Advancing Democracy via responsive tertiary Public Administration offerings

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ABSTRACT

Some foremost authors have suggested that democracy is not what we have but what we do, and that democracy and sustainability are two intangible drivers of economic growth and prosperity. Although the literature points to the importance of citizen participation in the governance of a democracy, it is evident that participation does not always prove to be effective and that members of society are not always aware of what is expected of them in order to sustain and strengthen a democracy. This article reports on a survey targeting students enrolled for modules in Public Administration at a South African university, to establish what the current generation (Generation Y) is doing to contribute to and strengthen the South African democracy. The findings show that the issues of participation, education, job creation and equality were considered important by the respondents.

INTRODUCTION

The term "'democracy" originated in ancient Greece, describing a government ruled by the common people. During the 17th and 18th centuries, philosophers described a democratic philosophy as one that insists on the rights and the capacity of people, acting either directly or through representatives. This philosophy placed a high value on the equality of individuals and therefore brought the essential elements of democracy to the attention of the people. Through this awareness, feelings of nationalism and liberalism were ignited, and people longed to be freed from restraints that were not self-imposed. People insisted that restraints be imposed only by the consent of the majority and that they conform to the principle of equality. Abraham Lincoln, former president of the United States of America (1809-65), described democracy as "government of the people, by the people, for the people". Several decades later, Nelson Mandela, former president of the Republic of South Africa, recalled the democratic system in force in his childhood



village, describing it as such: "Everyone who wanted to speak did so. It was democracy in its purest form. Democracy meant all men were to be heard, and a decision was taken together as a people" (Mandela 1995:748).

According to Lappe and Du Bois (1994:3), democracy is not only about the rights of the citizens, but about what those citizens do to uphold or strengthen a democracy so as to ensure sustainability. Citizens have certain functions to perform in contributing to their country's democratic regime and in establishing and promoting democratic values. Ramphele (2011) stated that citizens have a leadership role to play in a democracy; they need to own the democracy by being active players in the exercise of democracy in their respective countries. This belief emphasises the role to be played by citizen participation in sustaining a democracy. Citizen participation has therefore been placed high on the South African national agenda, and democratic governance increasingly expects citizens to get involved in the process of sustaining democracy (Ile and Mapuva 2010:32). For purposes of this article, sustainability is defined as "the capacity of an organisation to reconcile social, environmental and economic issues in a way that it endures in the long-term" (APRM 2009). However, although literature clearly points to the importance of citizen participation in the sustainability of a democracy, it emanates that participation does not always prove to be effective and that society is not always aware of or interested in what is expected of them in order to sustain and strengthen a democracy. Ramphele (2011) argued that South Africa's education system is not adequately informing or preparing South Africans, both young and old, to actively participate in promoting and sustaining democracy in the country. The author proposed that education in respect of democracy must be introduced into the school curriculum, particularly at secondary and tertiary level.

Against this backdrop, certain questions arise, such as:

- What is expected of the citizens living in a democratic dispensation so as to ensure sustainability and long-term growth?
- Is it enough to educate citizens in the manner of voting?
- Does the citizens' level of knowledge influence their perceptions of a democracy?

To this effect, the focal points in citizen education should be the upcoming generation and leaders in society via responsive tertiary public administration offerings in secondary and tertiary education (also supported by Ramphele 2011).

This article addresses these questions by reflecting on a survey conducted amongst students enrolled for modules in Public Administration at a South African university, assessing the respondents' knowledge regarding a democracy and determining what they are doing to contribute to the sustainability of South Africa's democracy. The sample consisted of 325 undergraduate students, 253 of whom responded, giving a seventy-eight percent response rate. A pilot study using a draft questionnaire was performed amongst five respondents with similar characteristics but who were not included in the final survey. Based on feedback and observations from this pilot study, adjustments were made to the final questionnaire. The questionnaire responses were coded and analysed, and descriptive statistics were used to summarise the results in terms of frequencies and percentages for categorical variables, means or medians, as well as maxima and minima for numerical variables. The data from the questionnaires was used to draw final conclusions and recommendations in order to achieve the aim of the article.

