

The relationship between African Traditional Religion and Governance in South Africa

by

Jurie Stephanus van Rooyen

Student number: 2016138329

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements in respect of the Master's Degree
qualification Governance and Political Transformation in the Department
Governance and Political Studies in the Faculty of the Humanities at the University of
the Free State.

31 January 2019

Supervisor: Dr. G. Botha

Declarations:

- i. I, Jurie Stephanus van Rooyen, declare that the dissertation that I herewith submit for the Master's Degree in Governance and Political Transformation at the University of the Free State, is my independent work and that I have not previously submitted it for a qualification at another institution of higher education.
- ii. I, Jurie Stephanus van Rooyen, hereby declare that I am aware that the copyright is vested in the University of the Free State.
- iii. I, Jurie Stephanus van Rooyen, declare that all royalties as regards intellectual property that was developed during the course of and/or in connection with the study at the University of the Free State, will accrue to the University.
- iv. I, Jurie Stephanus van Rooyen, hereby declare that I am aware that the research may only be published with the promotor's approval.

Acknowledgements

I firstly thank God the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, for strength, wisdom and the ability to complete this study.

I thank my loving wife, Esmeralda, and my two teenage sons, Cameron and Ricardo, for their love, support and patience with this 'sometimes very absent dad'. My boys, I hope this dissertation will be an inspiration to you to always read, always grow and to realise you are never too old to learn.

My sincere thanks are extended to my dissertation supervisor, Dr. Gerhard Botha of the Faculty of Theology at the University of the Free State. His ear was there to listen, his door was open to visit, and his phone open for numerous messages of stress and excitement. He encouraged me and consistently allowed this paper to be my own work, but steered me in the right direction whenever he thought I needed it.

I would also like to extend a special note of thanks to Dr. Tania Coetzee, Programme Director and Senior Lecturer: Governance and Political Transformation, Faculty of The Humanities at the University of the Free State, for her encouragement and guidance. She has the ability to make research and learning contagious. I acknowledge the other lecturers and very efficient staff in this faculty. All your inputs of support and assistance have been of great value.

To Prof. Len Brunyee, my personal friend and mentor, thank you for pushing me into this study field.

To the readers of this paper, thank you for taking the time to read it, evaluate it and to critique it. I know only in part.

Finally, I must express my gratitude to friends and family who missed me during my studies. Thank you for your patience.

Author

Jurie van Rooyen

Table of Contents

Declarations:	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Table of Contents	iv
List of Tables:	ix
List of Figures	x
Chapter 1: Actuality, Motivation and Rationale of the Research	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Assumptions.....	2
1.3 Problem Statement and Research Question	5
1.4 Aim of Study.....	6
1.5 Objectives	6
1.6 Research Methodology	6
1.7 Theoretical Perspectives and Conceptualisation.....	8
1.7.1 African Traditional Leadership	8
1.7.2 African Traditional Religion.....	9
1.7.3 Governance & Good Governance	10
1.7.4 Transformation in South Africa	11
1.7.5 Ethics in Governance and ATR	11
1.7.6 The Values of ATR and a Social Contract	12
1.8 Case Studies Reflecting ATR in South African Governance	12
1.8.1 The Importance of ATR in South African Governance.....	12
1.8.2 Governance Transformation through Fundamental ATR Principles	12
1.9 Evaluation and Interpretation	12

1.9.1	Evaluation of African Traditional Leadership & Religion	13
1.9.2	Evaluation of Governance	14
1.9.3	Evaluation of Transformation.....	14
1.9.4	Evaluation of Ethics	14
1.9.5	Evaluation of Social Contract Concepts.....	15
1.9.6	Evaluation of Approach & Methodology.....	15
1.10	Conclusion and Recommendations	16
1.10.1	Layout of the Study	16
1.10.2	Conclusion	16
Chapter 2: Theoretical Perspectives and Conceptualisation		18
2.1	Introduction	18
2.2	African Traditional Leadership.....	18
2.2.1	Background of African Traditional Leadership in South Africa.....	18
2.2.2	Institutionalisation of African Traditional Leadership.....	19
2.3	African Traditional Religion	22
2.3.1	African Traditional Religion, Definition.....	22
2.3.2	Philosophical System and Worldview Pillars of ATR	23
2.3.3	Belief in a Supreme Being, divinities, spirits and ancestors.....	24
2.3.4	The interrelation between the physical and metaphysical/spiritual worlds	25
2.3.5	Spiritual Leaders in ATR.....	26
2.3.6	Life Force and death.....	27
2.3.7	Community and the Spirit of Ubuntu	28
2.4	Governance, Good Governance and Cooperative Governance.....	29
2.4.1	Governance	29
2.4.2	Good Governance	30

2.4.3	Cooperative Governance.....	31
2.4.4	African Traditional Leadership and Governance.....	31
2.5	Transformation in South Africa.....	33
2.5.1	A Paradigm Shift in South African Politics	33
2.5.2	Definition of Transformation.....	33
2.5.3	Transformation and Governance Challenges in South Africa	34
2.6	Ethics in Governance and ATR.....	36
2.6.1	Defining Ethics.....	36
2.6.2	Linking Ethics, ATR and Governance.....	37
2.6.3	The Values of ATR and a Social Contract	37
2.7	Conclusion	38
Chapter 3: African Traditional Religion in Governance Case Studies		40
3.1	Case Study 1: The Importance of ATR for South African Governance Leaders 40	
3.1.1	Background	40
3.1.2	Decolonisation of Education in South Africa: A micro-precedent for macro-cultural revival?.....	42
3.1.3	ATR in Pre-Democratic South Africa	44
3.1.4	Leading Party in Government consults ancestors for guidance and wisdom 44	
3.1.5	The reality of ATR in South Africa	45
3.2	Case Study 2: “Batho Pele: An African Tradition that forms the basis of redressing service delivery in South Africa”	51
3.2.1	Background of Batho Pele	51
3.2.2	Making Batho Pele Tangible through Governance Institutions	53
3.2.3	Batho Pele is the spirit of Ubuntu	55
3.2.4	Governance in a New Cultural Revival	56

3.3	Conclusion	57
Chapter 4: Evaluation and Interpretation of African Traditional Religion in South African Governance.....		
4.1	Evaluation of African Traditional Leadership & Religion.....	59
4.1.1	Rejection of ATR Practices in South Africa.....	60
4.1.2	African Traditional Leadership and Governance.....	65
4.2	Evaluation of Governance	68
4.2.1	South Africa Governance Overview as per the IAG.....	68
4.2.2	Governance Challenges in South Africa	72
4.2.3	African Traditional DNA in South African Governance: What is our national culture?	73
4.3	Evaluation of Transformation in relation to ATR.....	76
4.3.1	Transformation pivotal to the ideology of the ANC	77
4.3.2	The religious virtue of “people first”: Has “batho” been “pele”?.....	78
4.3.3	Changing Africa: calling for transformative leaders	80
4.4	Evaluation of Ethics: ATR ethics in Governance.....	83
4.4.1	Ethics in Ubuntu	84
4.4.2	Ubuntu ethics in law, governance and reconciliation	85
4.4.3	Ubuntu as a Social Construct	87
4.5	Evaluation of Social Contract Concepts	88
4.6	Evaluation of Research Approach & Methodology	90
4.7	Conclusion	91
Chapter 5: Conclusion and Recommendations		
5.1	Introduction	92
5.2	Summary of Research Question and Aims of Study	92
5.3	Findings	92

5.3.1	Why is it important to understand ATR in relation to South African governance and politics?	92
5.3.2	How are ATR philosophies and/or ideologies included in South Africa Politics?	93
5.3.3	Does ATR have principles which could be constructive or destructive for a new social contract?	95
5.3.4	How do ATR ethical principles relate to South African Governance? ...	97
5.3.5	Final sentiments regarding ATR	97
5.4	Recommendations	99
5.4.1	Tip of the ATR Iceberg.....	99
5.4.2	A proper home for ATR: To institutionalise or not?.....	99
5.4.3	Modern-day ATR Ethics: Grounding a new ATR moral theory	100
5.4.4	New dawn for all	101
5.4.5	Transformation is the child that should be raised by the village.....	101
5.4.6	A Transformative Leadership Model.....	102
5.4.7	Fusing ideologies: Ubuntu the mediator	103
5.4.8	Decolonisation of Education in the Spirit of Ubuntu.....	104
5.5	Conclusion	105
	Bibliography	109

List of Tables:

Table 1: Governance challenges associated with Bad Leadership 81

Table 2: Proposed Model for Transformative Leadership in South Africa 102

List of Figures

Figure 1: Number of Traditional Leaders in South Africa (as at June 2018).....	21
Figure 2: South Africa's Overall Governance Indicators ratings	69
Figure 3: South Africa's Main Indicators for Governance	70
Figure 4 South Africa's Public Management Trend	70
Figure 5: South Africa Negative Trends	71

Chapter 1: Actuality, Motivation and Rationale of the Research

Chapter 1 deals with the actuality, motivation and rationale of the study. Chapter 1 includes an introduction and brief background of the proposed study topic, the aim of the study, the approach and methodology, and a formulation of the problem statement and research questions.

1.1 Introduction

Mahatma Gandhi once said: “Those who say religion has nothing to do with politics do not know what religion is” (Gandhi, 1948:454). I believe that this statement can be rephrased and contextualised for South Africa: “Those who say African Traditional Religion has nothing to do with politics do not know what African Traditional Religion is”. African Traditional Religion (‘ATR’) is an existing religion in South Africa and practised by many African people, including distinct political figures and government officials.

Long before Christianity and Islam became religions that intertwined with the state, pagan people worshipped gods specific to their state, making religion a “department of the state”. For the Jewish people, the Law of Israel was based on the “revealed Law of the Scripture”. The Roman Catholic Church and the Reformed Churches played a significant role in governments in Europe, which also migrated to other parts of the world. The Reformed Churches, specifically the Dutch Reformed Church (‘DRC’), had a prominent place in South Africa from the 1960s to the early 1990s (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2007:n.p.). This research aims to prove that ATR had an active role in the way African people were politically organised and “unofficially” governed, and that principles and values thereof have been absorbed into the new democracy. Constructing a definition of modern African governments in a “true liberal, republican spirit” would, in all probability, not include religion, which is deemed to belong in the private sphere (Codesria, 2008:n.p.).

