key tenets of traditional leadership, issues such as direct participation of people in decision making and conflict resolution, respect for dissent and protection of minority views and interests by requiring consensus on decisions (as compared with State electoral mechanisms where people may vote along ethnic lines), narrowing the gap between the rulers and the ruled through direct participation of all adults in making and in enforcing rules, equitable access to land mostly by the communal land tenure system and resolutions of conflicts by narrowing differences, the incorporation of African traditional political values into modern values of governance of the post-colonial state constitute the critical step in the reconstitution of the African state, too often perceived to be an apparatus of exploitation and oppression.

There is also a need to take note that traditional institutions have been operating for thousands of years and are still in existence, so they must hold something of value. If we understand culture as something that is malleable, rather than fixed or elevated to the status of religion, it is possible to retain what is good in these non-Western systems of governance. The leadership also needs to be brought in line with the wishes of their people and even now, there are instances of chiefs that are genuinely concerned with the welfare of their people and work toward their upliftment. Asante (2006:38) observed that, when Africans view themselves as central to their own history then they see themselves as agents, actors and participants rather than as marginal, on the periphery of the political or economic experience of others. Africans should thus see the world through their own eyes, and must understand that they are central to their own history, not someone else.

In Chapter six, the research revealed that during the 1990s, the concept of Ubuntu was adapted into an ideology in post-apartheid South Africa, as a vehicle to bring about harmony and cooperation among its many racial and ethnic groups. Ubuntu is regarded as one of the founding principles of the new Republic of South Africa, and has been associated with the idea of an "African Renaissance." In the political sphere, the concept of Ubuntu is used to

emphasize the need for unity or consensus in decision-making, as well as the need for a suitably humanitarian ethic to inform those decisions. The pillars of Ubuntu ideology include respect for others, dignity, solidarity, good behaviour, diplomacy, helpfulness, community, sharing, caring, trust and unselfishness among a variance of values. It is seen as a basis for a morality of co-operation, compassion, and communitarianism. Ubuntu underscores the importance of agreement or consensus, and gives priority to the well-being of the community as a whole.

The unifying worldview of Ubuntu is expressed in the Zulu maxim *"umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu,"* ("a person is a person through other persons") also common in Shona as *"munhu munhu nekuda kwevanhu."* By a Western humanist, this aphorism might be interpreted as an effective social ethic or rule of conduct, or simply as a description of the human situation. In traditional African thought this maxim has a profoundly religious significance. "Persons" includes not only living human beings, but ancestors who have already died and children who have not yet been born. Ubuntu or hunhu embodies deep respect for ancestors, and includes all the attitudes and behaviors necessary not only for a harmonious life with other individuals on earth, but with ancestors in the world beyond death and with those who will live on earth in the future. Every individual is the fruit of his or her ancestors, and will become the ancestor of all future descendants.

Ubuntu implies an appreciation of traditional beliefs, and a constant awareness that an individual's actions today are a reflection on the past, and will have far-reaching consequences for the future. A person with Ubuntu knows his or her place in the universe and is consequently able to interact gracefully with other individuals. Those who uphold Ubuntu throughout their lives will, in death, achieve a unity with those still living. In Western thought, an individual is a pre-existent and self-sufficient being and exists prior to, separately and independently from the rest of the community or society. Ubuntu defines the individual only in terms of his or her relationships with others in the community. As these relationships change, the character of the individual changes. An individual constitutes multiple personalities corresponding to his or her various roles in society.

A number of challenges of Ubuntu have been revealed in this research paper. These challenges act as serious impediments to the growth and perpetuation of Ubuntu. The challenges include, rapid urbanization, Westernization and Western solipsism, globalization and the changing political, social, economic and religious landscape which is quite different

from the pre – independent times. Further, the proliferation of foreign ideas and the fact that Ubuntu is based on an unrecorded practice acts as vices to the manifestation of Ubuntu. Insufficient dissemination and sensitization about the Ubuntu philosophy has also been explained as a serious challenge of Ubuntu. The fact that Ubuntu is inappropriately negatively associated with some obsolete African traditional rituals, customs and practices is unfortunate and needs correction through education and further research.

The multiplicity of challenges outlined act as a barrier to Ubuntu hence they have to be dealt with accordingly lest Ubuntu/ African ethics are thrown into the dust – bin of history and Africa becomes a cultureless and identity less continent prone to any external culture or influence. Ubuntu through its value system is an indispensable pillar of African existentialism and has to be vigorously revived, propagated inculcated into the life of generations to come. Whereas other cultures define themselves by their culture, so should Africans also do. Europeans would never want to be African, Chinese would never want to be Indians, so why should Africans want to be everything. The Anglophone, Lusophone and Francophone or Arabic tag must be exorcised so that we remain African. Ubuntu as culture is the only indisputable foundation for a new paradigm of African leadership as will be advanced in the next chapter, which will focus on formulating a new paradigm of ethical leadership and this paradigm is derived from the traditional resources of Ubuntu. The chapter will explore the elementary and foundational aspects that serve as building blocks for the new paradigm for leadership.

Chapter seven, was an attempt to expose the researcher's views on the new paradigm of leadership for Africa in response to the growing and loud calls for the renewal of the continent at large and independent countries in particular with a focus on Southern Africa. Whilst noting that the pre-colonial period and the freedom struggle epoch presented the best of African leadership, the colonial occupation era and the period immediately after independence to date has been characterized by bad and non-ethical leadership which has taken Africa back to underdevelopment, instability, wars, hunger, disease and poverty contrary to the expectations of the general population who were optimistic about a better future as promised by the freedom generation of leaders. In order to propel Africas rebirth the chapter proposed a set of possible pillars for a new leadership paradigm and key among these were identity, ideology, values, knowledge, governance and the question of gender and demography.