Ultimately the study endeavours to reflect on the role of academe and the Public Administration curriculum in teaching responsive practices in sustaining a democracy. Tangible solutions to be concluded in the curricula are proposed against a brief history of the development of democracy in South Africa as a point of departure.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH AFRICA

The history of democracy in South Africa can be divided into two eras: The first refers to the White minority government in power until 1994, which had the intention to govern according to an apartheid policy and system of segregation. The second era refers to democracy after the first general elections in 1994, which saw a Black majority government come into power and govern the country in a much more open and democratic manner. The White minority government founded its democratic ideologies mainly on colonialism and more so on the presence of Jan van Riebeeck and the French Huguenots as from 1688 (Giliomee and Mbenga 2007:46). This ideology was strengthened with the arrival of the British and their more autocratic ideas. Nationalism and liberalism were soon stronger than ever in South Africa and were especially prominent during the Great Trek (late 1800s) and Anglo-Boer War (early 1900s).

Early confrontations between the former Boer generals, who had combined forces against the British in the Anglo-Boer War, ultimately came to the fore. An example of this was in 1910 when General Botha, who was prime minister at the time, made every effort not to offend the Afrikaner, or the English-speaking Afrikaner. This act brought him into direct conflict with the views of General Hertzog, and consequently Hertzog was left out of Botha's 1912 cabinet. With the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, the final twist was inevitable – Botha and General Smuts supported Britain whereas Hertzog distanced himself totally. This political rivalry between Botha, Smuts and Hertzog lasted for the duration of the Rebellion, the Second World War and the Banto Policy until 1948 when Dr Malan and the National Party came into power. At this point in South Africa's history, no policy existed to address the governance of Black South Africans (Kruger 1969:viii-viii).

The African National Congress (ANC), mouthpiece of the oppressed Black majority, started gaining power during this period, and in 1945 the party drew up the so-called "Bill of Rights" demanding the lifting of all discriminatory practices in South Africa. The ANC enjoyed the support of the Communist Party, and in 1955 the "Freedom Charter", endorsed by freedom fighters such as A. Lethuli, G.M. Naiker (ANC), R. Sobukwe (Pan African Communist) and N. Mandela and his Umkonto we Sizwe, placed tremendous pressure on the South African ruling party (Giliomee and Mbenga 2007:308). By this time, however, it was not only pressure from within the borders of the country that was bringing an end to the apartheid regime, but also international pressure felt through various sanctions on South Africa.

On February 2, 1990, F.W. de Klerk (former president) and his National Party were forced to bring the White minority government to an end (Giliomee and Mbenga 2007:396). Later that same month, Nelson Mandela was set free from prison. He was determined to put a Black majority government in place and although the PAC often tried to undermine the negotiations, the charismatic Mandela succeeded in bringing the different ethnic groups in



South Africa to an agreement (Giliomee and Mbenga 2007:400). These negotiations and the months that followed were not without challenges, and many serious discussions took place. A turbulent and uncertain time followed, with all South Africans having to come to terms with a new way of living.

A direct outcome of these negotiations was the first democratic elections in South Africa, held from April 26-28, 1994. As expected, the ANC won the elections (252 seats) against the National Party (82 seats). President Mandela was inaugurated on May 10, 1994, and for the Black people this signified a new and free life. Within two years, under the leadership of C. Ramaphosa, a new democratic constitution was drafted. On May 8, 1996 a two-thirds majority voted in favour of the constitution and it was subsequently approved as the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* (Act 108 of 1996) (Giliomee and Mbenga 2007:411).

The apartheid era left many South Africans – particularly Black citizens – with physical as well as psychological scars. These scars have taken several years to heal and even now, seventeen years later, it seems that the healing process is still not complete. Mandela explained his views on the matter as follows: "People must learn to hate, and if they can learn to hate, they can be taught to love, for love comes more naturally" (Mandela 1995:749). Lappe and Du Bois (1994:4) correctly stated that democracy is not what we have, but what we do. In the 21st century, this concept is deeply encapsulated in citizen participation, with any democratic dispensation holding citizen participation as an important element for sustainability.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Hundred-and-three male and 150 female students, enrolled for modules in Public Administration, participated in the research. The response group was relatively young, with a mean age of 21 years – the youngest respondent being nineteen years of age. The majority of the respondents were South African citizens, with only seventeen respondents (7 percent) being foreigners. The majority of the respondents (n=243) were Black. (The term "Black" is used to refer to the previously disadvantaged people of South Africa, namely the African people, the so-called Coloured community, the Indian people, and the San and Khoi communities.) (Office on the Status of Women 2001).