During my contemplation of the study topic, a few questions came to mind: “What is the current situation for ATR in South Africa?; Does the young South African democracy show signs of ATR philosophies in policies, legislation and governance?;

Does ATR enjoy a recognised place in the current democracy?; Does the South African population have enough understanding (and respect) for ATR?; and, Does ATR have contradictory ethics in comparison with the South African Constitution?”.

Although the public occasionally reads or hear reports of incidents involving government officials and politicians and ATR practices, it is seemingly not a topic that has enjoyed much academic research attention to establish the relationship of ATR and governance in South Africa. ATR is not a well-documented religion, which makes the study of ATR a bigger challenge. “Religion in African societies is written not on paper but in people's hearts, minds, oral history, rituals and religious personage like priests, rainmakers, elders and kings” (Mbiti, 1989:n.p.). In ATR, belief and action are inseparable and form a unity.

In terms of a Christian perspective, various items of literature exist on ATR, in which comparisons are drawn between Christianity and ATR (and other religions). Some works include Vernon E. Light’s book, “Transforming the Church in Africa (2012)”, Afrika Mhlophe’s book, “Christianity and the Veneration of Ancestors (2013)”, D Crafford’s book, “A world of religions: A South African perspective (1996)”, and a paper by Yusufu Turaki (2000): “Africa Traditional Religious System as Basis of Understanding Christian Spiritual Warfare”. One item in the literature that has significant value for my research is a book edited by TW Bennett, “Traditional African religions in South African law” (2011a).

A further aim of the study was to establish an academic foundation and understanding of the relationship between African Tradition Religion and South African Governance.

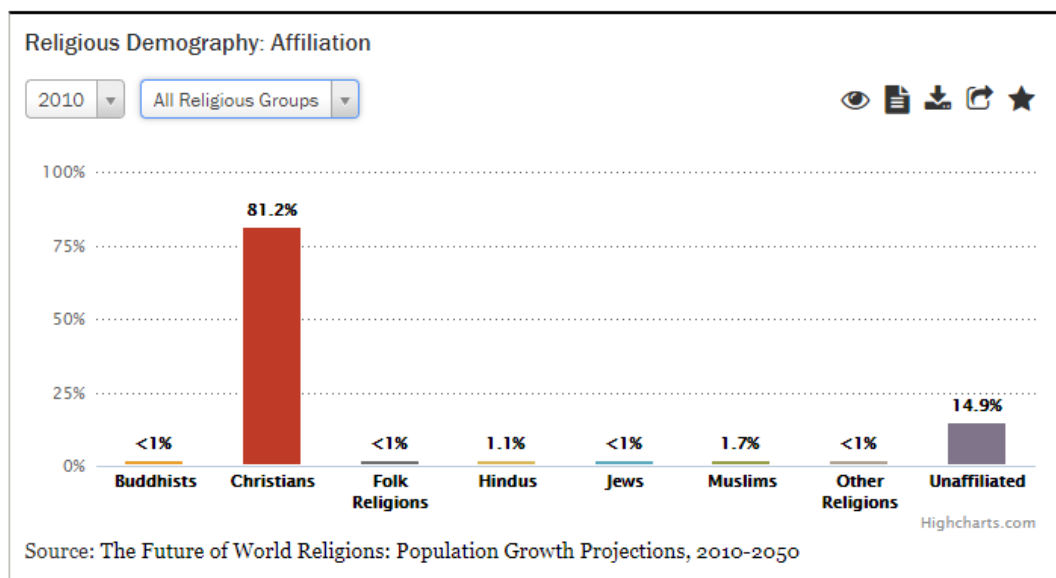
1.2 Assumptions

Before the research was conducted, I formed a number of assumptions in terms of ATR in the South African Governance and political contexts. These assumptions are:

- **Adherents of ATR in South Africa are serious about their religion** and keeping its customs secretive or unexposed: This assumption is based on a recent controversy in South Africa surrounding the screening of the isiXhosa movie *Inxeba – The Wound*. The movie is about the “traditional ritual of *ukwaluka* and transition into manhood, as well as issues of sexual orientation and a gay love story” (Herald, 2018:n.p.). The release of the movie was met with fierce opposition from groups

who claimed that the film “exposed the sacred rites involved in traditional circumcisions. Protestors, which included a presence of the EFF, claim that the ‘film was riddled with taboos which painted the tradition in a poor light and which gave audiences an obscured view’ and that is ‘very sensitive and tramples on our culture’ ” (Herald, 2018:n.p.).

- I also assume that Westerners (in general and in South Africa) **do not have sufficient understanding of ATR**, which causes unnecessary prejudices, conflict and misunderstandings. ATR is still deemed by many people as “voodoo, juju or witchcraft, an indigenous faith system associated with darkness, animal and human sacrifices, violence and general backwardness” (Yoruba, 2014:n.p.). I believe that having more knowledge about something you do not understand will help you to eliminate or minimise the fear for the unknown. The same rings true for the South African community, which faces a challenge in gaining a better understanding of ATR (Light, 2012:xiii). The Pew-Templeton Global Religious Futures Project (Pew Research Centre, 2015:n.p.) indicates that the majority of people in South Africa claim to be Christians. This figure is consistent with that of StatsSA 2001 census (StatsSA, 2001:24).



Understanding cultural differences breeds tolerance. In her message on the occasion of the 'International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination', Ms Irina Bokava, Director-General of UNESCO, stated:

"Respect and tolerance are liberating acts, whereby the differences of others are recognized as the same as our own and whereby the riches of another culture are taken as the wealth of all" (UNESCO, 2014:2).

- **If published statistics in South Africa are to be used as a yardstick, it seems as though there are no adherents to ATR** in South Africa (Bennett, 2011:ix). ATR is not statistically reported as a main religion in South Africa. This might be because it allows for dualistic religious practices and people rather report another belief as being their main religion. This is truer in the case of Christianity rather than other religions, such as Islam and Hinduism. To prove that ATR in fact has a more dominant presence in South Africa than that which is reported is difficult to achieve and will take a significant quantitative study. Based on the fact that ATR allows for dualistic practices, my assumption is that the majority of people who claim that they are Christians in South Africa indeed have African Traditional Beliefs that they ascribe to. Udoye (2011:211) reasons that many ATR (Igbo) Christians have double personalities, being a Christian personality and a traditional personality. "They are Christians on Sundays but traditionalists on weekdays". Mbiti (2015:15) confirms that when African people convert to another religion, they "mix their traditional religion" with the new religion, which provides them with the sense that they have not lost something valuable, but are rather gaining something from both religions.
- **Current Governance challenges are not only due to the legacy of apartheid** but are also due to traditional practices associated with ATR: "Africa suffers the consequences of the sin of the great western powers ... (but) it suffers also the consequences of its own sins" (Tshilenga, 2005, cited in Light, 2012:302). I believe that a better understanding of the consequences of some ATR practices, beliefs and values could illuminate current practices that seem to be in contravention of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, and therefore also of legislation. In some instances, it might also be the reason for frustrated service delivery, continued poverty, and economic growth.

- **Traditional leadership has a defined role in South Africa which creates conflict between Political and Traditional Leadership:** An extensive study by Afrobarometer, with over 40 000 respondents from over 15 African countries, indicates that “traditional leaders, chiefs and elders clearly still play an important role in the lives of many Africans: only religious leaders are contacted more frequently by ordinary Africans in their efforts to solve their problems or express their views” (Logan, 2008:1). Estimates by the World Health Organization suggest that 70–80% of South Africans consult traditional healers (Bennett, 2011:184). The institution of traditional leadership in South Africa is recognised in section 212 of the Constitution, 1996. The Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Amendment Act, 41 of 2003, further institutionalises traditional leadership in South Africa (RSA, 2003:1). This Act defines traditional leadership as the “customary institutions or structures, or customary systems or procedures of governance, recognised, utilised or practised by traditional communities”. The institutionalisation of African Traditional Leadership in South Africa provides convincing evidence that a relationship between governance and the role of African Traditional Leaders exist. An expansion of this point could provide compelling facts that the relationship between ATR and governance is just as significant, or even more so.

1.3 Problem Statement and Research Question

“Research is always about finding a solution to a problem or finding an answer to a question” (du Plooy-Cilliers, Davis, Bezuidenhout, 2014:288). The question that needed to be answered while undertaking the research was to establish whether a relationship between ATR and South African governance exists. The problem statement is: The African Traditional Religion (ATR) is often perceived as an unstructured religion since it does not depend on religious institutions, written scriptures and priestly hierarchy, but arises out of community. This view may create the perception that ATR is not politically organised and lack governance structures. This study aimed to investigate and prove that ATR had an active role in the way African people were political organised and “unofficially” governed and that key principles and values permeates the new South African democratic governance system.

1.4 Aim of Study

The aim of the study is to determine if a relationship exists between African Traditional Religion and governance in South Africa, and to define this relationship. The research questions are:

- Why is it important to understand ATR in relation to South African governance and politics?
- How are ATR philosophies and/or ideologies included in South African politics?
- Does ATR have principles which could be constructive or destructive for a new social contract?
- How do ATR ethical principles relate to South African governance?

1.5 Objectives

Research was conducted in order to:

- i) provide a better understanding of how ATR is part of South African politics and governance (including ascertaining the definition and characteristics of ATR);
- ii) investigate and explain how ATR philosophy is ingrained in South Africa Governance;
- iii) establish how ATR principles could inform a new social contract;
- iv) develop an understanding and provide a perspective of how ATR ethical principles relate to South Africa governance.

1.6 Research Methodology

This study reflects on the holistic topics of Religion, Ethics and Governance. The study will be academically approached from a governance perspective. The research method for the research was based in the interpretive tradition within the ontological position. I adopted a subjective stance towards the research topics. Researchers should not stand outside in the interpretive approach, but should rather be emerged in the reality that they investigate (Carr and Kemmis, 1986:88). Du Plooy-Cilliers, et al (2014:27) suggests that we cannot study human beings in the same way as other objects due to the fact that humans are constantly influenced by the changing

environment they live in. The interpretive paradigm is based on the idea that people are fundamentally different from objects. Ontological approach in research accepts that multiple realities exist for people and that their realities can be investigated and constructed through human interactions, and meaningful actions. Interpretivist's view is that the "social world is what people perceive it to be" (Du Plooy et al, 2014:29). Various new perceptions have

The ontological position of interpretivism further attempts to find out how humans "make sense of their social worlds in the natural setting by means of daily routines, conversations and writings while interacting with others around them". These writings could be text and visual pictures (Unisa, n.d.:298). The ontological position further implies that "people may or may not experience reality in the same way based on circumstances, culture, beliefs, experiences and so on" (Du Plooy et al, 2014:29).