From these a new paradigm of Afrocentric Ethical leadership was proposed anchored on the philosophy of Ubuntu as a key resource. In projecting the Ubuntu leadership it was opined that leaders need a clear vision of Africa based on an appreciation of the fundamental founding principles of the freedom generation of leadership. In addition the leadership needed to be aware of the need to connect globally whilst acting in accordance to dictates of the local situation as a means to harmonize and manage the ever confusing conflict of information overload occasioned by modern technology. In addition it was considered prudent that leaders drive change in order to achieve a better life for the followers through the establishment of supportive institutions. Under the new paradigm the need for managing succession was considered as an important feature of mature democratic practice aimed at avoiding the current anarchy characterizing leadership changes.

In order to manage the new leadership paradigm and bring it to fruition there was a need to put in place proper selection procedures which should move away from the Western imposed numerical democracy through the ballot to a consensus based system which considers the attributes of Patriotism, values and ethics, power, influence and charisma as well as knowledge and skills and one's transformational potential. To sum it up, the chapter called for authentic African leadership based on the resources of Ubuntu which should not be construed as return to antiquity but which should be considered as the rebirth of an African distinct leadership model. The logic of an African leadership model is that with a population of over a billion, third from China and India and with a potential to be the most populous in forty years according to World Bank projections. There is no way for Africa to continue to play 2nd fiddle in the propagation of its ideas and influence to the world.

8.3 Overall Conclusion

In rounding up the debate on leadership as espoused through the Ubuntu philosophy it is prudent to note that leadership is not about accepting positions of power and influences. Leadership is about being someone on a goodwill mission to deliver positive results for the good of the general followership. Nelson Mandela was on a mission to dismantle apartheid and establish a non-racial egalitarian dispensation. That he certainly achieved through the establishment of the Rainbow nation before he handed over the reigns of power. The importance of Mandela's wisdom was in realizing the importance of living the stage when still wanted or appreciated. Mugabe was a national and continental liberation icon until the time he overstayed and had to be ejected from the stage. He left ingloriously and destroyed

his legacy, all because he failed to realize that leadership is a situation adjunct and is not a one size fits all. The sooner African leaders' realize that they should serve specific mandates and situations the better. *Ushe madzoro musiyidzanwa* (leadership is rotational).

Power is a resource which must be used for the benefit of the followers. Ubuntu is power sharing hence the nation is as strong as its aggregate national resources which must be shared for the benefit of all. With strategic depth in power resources such as human and material as abound in Africa, leaders must use that power to leverage on development in order to raise the welfare of people. The Achilles hill of the African development paradigm though has been its failure to present a united front in its negotiations with the 1st world hence through disintegration African resources are being taken piecemeal for a song to develop other countries. The irony of it all is that despite the abundant rich resources, Africa is a basket case surviving on crumbs of Aid simply because leaders cannot agree to pursue a common global agenda to leverage on their collective power. Instead leaders have seen power in the narrow sense of its use in entrenching ones position in order to gain unfair personal advantage. This has manifested in corruption, repression and eroded integrity resulting in numerous continental upheavals and anarchy.

Ethics is the capacity to discern the good from the bad. Ethics is relative to cultural expectations and what's good in the West may not necessarily be so in Africa. Ethics is not about Sainthood. It is about the good lived experiences which bring maximum good for the people through community centeredness. The passionate pursuit of national interest as espoused by Tshaka, the diplomatic prowess and prolific statecraft of Moshoeshoe and the entrepreneurial skills of the Mutapas reflect a leadership driven to deliver the maximum good for their followers. That's what ethics is all about. Principle, shrewd pursuit of agreed goals and the willpower to do good should be relentlessly pursued by leaders at all levels. Its no use, rather it is hypocritical for African leaders to be decorated as champions of democracy in foreign lands when their people are suffering. It is unethical and must be avoided because it's against the grain of Ubuntu.

Traditional resources for leadership underpinned by the Ubuntu philosophy provide a bedrock for the best practice in African leadership. The modernist initiated debate debasing African philosophy as a romantic postulation of antiquity should be changed because it is the reincarnation of colonized minds which wait to have black faces masking white minds. On this score the academia, researchers and society at large is encouraged to resurrect African

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consciousness so that the dream of a dignified Africa is realized. Ubuntu as a philosophy should never be an appendage of other cultures. Africas leadership in all spheres must not be premised on other cultures. In terms of population presently Africa is number three after China and India. It is on this basis that it must stamp its voice on the global culture discourse and devise systems to meet global challenges from an indigenous perspective.

The new paradigm for ethical leadership in Africa must therefore be predicated on the Ubuntu philosophy as discussed in the rest of the thesis. The Ubuntu leadership must be capable of creating holistic synergies through bringing people of all persuasions to work for a common vision and commonly shared ideals. The leadership must be tolerant, empathic and capable of sharing experiences at grassroots levels of society. The leaders must believe in Africanness and should not entertain the idea of adapting Ubuntu to modernity, rather it should be the other way round. Ubuntu must project itself to the world and those who want to work with us must do so on our own terms. We can adopt innovative and good ideas but we cannot be anything else other than African. The myth that Ubuntu is unscience must be condemned with the contempt it deserves. As rational beings, Africans are capable of achieving any feat as exposed through archeology and other sciences. If Chinese, Indians and the Caucasian races can think scientifically, within the scope of their cultures, why then should Africans fail to think scientifically in their own independent way.

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