The respondents could all be viewed as members of Generation Y, also known as the Millennial Generation (or Millennials), Generation Next, Net Generation or Echo Boomers, were born between 1982 and 2000 and grew up in the 1990s and 2000s. This generation grew up multitasking, switching back and forth between cellular phones, iPods, laptops and other electronic gadgets and doing nearly everything online. Members of Generation Y are not interested in putting their working lives above their family lives and they therefore seek flexible employment with an emphasis on telecommuting so they can spend more time at home. This generation is the most multicultural group in the nation's history, as it is not unusual for them to have parents of different races and ages. According to Gamble (2011) the ideology of the Millennials has also caused them to have a more active interest in politics and social issues than the previous Generation X. Members of Generation Y have shaped their own beliefs from the experiences, ideas and values characterised by the two

preceding generations. Gamble (2011) argued that this fusion represents a new cultural and psychological awareness that is likely to bring about major changes to social, political and business spheres in the years to come.

KNOWLEDGE ABOUT DEMOCRACY

The first issue to be discussed is what citizens living in a democratic dispensation are expected to do to ensure sustainability and long-term growth. The vast majority of respondents commented in terms of the common denominator of "participation" in various forms. It was therefore evident that respondents deemed their inputs into the democratic process as fundamentally important. The responses regarding the aspect of participation included aspects of governance, economy, culture, equality and public spending. The fact that the respondents viewed the factor of participation as important may be as a result of knowledge of proper democracy, but is much more likely to be a response to the prevailing government of the day and government's record of acting in contrast to this expectation. Abiding by the law was the second most frequent response given by the respondents, and similar to the above comments, the question is whether this response arises from perceptions regarding the levels of crime in the country at the time of the survey. The aspect of access to voting was also well represented, as may be expected in post-apartheid South Africa, although interestingly it appeared that respondents viewed this right as a given and not only a possibility. This may reflect positively in terms of the current democracy, speaking to a trustworthiness amongst citizens that voting is a given. The issue of tolerance towards others also appeared important, although less so than the need for participation. Issues such as antiracism, anti-sexism, harmony, etc. also emerged as specific areas of importance. Only one

Which of the following statements best describe a democracy?	Agree		Undecided		Disagree	
	n	% ¹	n	% ¹	n	% ¹
A country with a constitution (n=244)	220	90,16	15	6,15	9	3,69
The law applies equally to all (n=245)	227	92,65	8	3,27	10	4,08
Citizens know and exercise their rights without fear (n=248)	212	85,48	27	10,89	9	3,63
Citizens have a say in who governs their country (n=244)	143	58,61	11	4,51	90	36,89
Parliament representation reflects the demographics of society (n=239)	169	70,71	59	24,69	11	4,60
Efficient and effective government (n=246)	198	80,49	30	12,20	18	7,32
Timely and quality service delivery (n=244)	181	90,16	32	13,11	31	12,70

Table 1 Describing a democracy

¹ – Percentage of responses out of n



respondent alluded to the issue of nation-building, reflecting a degree of ignorance towards this issue – again as a result of either complacency or the opinion that this aspect has been satisfactorily addressed over the past seventeen years of democracy.

Table 1 shows the responses to the question pertaining to the best description of a democracy. In contrast to the aforementioned section, this section solicited information about knowledge of a proper democracy, irrespective of the respondents' opinion of the success of the current regime. Although relatively few respondents fell into the "disagree" category, a surprising number of respondents (students studying Public Management) were of the opinion that some of the options given in column 1 were not important in describing a democracy. The variables in column one were in fact selected specifically to distinguish those respondents of a proper democracy. The aspect "citizens have a say in who governs their country" attracted the majority of "disagree" responses (36.89%), indicating that this aspect was not viewed by the respondents as being part of a democracy.

Conversely, it is notable that the vast majority of participants (92.65%) agreed that "the law applies equally to all" (Table 1). This was to be expected, in light of the exposure that the issue of equality under the law has received. In recent times, newspaper headlines and scientific publications have reflected many issues related to equality, including