As a confessing Christian however, I had to remain non-biased towards concepts within ATR religion, because this paper was not aimed at refuting ATR concepts, but rather to identify how ATR principles and values has been absorbed in the new democracy.

Empirical observations were mainly deduced from historical and current events found in literature. The study primarily includes a critical review of the South Africa governance matters and literature on ATR. Literature for the proposed research included published books, narratives relevant scholarly articles, PhD theses and master's dissertations, and articles related to governance and ATR. Two case studies were undertaken, which include a detailed description of a current social phenomenon with a focus on real events or governance implementation issues in South Africa. Desktop analysis was undertaken of historical and theoretical literature.

The research study comprises a qualitative data analysis survey. The nature of the analysis is textual, iterative, hermeneutical, subjective, constructed and symbolic (du Plooy-Cilliers et al., 2014:229). An ontological tradition assisted me to develop identified concepts into constructs that specify the concepts' meanings in terms of the study. The hermeneutical research tradition was applied, due to a religious theme within the study (Davis, cited in du Plooy-Cilliers et al., 2014:115). "The hermeneutic tradition looks for concepts in the everyday language of the people under investigation and not in the language of the discipline" (du Plooy-Cilliers et al., 2014: 117).

Observation and interaction have not been done by being immersed into a community, but will rather from literature review.

I have approached the qualitative content analysis through a structured literature review and have used an acronym list to identify important content in literature. Main literature sources were: Light's book "*Transforming the Church in Africa* (2012)", D Crafford's book "*A world of religions: a South African perspective* (1996)", Yusufu Turaki's "*Africa Traditional Religious System as Basis of Understanding Christian Spiritual Warfare* (2000)" and JS Mbiti's "*Introduction to African Religion, Second Edition* (2015)". The acronym reference list has rendered substantive consistency, and revealed relevant facts in support of the aim of the proposed study. However, finding references where a strong association is made between Governance and ATR has been limited, thus far.

The "feasibility of the research study should be manageable in terms of time, sample size, methodology and cost" (du Plooy-Cilliers et al., 2014:66). Seeing that the research would mainly contain a literature review, the biggest consideration would be in terms of the availability of resources and the time within which to do a comprehensive study.

1.7 Theoretical Perspectives and Conceptualisation

This section looks at theoretical themes and concepts that were investigated in the study. In this research the key concepts and themes that needed to be investigated and interpreted were African Traditional concepts, ATR, Governance, Transformation, Ethics, Social Contract, the Constitution of South Africa, 1996, and other associated concepts. The following sections contains an overview of these concepts.

1.7.1 African Traditional Leadership

According to Mbiti (2015:10) religion has historically played a central role in terms of how African people lived and how they were ruled. Religion therefore forms a foundation from which traditional leaders rule over people in all aspects of daily life and also socio-economic matters.

Traditional leaders are well respected within their communities and are consulted regarding all matters of life. These leaders can range from traditional elders, chiefs or

religious leaders such as sangomas. During colonial rule and the apartheid years, traditional leadership was not officially recognised, but however remained preserved by African people (Khunou, 2011:278). Since the inception of the new democracy, traditional leadership has however been given a more prominent and official place within the governance network of South Africa through the Constitution and the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework, Act 41 of 2003, (and Amendment Act, 23 of 2009). The Constitution assigned functions which are “customary in nature” to traditional leadership (RSA, 2003-a:1323).

Given the historical importance of traditional leaders and the recent constitutional acknowledgement and legally assigned functions, African Traditional Leadership can be classified as a significant role-player within the South African democratic governance system.

1.7.2 African Traditional Religion

Africa has three distinct cultural identities, which are the i) Eurocentric as a result of colonialism, ii) indigenous African heritage, and iii) Islam, which next to Christianity is the biggest religion in Africa (Shahadah, 2017:n.p.). Whilst other religions have found a way into governments, ATR has also been active in the governing of African people.

Due to differences among various African countries it is inappropriate to generalise a definition for ATR. However, through a comparative analysis, findings have been made regarding shared characteristics, which provides a framework for a definition for ATR (Bennett, 2011:6). A basic definition of ATR is “the indigenous religion of Africans” (Mndende, 2006:75).

In terms of the “supreme being”, ATR reveres and believes in God as “creator and sustainer, transcendent, also immanently active in nature”. He is understood as “monotheistical, existing as spirit, good, merciful, just and the life force that makes the whole of existing reality” (Crafford, 1996:13). ATR recognises God as One and God’s moral attributes, such as love, judgement and holiness. One of the most fundamental beliefs concerning God is that he is providence and sustenance (Mbiti, 1989:n.p.).

In section 2.3 I expand on the definition and further provide an overview of ATR core beliefs such as: i) Belief in a Supreme Being, divinities, spirits and ancestors; ii) The interrelation between physical and metaphysical/spiritual worlds; iii) Life Force and

death; iv) Diviners, doctors, mediums, witches, sorcerers, prophets, priests and kings; v) Community's central role (content flow, as adapted from Light, 2012:83-97). The intention of the research will be to link aspects of the core beliefs with challenges or matters pertaining to governance in South Africa.

1.7.3 Governance & Good Governance

Governance in its simplest form is defined as “the general exercise of authority” (Levi-Faur, 2012:49). The academic discourse for the term governance however evolved during the 1990's to not only refer to an activity only performed by a government, but to refer to the increasing role that civil society and other actors play in decision-making and policy making surrounding public resource management. This phenomenon directly relates to sound democratic principles.

In an attempt to achieve its goals, a government will rely on the collaborative efforts with governance actors such as Non-Governmental Organisations and Faith-Based Organisations (Levi-Faur, 2012:49-50). Within this collaborative approach, another governance actor can play a leading role in rendering services on behalf of government. Governance in all its forms, whether state-driven or other-actor driven, becomes a vehicle from where capacity building programmes can be delivered and the state can fulfil the constitutional mandate.

South Africa is however still plagued by governance challenges, such as poor education and unemployment, as a result of the legacy of apartheid and also current poor governance practises. These challenges and more detailed discussions on governance, good governance and cooperative governance are provided in section 2.4.

The state has a responsibility to render services and achieve its constitutional mandate through good governance approaches and principles, which include amongst others participation, rule of law and transparency (Schwella (2015:26). In South Africa good governance can only be achievable through effective systems of cooperative governance, governance networks and transformative leadership. Good governance is closely associated with the concept of transformation, which is discussed in the next section.

1.7.4 Transformation in South Africa

Transformation and Change Management are universal challenges for governments in Africa. Anstey (1999:345) argues that transformation implies 'managed' rather than 'random' change. According to Jahan (2000:2), transformation implies a fundamental change. In this dissertation, I explore the definition of governance transformation within the context of ATR and construct an appropriate definition.

The concept of change, or transformation, is approached differently by the various countries. South Africa has the benefit of having the White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery, 1997, (Notice 1459 of 1997). It lays the foundation for transforming service delivery in South Africa. Numerous governance challenges (such as corruption, unemployment and inequality issues) exist as a result of transformation challenges. At the heart of the transformation in South African public service delivery and good governance lies the principles of "Batho Pele". One of my research case studies will include an expansion of the origin, definition and values of "batho pele" with an elucidated relationship to the spiritual root of "Ubuntu" in ATR.

1.7.5 Ethics in Governance and ATR

Ethical behaviour by leaders becomes a golden thread in improving public services and governance. Kyi (quoted in Jahan, 2000:1) argues that, in essence, it is not power that corrupts, but rather the fear of losing power that corrupts a person. There is a tendency in African countries that leaders will choose to 'partner' with wrong-doing (corruption and unethical behaviour) rather than the truth, and cling to power for reasons of self-preservation. Underlining leaders' behaviour is the ethics they adhere to.

Crafford (1996:18) reckons that traditional ethics have many positive elements. These elements are directly linked to the ethics found in ATR, which are aspects such as "respect for authority and elders, sharing, respect for the life and property of clan members, respect for marriage (though polygamous), commitment to good human relations and harmony with nature". Although this unknown relation of ATR ethics in Governance warrants in-depth academic research, this paper will attempt to provide a basic understanding of this relationship.

1.7.6 The Values of ATR and a Social Contract

The ruling party in South Africa, the ANC, and government promote the concept of a social contract. After more than two decades of democracy, the written social contract has not transformed into praxis. In my research, I expand on the values of ATR that could shed some light on how to redesign a social contract for South Africa, especially at community level.

1.8 Case Studies Reflecting ATR in South African Governance

1.8.1 The Importance of ATR in South African Governance

Case Study Title: “Leading Party in Government consults ancestors for guidance and wisdom”. In this case study I will attempt to demonstrate the importance of ancestral reverence found amongst the highest levels of South African leaders as found in published news articles.

1.8.2 Governance Transformation through Fundamental ATR Principles

Case Study Title: “Batho Pele: An African Tradition that forms the basis of redressing service delivery in South Africa”. Various literature and practical examples exist of how Batho Pele principles have improved service delivery and governance in South Africa. “Batho Pele” means “People first”. Batho Pele consists of eight principles, which were developed during Nelson Mandela’s administration. The principles capture the essence of transforming public services. They are aligned to the Constitution (RSA, 1996), which requires public servants to be polite, open and transparent, and to deliver good service to the public (Batho Pele Handbook, 2003:8).

I endeavour to provide a case study about Batho Pele and its effects on service delivery in South Africa and to shed light on the origins of Batho Pele and how it relates to fundamental ATR beliefs.

1.9 Evaluation and Interpretation

In Chapter 4, the focus is on evaluation and interpretation of the information at hand. Both the information and the sources are evaluated. I will also provide an evaluation of the approach and methodology for the research study.