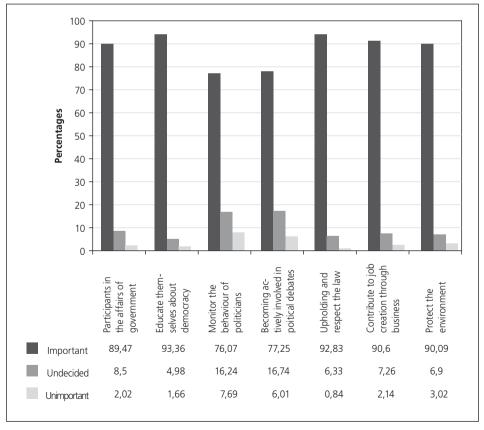


Figure 1 The role of citizens in sustaining a democracy

concerns about certain individuals considering themselves above the law, as well as the independency of the judiciary, the freedom of the media, equal opportunities for designated groups, etc. The importance of democratic practices manifested notably in the responses, with "a country with a constitution" and "citizens know and exercise their rights without fear" (90.16 and 85.48 percent respectively). This can likely be ascribed to the hype that has been created in the country regarding the importance of a constitution that formally enforces the new direction of post-apartheid South Africa. It is also commonly advocated in South Africa that its constitution is one of the best in the world in terms of fostering equality, non-discrimination and citizens' rights. Similar to the previous question, "timely and quality service delivery", efficient and effective government" and "parliament representation reflects the demographics of society" also receiving high scores (90.16, 80.49 and 70.71 percent respectively Figure 1 shows the responses to the role of citizens in sustaining a democracy.

The guestion reflected in Figure 1 differs from the previous approaches in that it aimed to confront participants with the issue of personal responsibility, rather than expectations. It was evident that in general, respondents considered notably fewer of the variables to be "unimportant". This highlights the respondents' opinions of the co-responsibility of citizens in the democratic process and is emphasised with the importance of educating themselves about democracy (93.36 percent). Again, as previously observed, the issue of "upholding and respecting the law" (92.83 percent) seems to be of major importance. This is followed by environmental protection, job creation and participation (90.9, 90.6 and 89.47 percent respectively) (Figure 1). These variables were not included in Table 1, and it is evident that the respondents viewed them as important. It is notable that at the time of the study, the issues of education and job creation were viewed as key priorities in the country, which may have influenced the opinions of the respondents. It was interesting to note that the respondents perceived their role in the monitoring of politicians and involvement in political debates of less importance, however it is still substantial (76.07 and 77.25 percent respectively). These results concur with the previously mentioned statement that Millennials have an active interest in politics and social issues.

A final open-ended question (in which respondents were asked whether they currently contribute to the effort to sustain democracy in South Africa) solicited responses with regard to the status quo in terms of respondents' contributions to democracy, as opposed to what they saw as their role in the process, thus presenting the reality rather than the ideal. Eighty-two percent of respondents claimed to contribute to democracy, while eighteen percent claimed not to contribute and seventeen declined to answer the question (data not shown). Various reasons were given for not contributing to democracy, including not being a South African citizen. One respondent claimed not to "believe that there is a democracy" (sic). The issues of voting, equality and respect, as well as education and involvement, can be identified as the main responses given by the respondents.

EDUCATIONAL BEST PRACTICE – A SYNOPSIS OF KEY LITERATURE

As this study used a sample of students enrolled for university modules in Public Administration, it was considered important to reflect on the role of education as a



contributor to the perceptions of the broader society in terms of democracy. The education of the citizens should be viewed as one of the basic responsibilities of a country, and equal opportunities in education comprise a fundamental right (Ramphele 2011). Although Davidson (1997:42) emphasised the significant role of parents in creating a learning culture, as well as the importance of educating their children accordingly, the former Black education system is considered inferior - a situation further reinforced by the influence of teachers. Many significant transitions in life are preceded by a form of groundwork or training as a means of securing the success thereof. Typically, the respondents in this case had had to prepare themselves for the transition from secondary to higher education upon enrolling at an institution of higher learning. It could be argued that the more thorough the preparation for such a transition, the better the chances of succeeding. In 1994 the majority of South Africans voted in favour of democracy and supported the consequent transition, but in the aftermath the groundwork and preparation for life in a democracy were neglected. As stated by Ramphele (2011), and as mentioned in the introduction, the importance of coaching South Africans in promoting and sustaining democracy cannot be disregarded. Paying taxes and voting in elections would definitely contribute to democracy, but this is not where it ends. A good education not only enables a citizen to pursue a career, but also contributes directly to the quality of life of those in his/her care. The individual citizen is put in a position of being able to provide his/her dependants with knowledge, as well as the means to gain such knowledge. Education is regarded as a fundamental enabling activity whereby one is given the opportunity to put into practice everything that one has learnt. Respondents in this study appeared to have achieved clarity in respect of their expectations from life.