1.9.1 Evaluation of African Traditional Leadership & Religion

ATR in this research should be understood in the context of South Africa and associated Southern African developing countries. As derived from Sections 2.1 and 2.2, African Traditional Religion is not an exact science and is still vastly lacking in academic literature that conceptualises it in relation to governance, law, public services and other matters of government. African Traditional Leadership (ATL), in contrast, has received valuable attention in the sense that it is constitutionally and legally recognised in South Africa through the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act, 41 of 2003, (RSA, 2003). The information available on ATL will assist me in conceptualising ATR in relation to governance.

An unbiased approach towards religion is required during this research to ensure that an objective view is attained, without being overly critical. It will be necessary, though, to critique some customs, rituals and beliefs in relation to ethical values as guided by the Constitution (RSA, 1996).

Gumede (2008:n.p.) reviews the “immense and imminent possibilities” in South Africa and refers to social cohesion as a driving force for transformation. He explains that “social cohesion” refers to the extent to which a society is coherent, united and functional, thereby providing an environment within which its citizens can flourish. During the apartheid years, ATR was not recognised as a religion. Its practices and rituals were perceived as witchcraft or “dark magic”, and therefore were never recognised to be of value within the governance system of South Africa or as an element for promoting social cohesion. Elements of ATR had, in fact, been suppressed by the Witchcraft Suppression Act, 3 of 1957, which is currently under review in terms of its constitutionality (SALawreform, 2012:n.p.).

Whilst many of the ATR practices are still debated in terms of their legality, such as use of rhino horns, dwarf chameleons, the African Rock Python and other protected species in ATR health practices, the spiritual idea of Ubuntu has reached the hearts and minds of most South Africans, which has encouraged social cohesion and a national sense of justice. The concept of Ubuntu was a guiding principle during the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) hearings. An ATR concept used (and even promoted) by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who was the Chairperson of the TRC

(Bennett, 2011:224). An evaluation of resources on the topic of the TRC and Ubuntu reveals that sufficient data is available to provide more in-depth analysis.

1.9.2 Evaluation of Governance

Governance, with its unique definition of bringing multiple actors into the governing arena, is also the activity to ensure social cohesion and address the social injustices of the past. The hope is that through this research, together with its conceptualisation how ATR relates to governance, will create a better understanding and subsequently add value to the academic body of knowledge. As mentioned, academic resources that marry these concepts are limited. My research will establish how ATR values and principles relate positively or negatively to the governance challenges that South Africa is experiencing.

1.9.3 Evaluation of Transformation

The research will reflect on the influence that batho pele principles have had on service delivery, and also demonstrate that the principles are not yet sufficiently and equally understood by public officials (Maluka, Diale and Moeti, 2014:1019). Politicians, government officials and public servants need to understand transformation and change management approaches and techniques.

In this context, I believe that it is important to understand how adherents to ATR perceive transformation and how they choose to approach it. Knowledge regarding this would provide an enhanced perspective on how to drive service delivery changes and address governance challenges, especially at a community level.

1.9.4 Evaluation of Ethics

Research on ATR and governance should further be able to determine whether decisions and views by government officials and politicians are driven mainly by the Constitution or whether these decisions and views are also guided by religious traditions. This has a direct relation to the ethical system that inspires these leaders.

The vastness and complexities of ethics merit a separate study. I will limit my study to a perspective of how ATR ethics, perhaps unnoticeably, became part of everyday governance practices. The concept of "Ubuntu lies at the heart of the African ethical

system” (Bennett, 2011:223). The philosophy of Ubuntu will be discussed in unison with Batho Pele in this dissertation.

1.9.5 Evaluation of Social Contract Concepts

Although the original concept of a social contract has remained relevant, especially in relation to the myriad of contracts in the pursuit of liberty, the concept has evolved ever since. According to Lessnoff (1990, cited in NOREF, 2016:8) the emerging view of the day is that the social contract is a process of sustaining an “equilibrium between the expectations and obligations of the institutions in power and those of the rest of society”. Schwella (2015:33-35) discusses the concept of a social contract in relation to state authority. He argues that the citizens of a republic are concurrently the “sovereign power and subjects of their own sovereignty created through the social contract” and through this, the citizens agree to the power of state as legal and legitimate, and therefore consent to the authority of the state (Schwella, 2015:35).

The concept of a social contract needs to be evaluated against the values of ATR. I could not find specific academic resources on this concept; therefore, my research required the identification of sufficient data to enable the formulation of constructs surrounding the concept of ATR and social contract.

1.9.6 Evaluation of Approach & Methodology

During the development of this research proposal, it became clear to me that the proposed study might be overly optimistic in terms of the number of objectives I want to achieve. Seeing that empirical research will not be a feature of this study, I will rely strongly on a theoretical foundation within the ontological and hermeneutical traditions. Therefore, some of the objectives were amended during the drafting of this paper to ensure an attainable research outcome. An array of resources is available on ATR from a Christian–Theological perspective, and an abundance of resources was found on Governance. It became clear that literature which integrates the chosen topics is limited. My approach and methodology must therefore ensure that I gain sufficient academic insight on both these topics to ensure an integration and synergy of the concepts.

1.10 Conclusion and Recommendations

In Chapter 5, conclusions are reached and recommendations are made based on the analysis of information ascertained during the research. An overview of the research paper's layout is presented in the next subsection.

1.10.1 Layout of the Study

The layout of my research study will be as follows:

- Chapter 1: Actuality, Motivation and Rationale of the Research;
- Chapter 2: Theoretical Perspectives and Conceptualisation;
- Chapter 3: African Traditional Religion in Governance Case Studies;
- Chapter 4: Evaluation and Interpretation of African Traditional Religion in South African Governance;
- Chapter 5: Conclusion & Recommendations;
- Bibliography.

1.10.2 Conclusion

In Chapter 1, I presented background to the research and expanded on the concepts of Governance and African Traditional religion. I presented how I would approach the study of two seemingly unrelated topics by establishing a relation between associated concepts of traditional religion, leadership, ethics, transformation and a social contract. The research method for the research is in the interpretive tradition, utilising deductive and applied research methods. I proposed two case studies which will provide more insight towards South Africa leaders' adherence to ATR, as well as ATR principles that have become part of the South African government service delivery and governance service delivery standards manifestos.

By a conceptualisation of how ATR relates to governance, the outcome of the research will create a better understanding and subsequently add value to the academic body of knowledge. To obtain better insights and value for the research, my recommendation is that empirical research could add more value to the findings, although the study will be limited to theoretical traditions.

The problem statement, albeit largely optimistic, is in my view a valid research topic, because literature on the integrated topic of ATR and Governance is limited. Accordingly, expounding on these concepts should create a better understanding of the things that have been concealed by a cloud of mystery for many decades during colonial and apartheid rule in South Africa.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Perspectives and Conceptualisation

2.1 Introduction

Chapter 2 looks at theoretical themes and concepts that will be investigated in the study. It is important to understand the concepts of African traditional concepts, ATR, governance, transformation, ethics, social contract, the Constitution of South Africa, and other associated concepts. Africa has three distinct cultural identities, which are Eurocentric as a result of colonialism, Afrocentric, and Islamic. In this paper, the main distinction that will be made will be between Eurocentric and Afrocentric identities.

Whilst other religions have found a way into governments, such as Christianity through the Roman Catholic and Dutch Reformed churches, ATR has also been active in the governing of African people. In the same way that dualism and syncretism are found in ATR, the same principles can be found in the governing of people. On the one hand is the elected government, and on the other hand are the esteemed African Traditional Leadership structures. This chapter expands on the theories and concepts associated with African Traditionalism and Governance. A further objective of this chapter is to construct bridges between the different concepts so as to establish a link between African Traditionalism and Governance in South Africa.

2.2 African Traditional Leadership

2.2.1 Background of African Traditional Leadership in South Africa

Religion in Africa has always had a pivotal role in the way in which African people have lived and were ruled or “governed”. Mbiti (2015:10) explains that religion is found in all areas of human life, which has played a dominant role in the way Africans think. This has effectively shaped African culture, leadership, social life, political organisation and economic approaches.

“Not all African peoples have traditional rulers in the form of kings, queens or chiefs. (But) ... People regard leaders in power as God’s earthly governor. People think that they can do what they want. They also consider kings to be holy, mainly in a ritual rather than a spiritual sense” (Mbiti 1989:n.p.).

Traditional leadership cannot, and probably never will be, detached from the lives of African people. Authority mostly resides within Traditional Leadership, which includes

traditional healers and religious leaders. The institution of traditional leadership referred to as 'ubukhosi' or 'borena' was important prior to the colonial era (Koenane, 2017:2). This is still true today, albeit that Traditional Leaders have to submit to the rule of law and the current government.

In South Africa, the institution of traditional leadership was subdued by extreme adversities during colonial rule and apartheid, but persevered and maintained its role among African people (Khunou, 2011:278). Mokgobi (2014:24) also contends that colonists, and especially the apartheid government, forced a westernised world view onto South African people. He reasons further that they did it without considering the indigenous world view that existed with specific reference to matters such as "traditional African healing and traditional African religion or spirituality, which are in most cases mutually interwoven". It is a general perception that the westernised cultures, specific Christians, do not have a high regard for African Traditional Leadership and its healing and religious customs.

2.2.2 Institutionalisation of African Traditional Leadership

Before colonisation, African societies were structured according to hierarchies originating from a "social organisation which was defined by family and kinship" bonds (RSA, 2003-a:12). During colonial and apartheid rule in South Africa, African Traditional Leadership was not recognised as an institution. The 1996 Constitution and subsequent legislation of South Africa, however, recognises African Traditional Leadership as an important part of governing people in South Africa, especially at a local government level. The Constitution assigned all "powers and functions which are governmental in nature to the three spheres of government", whilst assigning functions which are "customary in nature" to traditional leadership (RSA, 2003-a:1323). The Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act, 41 of 2003, (as amended by the Amendment Act, 23 of 2009) (TLGF Act) defines African Traditional Leadership as:

"... (T)he customary institutions or structures, or customary systems or procedures of governance, recognised, utilised or practised by traditional communities".