Ile and Mapuva (2010) stated that citizens have to be more involved in the affairs of their state and must remain vigilant to ensure consistent levels of accountability and responsiveness to their needs. These author's main focus is on advocating for the meaningful participation of citizens in the governance of their state, particularly in terms of who governs their state through regular free and fair elections. Instead of actions that lead to non-participation and tokenism, government officials must enforce and encourage citizen empowerment, where citizens are allowed to participate in decision-making and influence the decisions that will affect their lives. For democracy to be effective, there must be a mutually beneficial relationship between government and citizens – one in which citizens are allowed to participate in decision-makers.

Van der Waldt (2010) investigated theories to be used in teaching people about local democracy. The author expounded that the systems theory is most appropriate when informing citizens about democracy. According to the aforementioned article, local democracy is a necessary subsection of the discipline of Public Administration and Management, setting the stage for people to be taught about democracy and adding impetus to the effort. An important assertion made by Van der Waldt (2010) is that the role of theory in explaining the behaviour of role-players in a democracy should not be undermined. The purpose of theory is to explain how people react and respond to change in their immediate context, as well as in the global context. Due regard should then be given to how theories can be used to determine the response of people to changes in their environments. In order for democracy (local) to be studied successfully, it must be understood that democracy and the fields of Public Administration and Management are connected to, and must be studied interdependently with disciplines such as Political Science, Sociology, Development Studies,

Communication Science, etc. A combined, multidisciplinary approach to teaching about democracy might therefore be most effective. The fundamental and overarching theory expounded by the author is, as already mentioned, the systems theory. This theory, however, is composed of many other theories that may be used at different stages of the teaching about the local democracy process.

Weldrick (2008) referred to the possible impact of education on sustainable democracy. The article in itself focuses on the role of women in democracy, particularly at local government sphere, and how this role can be enhanced in order to sustain a democracy. According to Weldrick (2008), in order to enhance the role of women, government must take certain deliberate actions to ensure the holistic development of women and to allow them to contribute as equally and meaningfully as their male counterparts. For this purpose, capacity-building initiatives must be a priority for government, as well as all parties involved in securing the participation of citizens in a democracy. Training and capacity-building must be aimed at developing the ability of women to mobilise resources to deliver services, advocating the rights of the local population, and establishing leadership that includes the ability to communicate effectively. Capacity-building through training and development/ educational institutions will thus enable women to contribute more effectively to a sustainable democracy, thus giving effect to the one essential tenet of democracy, i.e. representivity.

Nethonzhe (2009) addressed the way in which ethics training and management can be included in the curriculum to ensure that public managers and administrators know what actions are required to add impetus to a democratic and legitimate regime. The issue is to develop the capacity of managers in the public sector so that they can make decisions that are in line with the democratic principles they are responsible for promoting and with which they must adhere. Ethics must thus be included and must form an important part of the Public Administration curriculum so as to make managers cognisant of the complexity of the decisions they will have to make, as well as the most pertinent issues that will apply when making such decisions. Such curricula must contain pedagogy relating to the raising of awareness of moral codes for the public service, i.e. managers' propensity to make ethical judgements and an ability to defend their decisions.

Wessels (2010) highlighted the importance of designing Public Administration curricula that will equip public sector managers with the skills to carry out their duties. This is done in the context of the importance of the public sector in a democracy and how those that are responsible for the public sector must be suitably and relevantly equipped to undertake the public sector's requirements in a way that is proactive and able to protect democratic interests. The Public Management curriculum must thus include prospective students' requirements for a basic knowledge system and academic background, as well as practical experience. Students must also have an awareness of research and be able to carry out practical and actual research that has the potential to address and resolve public service issues, which will in effect address issues of democracy as well.

Naidoo (2010) asserted that the problems and challenges of poor service delivery and inefficient use of government mechanisms find themselves within a broader problem context of the inability to integrate theory for contemporary times. The author stated that in order for Africa to eventually be liberated from its problems, it would have to adopt strategies that will integrate solutions that have worked for countries such as the United States of America, Germany and China with certain African principles such as community, respect for cultural



values, and observance of African norms in the manner in which government is carried out – i.e. in how democracy is delivered. Thus Africa – South Africa in particular – must incorporate Western and Eastern methodologies without compromising on its most essential trait, i.e. Africanism.