Adewumi and Egwurube (Cited in Keulder, 2008:152) define African Traditional Leadership as:

“... the group referred to as traditional leaders/rulers or tribal leaders/rulers are individuals occupying communal political leadership positions sanctified by cultural morals and values, and enjoying the legitimacy of particular communities to direct their affairs.... Their basis of legitimacy is therefore tradition, which includes the whole range of inherited culture and way of life; a people’s history; moral and social values and the traditional institutions which survive to serve those values”.

A point can be derived from this definition that traditional leaders govern all aspects of peoples’ lives, based on the authority bestowed upon them through tradition and an inherited culture. For this reason, the majority of African people will not disregard traditional leadership, but will follow the philosophy and values of their leaders. It can further be reasoned that the moral and social values that a traditional leader upholds will influence the people who follow him or her. This can have either dire or positive consequences. The moral values of a leader are normally imitated by their followers. “Leaders have the potential to influence their followers’ values leading to a perception of value congruence” (Lord and Brown, 2001, cited in Bosch, 2013:18).

The TLGF Act further provides definitions for specific positions within the hierarchy of Traditional Leadership, in which the revered principal traditional leader is defined as:

‘principal traditional leader’ means a traditional leader-

(a) under whose authority, or within whose area of jurisdiction, senior traditional leaders exercise authority in accordance with customary law;

(b) recognised as such in terms of section 10A;

[Definition of ‘principal traditional leader’ inserted by s. 1 (d) of Act 23 of 2009.]

It is important to note that a Principal Traditional Leader (PTL) has authority over Senior Traditional Leaders and other Traditional Leaders, and is further recognised as an authoritative leader by law in South Africa. Although PTLs (including kings and queens) have limited political authority, they play a critical role in mediating local disputes, and being advisors to government and their communities (Business Tech, 2018:n.p.).

According to the then Minister of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs, Des van Rooyen, South Africa has “14 kingships, queenships, and/or principal traditional

leaders across five of South Africa’s provinces. There are 844 senior traditional leaders in the country, across eight provinces (excluding the Western Cape). KwaZulu-Natal has the majority of traditional leaders, at 277, and Gauteng the least, with only two” (Business Tech, 2018:n.p.).

Figure 1 provides a breakdown of the numbers of Traditional Leaders in South Africa. The importance of this table is to illustrate the extent of Traditional Leadership in the country and how it is spread across the different provinces. The most significant leadership structures are found in Limpopo, Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal.

Kingships/Queenships/Principal Traditional Leaders

Province	Total number of traditional leaders
Limpopo	3
Free State	2
Mpumalanga	2
KZN	1
Eastern Cape	6
Total	14

Senior traditional leaders

Province	Total number of traditional leaders
Free State	12
Northern Cape	8
Mpumalanga	56
Limpopo	201
North West	50
KZN	277
Gauteng	2
Eastern Cape	238
Total	844

Figure 1: Number of Traditional Leaders in South Africa (as at June 2018)

(Figure 1 Source : <https://businesstech.co.za/news/government/263191/south-africa-has-a-huge-number-of-traditional-leaders-heres-how-much-they-get-paid/>)

These numbers, however, only reflect registered or known traditional leaders, and do not include the numbers for African Traditional Healers, who are also recognised and revered as leaders within their communities. As mentioned in the assumptions section, although traditional leaders, chiefs and elders still play an important role in the lives of many Africans, religious leaders are contacted more frequently by ordinary Africans in

their efforts to solve their problems or express their views (Logan, 2008:1). The importance of the role of traditional leaders and healers should not only be recognised, but also needs to be understood by those who lack knowledge on the subject. As discussed in the assumptions section, it is my view that westerners have been ignorant about the importance of traditional leadership/culture/religion within the new dispensation, which leads to misunderstandings and conflict.

Given these points, a deeper understanding of African Traditional Religion (ATR) could illuminate current governance practices, reasons for conflict between political ideologies in South Africa, and conflicts between people. The next section expands on the concept of ATR.

2.3 African Traditional Religion

In this section, I expand on the concept ATR with a specific focus on its core beliefs. The concepts expanded on consist of: i) Belief in a Supreme Being, divinities, spirits and ancestors; ii) The interrelation of physical and metaphysical/spiritual worlds; iii) Life Force and death; iv) Diviners, doctors, mediums, witches, sorcerers, prophets, priests and kings; and v) the community's central role (content flow as adapted from Light, 2012:83-97). The further objective of this section is to link aspects of the core beliefs with challenges or matters pertaining to governance in South Africa.

2.3.1 African Traditional Religion, Definition

The existence of ATR predates other religions in Africa by centuries, and although scholars have attempted to provide descriptions of what ATR is, it is not feasible to provide a clear definition of ATR. ATR cannot be generalised due to differences from country to country in Africa, and tribe to tribe. ATR, however, has shared characteristics, which can be analysed and provide context for a definition thereof. Nigosian (1994, cited in Mokgobi, 2014:2) defines religion in general as “an invention or creation of the human mind for regulating all human activity, and this creative activity is a human necessity that satisfies the spiritual desires and needs inherent in human nature”. Van der Walt (2003, cited in Mokgobi, 2014:2) further explains that ATR is tribal in nature. Dopamu (1991:21, cited in Mndende, 2006:75) provides a definition that reflects contemporary ATR:

“When we speak of African traditional religion we mean the indigenous religion of the Africans. It is the religion that has been handed down from generation to generation by the forebears of the present generation of Africans. It is not a fossil religion (a thing of the past) but a religion that Africans today have made theirs by living it and practicing it.”

Religion is so important to Africans that they would probably not know how to exist without it (Mbiti, 1989:n.p.). In Africa, no “conversation, evangelization, negotiation or diplomacy” is possible without this understanding (Crafford, 1996:8). In ATR, no distinction is made between religion and everyday life (Crafford, 1996:19). ATR is viewed as orthopraxis, rather than orthodoxy, which means that in ATR, observance of the right action is more important than the right belief (Menski, 2006:414).

In an attempt to create a better understanding regarding the differentiating thought patterns between a westernised world view and the African Traditionalist world view, Crafford (1996:4) provides the following divergent views:

- *“Traditional thinking is holistic, seeing all things as part of and influencing each other and being influenced by forces beyond themselves. By contrast, Western thought is analytical, grouping entities together according to categories.*
- *Traditional communities have a collective sense, thinking and deciding together in community. Westerners are more individualistic, placing very high value on freedom of thought.*
- *Traditional people have a magical-mystical orientation as opposed to a logical-historical orientation in Westerners.*
- *Traditional people think in concrete terms while Westerners tend to abstract thought”.*

From these points, it becomes clear that the ways in which different race groups think and perceive life in South Africa are totally different, and this would therefore influence their relationships and perceptions. This is especially true in terms of religion.

2.3.2 Philosophical System and Worldview Pillars of ATR

Turaki (2000:n.p.) explains, based on Steyne’s (1990) comprehensive study on animism, that a “powerful and pervasive” religious and cultural world view dominates

and influences traditional African thought. Steyne (1990, cited in Turaki, 2000:n.p.) identified four basic philosophical foundations in a traditional religious world view:

- *“holism/organism which is governed by the Law of Harmony;*
- *spiritualism which is governed by the Law of the Spirit;*
- *dynamism/power-consciousness which is governed by the Law of Power;*
- *communalism which is governed by the Law of Kinship”.*

These four philosophical foundations assist in interpreting and understanding ATR. ATR is “governed” by specific laws which are all an integration of the physical and the metaphysical.

2.3.3 Belief in a Supreme Being, divinities, spirits and ancestors

To formulate a deeper understanding of the ATR religious world view, it is critical to understand how ATRs view the spirit world. Mbiti (1969:75, cited in Turaki, 2000:n.p.) emphasises that the “spirit world of the African people is very densely populated with spirit beings, spirits and the living-dead or the spirits of the ancestors”. Therefore, the most prevalent characteristic of ATR is the spirit world, in which the “spirits, the ancestors and the Supreme Being or God can be found” (Turaki, 2000:n.p.). The majority of Africans believe in a personal Creator-God or Supreme Being who is eternal, omniscient and omnipotent (Mbiti, 1969 cited in Light, 2012:84).

According to Mokgobi (2014:2), Africans have historically been believers and will carry on believing in the “eternal and ubiquitous spirit of the ancestors and the Almighty God”. He further explains that various names are used for ancestors, which are related to specific ethnic origins: the “Bapedi, Batswana, and Basotho people call them ‘badimo’. The amaZulu and the amaXhosa call them ‘amadlozi’ and ‘iinyanya’ respectively”.

ATR reveres and believes in God as “creator and sustainer, transcendent, also immanently active in nature”. In the spiritual hierarchy, God is revered as the highest among the spirits. In a decreasing order, the hierarchy is: God, deities, ancestors, spirits and humankind (Light, 2012:83). God is understood to be “monotheistical, existing as spirit, good, merciful, just and the life force that makes the whole of existing reality” (Crafford, 1996:13). ATR recognises God as One, and God’s moral attributes

as love, judgment and holiness. One of the most fundamental beliefs concerning God is that he is providence and sustenance (Mbiti, 1989:n.p.).

Is ATR a monotheistic or polytheistic religion? Scholars have reasoned for the monotheistic as well as for the polytheistic nature of ATR. Turaki (2000:n.p.) explains that the “plurality of gods or divinities permits plurality of beliefs, practices, feelings and behaviour in one religion”. Idowu (2001, cited in Udoye, 2011:55) emphasises that ATR cannot be described as polytheistic, but rather as “modified” monotheistic. The modification is “inevitable because of the presence of other divine beings within the structure” of ATR. This means that although ATR followers, whether from Western or Southern African origins, believes in one “Supreme Being”, they do worship their God via a hierarchy of other intermediaries such as ancestors. In his examining of ATR followers south of the Sahara, Crafford (1996:12) explains the following:

“Belief in spirits results in a traditional outlook on the world which is thoroughly religious, requiring that people find their way through a realm of spirits and powers which determine their lives. As a result, specialists in the spiritual realm such as diviners and healers are indispensable”.

God or the Supreme Being, is usually ambiguously described and experienced as “*deus otiosus*”. This means that God is uninvolved in his children’s lives and on earth. ATR also reckons that “God is *deus absconditus*”, which means that God is a “concealed, remote and inaccessible God”. Therefore, believers rarely approach Him in prayer, but rather approach Him mainly through “spirit mediators”, namely ancestors (Light, 2012:85). The ancestors provide a link between the physical and metaphysical worlds.

2.3.4 The interrelation between the physical and metaphysical/spiritual worlds

Religion for Africans is a way of negotiating the mysterious relationship between the spirit world and physical life (Thorpe, 1991, cited in Light, 2012:91). The relationship between the physical and metaphysical worlds means that “every event has a metaphysical etiology” (Light, 2012:91). In other words, the ATR belief is that if something happens in physical life, it is directly related to something in the spiritual world, thus indicating a cause and effect. Therefore, nothing is “accidental”. An example is that, should there be sickness, drought or death, this is directly linked to the realm of evil spirits or ancestors. Craffert (1999, cited in Light, 2012:91) explains

that calamity occurs “by design” and is the responsibility of a “pranking fairy, a malevolent witch, a punishing ancestor or a jealous neighbour”.

A practical action in the physical world is required by believers to rectify the calamity. Maboea (2002:12, cited in Light, 2012:93) confirms that an appeasement of the ancestors is required during difficult times, so that God, the source of life-giving power, will bestow grace upon the affected believers. One way to avert the disaster or to appease the ancestors is through the ritual of animal sacrifices. The shedding of blood is a very important element in ATR. Blood can represent an everlasting bond between families and ancestors when a couple gets married, or in general as a bond between ancestors and their descendants (Mokgobi, 2014:3).

In ATR, numerous “taboos” exist which ensure that a balance is maintained between the physical and metaphysical worlds. For example, ancestor spirits may dwell in some river pools, and swimming there at an inappropriate time would offend the spirits (Smith, 1984, cited in Light, 2012:92). Therefore, followers of ATR would always endeavour to maintain a harmony between the physical and spiritual worlds. The mediators of this harmony are the diviners, doctors, mediums, witches, and sorcerers, who are mostly known as ‘Sangomas’.

2.3.5 Spiritual Leaders in ATR

Imasogie (cited in Light, 2012:84) reckons “God is active through the divinities and ancestors”, even though God is considered as distant. In ATR, it is believed that divinities and ancestors have been given authority to govern the earth.

The revering of ancestors is undoubtedly one of the most important elements in ATR. It has a profound effect on the daily life of the community and the individual. In comparison, ancestors seem to take the place in ATR that Jesus and the Holy Spirit have in Christianity. Ancestors are the “mediators between the deity and the tribe, allowing the vitality of the supreme being to flow to them” (Crafford, 1996:14).

The roles of traditional religious leaders, which include traditional healers, herbalists, diviners, sangomas and witchdoctors, are extremely important in ATR. They act as mediators between the people and ancestral spirits and they are believed to be able to manipulate mysterious powers and perform “magical acts”, and have an esteemed position in the community. They are reckoned to be specialists in the spiritual realm and are therefore “indispensable” (Mbiti, 1969:170). They are normally the facilitators

in re-establishing harmony between the physical and spiritual worlds through various rituals, and therefore they play a pivotal role in the day-to-day lives of the people.

2.3.6 Life Force and death

In ATR, God is seen as the source of the life force, which is known as “nyama”. This life force is found in everything in the universe (humankind and nature) and is inexhaustible (Light, 2012:93). Nürburger (2007:55) explains that the main priority in the African Traditionalism is to “make this perilous world stable, to establish and be a community with an undisputable solidarity, to sustain and reinforce its life-force and to guard people from being harmed by evil”. Death occurs when the life force decreases to an unacceptable level, which causes a person to die. The preservation of the life force is therefore sustained and strengthened through traditional appeasing acts, which include rituals, sacrifices and acceptable behaviour (Thorpe, 1991, cited in Light, 2012:93). ATR belief holds that power can be directed from the life force only by “authorized leaders of the community”, which gives them an esteemed and feared position in leadership hierarchy (Nürburger, 2007:9). This sheds further light on the reasons why traditional healers/doctors/Sangomas hold such a prominent position in African culture. Through “magic” and other rituals, they are able to “tap” into the life force, and manipulate it for good or evil (Nürburger 2007:9).

There is a consistent consciousness with African people regarding their interrelatedness with the universe, community and nature. Nyamiti (2008, cited in Light, 2012:94) reasons that this explains the characteristics of “pan-vitalism” or “cosmo-biology” found in ATR. In other words, ATR belief holds that we are all part of a single universe and that everything is alive in this universe. The latter also refers to animism (assigning life to inanimate objects), which is also forms part of the ATR belief framework.

There is a general belief of ATR followers that people’s behaviour and actions are directed and influenced by the power of the life force. Light (2012:94) argues that this is probably the main explanation why development in in Africa is undermined. He reasons that it deprives people from taking responsibility or being accountable for their actions, or from taking initiatives. Although this research does not intend to unpack the development theories of South Africa, this element will be expanded on in following sections.

From the above discussion, it can be summarised that “coexistence and strengthening in the human community and the world at large of life-force is the supreme aim of the African culture” and that each individual has a responsibility towards the community to ensure this (Light, 2012:93-94). Community is a golden-thread in ATR.

2.3.7 Community and the Spirit of Ubuntu

The importance of Community within African communities is perhaps the most critical common factor among all African tribes and people. Family is the main component of community, but extends far beyond the westernised definition of family. In African tradition, ‘kinship’ is family. Mbiti (1969:104) provides an explanation of the structure of community:

“... kinship is reckoned through blood and betrothal (engagement and marriage). It is kinship which controls social relationships between people in a given community, it governs marital customs and regulations, it determines the behaviours of one individual towards another. The kinship system also extends vertically to include the departed and those yet to be born. It is part of traditional education for children in many African societies to learn the genealogies of their descent.” (Mbiti, 1969:104-105).

Therefore, ancestors are seen as being ‘active’ community members and will be consulted when required, especially regarding family matters.

Community can also be explained by “Africanness”, which is at the heart of the culture and religion of African people (Mndende, 2006:163; Light, 2012:82). Mndende (2006:163) explains that the core of Africanness includes the “belief in the community”. The importance of community in ATR is captured in the concept of “ubuntu” (Nguni languages) or “botho/batho” (Sotho languages). Ubuntu is explained as being a way of life, the main philosophy and the most important characteristic in African culture. Since the first reference to ubuntu, it has been accepted as an underlying ethical concept and is also referred to as the spirit of ubuntu. The saying goes: “Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu” – “I am because you are, you are because we are.” In other words, I only exist as a part of a whole, and the whole only exists because of the individuals. Tutu (1999:34-35) agrees with this definition and explains the importance of ubuntu/botho in the context of forgiveness and reconciliation. He reasons that it is difficult to translate the exact meaning into western languages, but summarises ubuntu

as “I am human because I belong.” He explains that it “speaks of the very essence of being human” and states:

“A person with ubuntu is open and available to others, affirming of others, does not feel threatened that others are able and good, for he or she has a proper self-assurance that comes from knowing that he or she belongs in a greater whole and is diminished when others are humiliated or diminished, when others are tortured or oppressed, or treated as if they were less than who they are.”

Ubuntu is a *common spiritual ideal* which the majority of African people strive to attain. It is also seen as the spiritual foundation of African culture, and as some scholars reason, religion (Makgoba, 1999:153-154; Breed and Semanya, 2015:n.p.).

From the brief discussion above, the point can therefore be derived that ubuntu constitutes the foundation of the spiritual morals and values of African communities. Furthermore, community is critical in the existence of African people. The primary foundation of a community is situated in family or kin, from where it expands into the global community. Ubuntu “opposes the idea of individualism and emphasises the idea of sharing amongst the community members” (Breed and Semanya, 2015:n.p.).

2.4 Governance, Good Governance and Cooperative Governance

Governance is an important concept in the world of politics, transformation and service delivery. This section focuses on governance and associated theories and concepts.

2.4.1 Governance

Governance is a recognised field of study in which ‘governance’ is defined more holistically than ‘government’ or ‘governing’ are. Governance is a broader term than government because it “involves more societal actors than government” (Schwella, 2015:13). Bevir (2011:12) supports this notion by reasoning that governance utilises a “plurality of stakeholders”. In a narrow definition, it is seen as the governing of organisations, whilst in the broadest sense, ‘governance’ is defined as “credible and democratic government” (Khoza and Adam, 2005:14). “Governance occurs in the context of the state, but it is not about the government of the state alone” (Schwella, 2015:12-13). In South Africa, the state is held accountable for governance, but governance manifests through a plethora of actors at various levels of the governance sphere. We have, for an example, various non-governmental organisations which

operate within communities by assisting in delivering basic services that are normally associated with government alone, e.g. primary health care. Governance in South Africa, however, is not deemed as being highly effective.

2.4.2 Good Governance

Although various achievements over the last two decades can be celebrated by the South African Government, the majority of South Africans still live in poverty, corruption is prevalent, high rates of unemployment exist, bad or limited health services are a reality, education is in a poor state, and equality challenges still prevail. Visible service delivery protests are a clear sign of citizens' dissatisfaction towards governance at a local level. Governance in all its forms, whether state-driven or other-actor driven, becomes a conduit through which the State can achieve the aims of the constitutional mandate. Good governance will ensure strengthened capacity at all service delivery levels.

Good governance is “not about being politically correct”: rather, it has implications in terms of enhanced corporate performance and is a reassurance to stakeholders and international investors that things are going well (Khoza and Adam, 2005:17).

Schwella (2015:26-27) refers to the UNDP 1997 document which expands on the characteristics of good governance. In brief these are:

- Participation: All people have voice in decision-making;
- Rule of law: Fair and enforced legal framework;
- Transparency: Transparent and available information;
- Responsiveness: All institutions strive to serve all stakeholders;
- Consensus Orientation: Ideal situation where broad consensus is reached by all;
- Equity: Equal opportunities for all people;
- Effectiveness and Efficiency: Best use of resources to meet needs;
- Accountability: Government and organisations accountable to public;
- Strategic Vision: Leaders and public have long-term understanding on good governance and human development.