The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA) is an intergovernmental organisation supporting democracy worldwide (International IDEA 2010). With the widespread establishment of democratic forms of government, a need has arisen to assess how well such democracies are faring and to identify the problems faced by recently established democracies. The International IDEA's approach in this area is to put citizens at the forefront of the assessment process. To this end, it has produced a State of Democracy (SoD) assessment framework that citizens can use to examine their own systems, leading to home-grown policy initiatives and internally driven reform agendas. The International IDEA's approach is guided by two basic principles that underpin any democracy, namely *popular control over decision-making* and *equality among citizens in the exercise of that control*. Based on these two principles, democracy can take many forms and must be rooted in the realities of any given country, as well as the aspirations of its people. These principles can be used to review and reform all aspects of government, including the rule of law, access to justice, civil and political rights, economic and social rights, citizenship, elections, political parties, police, the military and the media.

According to Mattes and Bratton (2007) a democracy represents a system in which individuals and groups compete for power in order to lead a country into economic, political and social stability and prosperity. However, the fundamental factor is that citizens are responsible for electing these leaders and should do so based on the leaders' ability to deliver and provide for their needs. Citizens thus have an important role to play in determining their own future and the future of generations to come by assessing the competence of those competing for power and choosing the leaders that are able to act promptly in ensuring that their needs are met. The ability of leaders to meet citizens' needs is based on their manifestos and policies. The citizens will thus have to be active in ensuring that they are kept informed about what is happening in their country, as well as the ideologies and calibre of the individuals competing for leadership of their country.

Government has an important role to play in encouraging and enabling citizens to participate, thus contributing to sound governance. In this mutually beneficial relationship, citizens can actively participate in the effort to establish and maintain sound governance. In order to give effect to sound governance, citizens will have to engage in certain activities, namely:

- Ensuring the accountability of government officials;
- Advocating and defending political stability;
- Monitoring the effectiveness of government;
- Preventing over-regulation of private business;
- Protecting and ensuring the rule of law; and
- Monitoring corruption (Diamond 2008).

It is only to a certain extent that government is able to encourage citizens to become involved, however. Citizens must take it upon themselves to be well informed and knowledgeable about the workings of democracy in their country. According to Sklar (1983), a participating

and active citizenry is one that is self-motivated and self-driven and which adds impetus to the efforts of government to establish and sustain democratisation in any country. At this level, the sustainability of democracy will not be based only on what government does, but also on the extent to which citizens demand democracy. What citizens demand of their democracy is demonstrated in their active participation in all phases of democratic development within the country. This is emphasised by Mattes and Bratton (2007), who asserted that one of the ways in which citizens can become involved is through forming or being a part of political, religious and other social organisations that can broaden the knowledge of citizens with regard to what they can do to sustain democracy in their country. Membership of such organisations will give the citizens confidence in their significance as partners together with government in the democracy, and it is this confidence that will make them active and concerned members of a democratic dispensation.

CONCLUSION

This study showed that South Africa, being a young democracy, has thus far succeeded in achieving a certain degree of success in terms of establishing the fundamentals of a democracy. Critical elements to sustain upward growth need to be in place, however. Although the South African government realises the importance of this growth in terms of its commitment to millennium goals, enhancing education, eradicating of poverty, combating crime and ensuring economical growth, the country is still facing unique challenges in terms of sustaining a democratic dispensation. The research has addressed the role and importance of the so-called "Generation Y" in this process, especially individuals that form the upper education echelon of society. The findings show that the issues of participation, education, job creation and equality were considered important by the respondents, although they did allude to several other aspects. These observations can be partly ascribed to the fact that the Public Administration curriculum is based on the constitution, in particular the Bill of Rights (chapter two), as point of departure for all related teaching modules. A review of relevant literature on the essentials of Public Administration curricula, highlighted the following, in addition to the current course content, as an integral part of the learning content:

- Participation and transparency;
- Role of systems theory;
- Capacity-building and equality;
- Ethics and management;
- Practical experience and research;
- Tolerance and diversity;
- The importance of citizen input and control;
- An informed voting process; and
- Optimising effectiveness and eradicating corruption.

Although these principles should constitute the learning material itself, it is also important that educators not only teach, but also practice these principles in the classroom. Tolerance, transparency, fairness, representation, etc. should not only be taught – but also demonstrated – in order to be ultimately effective.



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