2.4.3 Cooperative Governance

A further dynamic to governance in South Africa is the concept of cooperative governance and intergovernmental relations (IGR), which have a direct relationship with Traditional Leadership. These two concepts are essential mechanisms for the state in achieving its mandate under the Constitution (RSA, 1996:n.p.). Although closely related, these two concepts are not the same. IGR is institutionalised in South Africa through the Intergovernmental Relations Framework Act, 13 of 2005, and cooperative government and governance is enshrined in Chapter 3 of the Constitution, 1996.

Mathebula (2011:838) defines IGR as functioning where “two or more governmental jurisdictions, functionaries, persons, levels, spheres, tiers and/or institutions interact, transact and/or relate”. He further indicates that IGR exists within the national, provincial and local spheres of government, which are distinctive, interdependent and interrelated. Mongana (2015:802) confirms this definition in that IGR is clearly described in terms of section 40(1) of the Constitution, 1996, as comprising the relationships between the three spheres of government. Mathebula (2011:838) suggests that IGR is basically the “reality and regularity of interactions between governments in a country” and includes all interactions between the various organs of state. IGR is intended to realise the principles of cooperative government as articulated in the Constitution (Khan, Madue and Kalema, 2016:252).

Cooperative government is based on the German *Bundestreue* concept, which is basically defined as the relationship between national and regional governments, which are based on trust, partnering, mutual respect and the acknowledgement of different constitutional responsibilities. In the South African context, it can further be defined as the governance philosophy that ensures cooperation is maintained between all spheres of government to ultimately ensure equitable service delivery (Mathebula, 2011:840). In South Africa, the concept of cooperative government has evolved to the point where cooperative governance takes centre stage.

2.4.4 African Traditional Leadership and Governance

African Traditional Leaders are actors within the network of cooperative governance in South Africa. As described in the section 2.3.5 “Spiritual Leaders in ATR”, p. 25, their leadership has a direct impact on their followers within their traditional domain.

The South African Government recognises the importance of this concept, which is found in the mandate and vision of the Ministry and Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (COGTA), and is found both at the national and provincial spheres of government. The key Constitutional elements of COGTA's mandate are:

- *“System of Cooperative Government (Chapter 3 of the Constitution)*
- *Provinces (Chapter 6 of the Constitution)*
- *Local Government (Chapter 7 of the Constitution)*
- *Traditional Leaders (Chapter 12 of the Constitution)”* (COGTA 2016:n.p.)

COGTA aims to achieve this mandate through its vision, which aims to achieve: “A functional and developmental local government system that delivers on its Constitutional and legislative mandates within a system of cooperative governance” (COGTA, 2016:n.p).

It is clear that Traditional Leaders are part of COGTA's mandate and its vision to ensure cooperative governance. Therefore, defining cooperative governance and intergovernmental relations cannot be done without considering the role of Traditional Leaders.

The main aim of cooperative governance is therefore to ensure equitable, “effective, responsive, transparent, accountable and coherent government” which must evidently realise the wellbeing and constitutional rights of South African citizens (Khan et al., 2016:281). The hope was that IGR, with the philosophy of cooperative governance (CG), would create harmonious, interrelated and interdependent relations between the three spheres of government (Khan et al., 2016:252). Due to the role that local municipalities play as the point of contact for primary services delivery to communities, IGR should play a vital role in enhancing service delivery.

Based on the discussion regarding the importance of community, and seen in the light of the ‘spirit of ubuntu’, is critical to the transformation of South Africa to involve communities in governance. Good governance is directly associated with the concept of transformation and involving communities.

2.5 Transformation in South Africa

South Africa has been in a constant state of transformation for more than three decades. Transformation started prior to the landmark advent of democratisation in 1994. During the 1980s, the previous South African government experienced tremendous pressure from the global community to abolish apartheid and all the associated evils. Transformation has not stopped. Contemporary transformation challenges in South Africa are primarily situated in the political and governance arenas. This section looks at transformation as a concept, and specifically how it relates to South African governance.

2.5.1 A Paradigm Shift in South African Politics

According to Giliomee (2003:635), then President FW De Klerk took a “great political leap” which required both “vision and courage to lift the state of emergency”, face the challenges of opposition, and to engage in negotiations for a democratic government. During the late 1980s, De Klerk affirmed that the apartheid government would have been able to cling on to “white domination” for another 20 years, but that it would be “devoid of any morality” (Giliomee 2003:235). This, in my view, summarises the foundation of the decision made by De Klerk. He was not afraid of causing a huge paradigm shift to be made away from white domination to a new democratic dispensation for a South Africa. After this pivotal moment of South African history, a major transformation process commenced.

2.5.2 Definition of Transformation

Transformation and change management are universal challenges for governments in Africa. Anstey (1999:345) argues that transformation implies ‘managed’ rather than ‘random’ change. According to Jahan (2000:2), transformation implies a fundamental change.

Change management is associated with implementing a “well-defined shift” in how things function. Transformation (in its broader sense), on the other hand, focuses on a myriad of interdependent initiatives, with the ultimate aim to “reinvent the organization and discover a new or revised business model based on a vision for the future”. Transformation is “unpredictable, iterative, and experimental” and could fail. According to Jahan (2000:2), transformation implies a fundamental change. In other words, transformation considers all aspects that need to change, which include

people, systems, processes, policies, ideologies, ethics, values, morals, perspectives, and perceptions. The truth is that transformation is not easy. Transformation in South Africa is found at the highest curve of complexity due to the country's proliferation of social groupings, political ideals and religions.

Change, in my view, does not entail the overall process of transformation. In the context of this paper, I define 'transformation' as a holistic and dynamic process that contains a myriad of change initiatives. To clarify it further, the question could be asked as to what needs to change to ensure that transformation is achieved.

2.5.3 Transformation and Governance Challenges in South Africa

The concept of change, or transformation, is approached differently by various countries. South Africa has the benefit of having the White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery, 1997, (Notice 1459 of 1997). It lays the foundation for transforming service delivery in South Africa. Numerous governance challenges (such as corruption, unemployment, and inequality issues) exist as a result of transformation challenges. The principles of "Batho Pele" lie at the heart of transformation in South African public service delivery and good governance.

A summary of the transformation goals that are directly related to eliminating the governance challenges of South Africa are set out as follows (Schwella, 2015:144):

- Unemployment Challenge – Too few people are working;
- Education Challenge – Quality of School Education is grave;
- Infrastructure Challenge – Inadequate Infrastructure limiting social inclusion;
- Marginalised poor challenge – Spatial Challenges;
- Sustainability Challenge – Growth-path highly resource-intensive;
- Health Challenge – Ailing public health system;
- Corruption Challenge – Corruption undermines state legitimacy;
- Divided Society Challenge – South Africa remains divided.

Although democratisation took place in 1994, much transformation still needs to take place. Post-transformation, South Africa's democracy still has the following weaknesses (Terreblanche 2012:78-87):

- The South African population is still divided along racial and ethnic lines;

- South Africa's democratic system is too powerless to address inequalities between the people, especially in terms of income disparities;
- South Africa democratic system is still developing, whilst the majority of the population is impoverished and underdeveloped.
- South Africa's democracy has a weakness where representatives in the South African parliament and in the provincial councils are elected on a proportional basis.
- There are not enough "watchdog organisations" in the public and private sectors to hold government accountable.
- There relations between the ANC government and the corporate sector are too close, creating a way for corrupt relationships to develop;
- The government is unclear of what "constitutes the general interest or the general wellbeing" of the 50 million citizens.

What went wrong during the transition from apartheid to democracy? Numerous reasons can be cited, but the following list provides possible insights (adapted from Terreblanche, 2012:124-127):

- The apartheid legacies of abject poverty, high unemployment and growing inequality were not addressed adequately;
- Although the immoral and inhuman system of apartheid was abolished, the new government did not replace it with a new, moral and humane system;
- The new black elite adopted a "get-rich-quick" mentality, which is sometimes satisfied through immoral and corrupt means;
- Only a small minority of black people have benefited from Black Economic Empowerment;
- Neither the 'people-centred society' nor a real 'rainbow nation' status was achieved (as hoped for by Mandela and Tutu);
- The various parts of the deeply divided South African society have not been united in solidarity with each other;
- The politico-economic system is not what it set out to be;

- Corruption is a normal activity for government and political officials.

None of these issues is 'honouring' the spirit of ubuntu. This points towards an absolute decay of the moral values that are associated with ATR and Christianity in South Africa. This issue is expanded on in a later section.

Labuschagne (2011:5-19) presents substantial proof that there is instability in the *trias politica* institutions, which means that the Constitution's directive in terms of the separation of powers has been corrupted. This automatically causes a breakdown in the well-planned checks and balances that have been put in place to ensure the facilitation of transformation of our country. An ethical approach towards transformation is therefore required. The question remains as to how the ethical values of state officials might be guided by their religious world view, whether Christian or ATR, or both.

2.6 Ethics in Governance and ATR

This section briefly explores the concepts of ethics in governance and ATR ethics. The study of ethics will not be an exhaustive one, but rather aims to provide context for the ethical framework in which decision are made in South Africa.

2.6.1 Defining Ethics

'Ethics' is derived from the Greek word *ethos*, which means 'good and bad', 'right and wrong' and 'should and should not' (Khan, 1985 cited in Noor, 2008:66). Ethics relates to how people behave and to what degree their actions can be classified as right or wrong. Ethics is a concept which can lead to extensive philosophical debate due to people's frames of reference when referring to 'right' and 'wrong'. A person's concept of right and wrong would be shaped by his or her upbringing, religious background and general belief set. Noor (2008:66) attempts a generalised definition and states:

"... Ethics determines an expected mode of behaviour in society and organizations. It is a guidance system to be used in making decisions. In administrative context, ethics involves the application of moral principles to the conduct of officials in organizations".

As discussed in section 2.3.7 "Community and the Spirit of Ubuntu", p. 27, ubuntu is an underlying ethical system that the government of South Africa subscribes to. This concept will be investigated and explored as part of the case studies, in which I do a

comparative analysis of the ethical values of ubuntu versus the conduct of state officials who openly practise ATR.

2.6.2 Linking Ethics, ATR and Governance

As stated in Chapter 1, Ethical behaviour by leaders becomes a golden thread in improving public services and governance. African developing countries have many common challenges relating to public management and governance. Rotberg (cited in Schwella, 2015:30) argues that “good leaders guide governments of nation-states to perform effectively in the interests of their citizens”. Good, ethical and transformative leadership is characterised by power and authority that is directed at achieving vision and purpose, and by being a force that provides momentum to achieve the desired state.

According to Uzochukwu et al (2016:1), Africa has been “derided for many years for its levels of corruption in many forms”. Africa has been seen as a continent of complexities, with a wide diversity in terms of climate, topography, culture, peoples, and languages. These significant complexities are also exaggerated by “tribal divisiveness, wars, selfish leadership, wealth inequality, corruption and massive unemployment” (Uzochukwu et al, 2016:1). State and government officials must have the highest regard for leadership and organisational ethics. Religion plays a pivotal role in a person’s ethical conduct.

It can be safely stated that ATR ethics have several beneficial features (Crafford 1996:18). These features can directly be related to the spirit of Ubuntu and overall commitment to good human relations and harmony with nature.

Crafford (1996:18) reckons that the fact that ethics in ATR operate primarily from the periphery of a clan or tribe results in a major weakness. The weakness is that a “generalised love of neighbour is absent”. It further transpires that an autocratic power is given to heads/chiefs to “such extent that massive human rights violations are incurred” (Crafford, 1996:18).

2.6.3 The Values of ATR and a Social Contract

I view a social contract as an outflow from the ethical values of the leaders of the country. The ethical values of leaders serve as evaluation criteria in terms of how effectively a social contract has been implemented.

The concept of a contract between state and society has fascinated many minds over the centuries, with Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) being the first to deal with the concept of what a 'social contract' was. His focus was on fashioning a "political community that could balance collective and individual rights and could resist the prevarication and exclusion", which were dominant features of his era (NOREF, 2016:8). Another early thinker in this regard was John Locke (1632-1704) who defined the social contract as existing when citizens transfer parts or "all of their rights to the government in order to ensure a comfortable living", which gave citizens a "promise for freedom" (Tuckness, 2016:n.p.). Sir Ernest Barker (1874–1960) (cited in Gumede, 2008:n.p.) states that the social contract exists in two parts, in that "besides the contract of government, and prior to the contract of government, there is also a contract of society, a social contract proper; and we must conclude that the state, in a sense of a political community, and as an organised society, is based on a social contract — or rather on myriad such contracts — between each and every member of that community or society". This statement must be read and evaluated in light of the definition of ubuntu.

The idea of a social contract is advocated by the current South African government, which has also recently been referred to as a "new-social contract" (Makholwa 2012:n.p.). After more than two decades of democracy, the written social contract has not transformed into praxis. I attempt to illuminate the reasons why the social contract has not successfully emerged in the case study on Batho Pele.

2.7 Conclusion

In this Chapter 2, I examined theoretical themes and concepts relating to my topic and research aims. The concepts reviewed include African Tradition, ATR, Governance, Transformation, Ethics, Social Contract, and other associated concepts. The objectives in this chapter were to establish links between the concepts and also formulate constructs that would be helpful in the analysis of data. Although the fields of study regarding governance and ATR are wide and seemingly unrelated, it has been established that ATR has inherent governance characteristics. These characteristics comprise important subject matter for political science, governance studies, and religious studies in South Africa.

The first concept I examined was African Traditional Leadership (ATL). ATL has been institutionalised in South Africa's progressive constitution, which informs a type of relationship with local government structures. The next concept defined was ATR. This study cannot do justice to intricacies of ATR. It will take numerous studies to unpack the complexities of ATR, and especially to ascertain how all those aspects relate to politics, governance and service delivery. Furthermore, ATR informs new theories of governance, ethics and morals.

The third concept that I studied was governance. I furthermore related governance with good governance and cooperative governance. Governance is critical for ensuring the achievement of service delivery and transformation in South Africa. Transformation and ethics were the last two concepts which I scrutinised. Both these concepts are intertwined in governance, with transformation being a governance goal, and ethics being a way of ensuring good governance. The following chapters will build on the theories and concepts examined in this chapter.

Chapter 3: African Traditional Religion in Governance Case Studies

Chapter 3 expands on the importance of ATR in South African governance through a specific case study surrounding the actions and declarations of President Cyril Ramaphosa in recent times, together with the associated actions and initiatives taken by previous post-apartheid presidents and leaders. The case study background reflects on contemporary issues in South Africa, such as the decolonisation of education, to examine the return to traditional African values.

In the second case study, I expand on the religious concept of the “spirit of ubuntu” and how it has fundamentally influenced service delivery and governance approaches in South Africa.

3.1 Case Study 1: The Importance of ATR for South African Governance Leaders

3.1.1 Background

South Africa is an African country, first and foremost. It has experienced the same colonialism as other African countries have, but in addition, it has experienced apartheid. It is an accepted fact that that ‘apartheid’ had been practised in South Africa since 1652, whether under Dutch or British colonial rule (Schwella 2015:142). However, apartheid was formalised and institutionalised in the country after the advent of the National Party’s rule in 1948. It was declared a “dehumanising and evil” form of governance by the UN General Assembly in 1973. Apartheid was the result of a set of beliefs and values that was held by the government of the time and of the historical beliefs of countries that were involved in the slave trade and other human rights atrocities against Africans, specifically, and other indigenous people.

Apartheid was supported by similar values, and perhaps goals of monetary benefit, that were held by other countries. Regrettably, these philosophies and values that permeated throughout society impacted negatively through inequalities, creating a milieu for the cultivation of poverty and placing one race’s interests above another’s. Our country has been riddled with leaders who have followed selfish ideologies. Alas, this has become part of the current government’s characteristics, which will hopefully be improved through the leadership of President Cyril Ramaphosa.

South Africa bears gruesome cargo as it navigates its way through a young democracy towards attaining political transformation and a better country to live in. The gruesome cargo includes a heritage of colonial rule, apartheid heritage, inequality, poverty, no education, injustices and un-democratic behaviour, which is, however, still with us and is being sustained by the immoral and unethical leadership. It is clear that President Cyril Ramaphosa is seeking a return to the foundational values of the ANC, which might limit corrupt and unethical behaviour of leaders. Ramaphosa has stated:

“We want to go back to the value system that guided their lives so that we root out all of the bad things that have crept into our movement and the body politic of our country. We are determined to root out corruption in our ranks as it undermines our people. By doing this, we will also be strengthening the ANC.”
(IOL 2018:n.p.).

The ANC Government decided that 2018 would be the year in which it will honour the memory of President Nelson Mandela because it wants to “reconnect with people and go back to its roots” (Manyathela, 2018:n.p.). The roots and values referred to include all those listed in the Freedom Charter of 1955 and the South African Constitution, 1996, and also include fundamental values such as Ubuntu and the ethics flowing from it. The values of previous African leaders were mainly permeated by African Traditional Culture and Religion. Some of the leaders, for example President Nelson Mandela, were exposed to the Christian faith and doctrine, although he still regarded African Traditional Religion as primary, because it was his father’s religion (Mandela, 1995:2). Oyeshile (2003:1) reasons that the absence of appreciation of some African political values by new African leaders at independence was a “flaw in the political arrangements subsequently set up in most African States”. He further states that although these social-ethical values “cannot act as a grand solution to present political crises”, they can offer several ways out of the current political pandemonium and play a role in “engendering a workable polity” in Africa (Oyeshile, 2003:1&2). President Ramaphosa’s current sentiments to change the ruling party include a call to return to traditional African social-ethical values and to celebrate Africanness. In his keynote address at the 19th African Renaissance Conference, May 2017, he exclaimed:

Long after the overthrow of colonial rule, imperialism and racial prejudice prevented our historical wounds from properly healing and for us to freely march

forward to progress. It was Frantz Fanon who said: “Imperialism leaves behind germs of rot which we must clinically detect and remove from our land but from our minds as well.”

A more humane and just world cannot blossom without an African renaissance, without embracing African values and without a proper appreciation of African aspirations” (Ramaphosa, 2017:2).

The embracing of African values includes a “decolonisation mindset”. In other words, prioritising the Afrocentric agenda above that of the Eurocentric, and might I add, the American-centric agenda.

3.1.2 Decolonisation of Education in South Africa: A micro-precedent for macro-cultural revival?

Decolonisation has been a contemporary discourse in media, social media and political corridors in South Africa over the last few years. This new sense of “Black Consciousness” and “Anti-Imperialism” has been avidly displayed through movements such as “#rhodesmustfall” (referring to Cecil John Rhodes’ statue and principles), “#freeeducation and related campus activisms. These actions by students are reminiscent of the Black Consciousness Movement which was an “influential student movement in the 1970s in Apartheid South Africa”. Under the leadership of Steve Biko, the Black Consciousness Movement “promoted a new identity and politics of racial solidarity and became the voice and spirit of the anti-apartheid movement” (Thompson, 2017:n.p.).

The campus activism activities have put the spotlight especially on the educational system that is still pervaded with colonial curricula and history (Johnson, 2015:n.p.). Furthermore, these actions have initiated a significant public discourse in terms of what it means to “decolonise education”. Wingfield (2017:1) explains that the decolonisation of education means that “a nation must become independent with regard to the acquisition of knowledge skills, values, beliefs and habits”. This could imply, for an example, that African languages should be developed into academic languages, which will make a significant impact on the education system and allow people to receive education in their own language. However, the decolonisation of education should not be construed to mean, as one student put it, that “for decolonised

education to be introduced, the existing system must be overthrown and the people it's supposed to serve must define it for themselves" (Wingfield, 2017:1).

Some issues such as the decolonisation of education have been lying dormant in South Africa. I find it interesting that South Africans are so surprised by the current events. The discourse is not a new one. An example is President Nelson Mandela's statement:

"The education I received was a British education, in which British ideas, British culture, British institutions, were automatically assumed to be superior. There was no such thing as African culture" (Mandela, 1995:2).

In another example, Vilakazi (in Makgoba, 1999:202) contended that a crisis exists in African education. His contentions were made as part of the discourse of the African Renaissance, with a focus on the problem of African Universities. Vilakazi (in Makgoba, 1999:202) explains:

"The biggest problem with education in Africa is that with the conquest of Africa by Europe, Africa was denied the status of a civilisation comparable, say, to Chinese, Indian or Western Civilisations. When we speak of China, India ... (w)e have in mind a complex culture: language or languages; religion; a world view; a pattern of historical experience; a certain technology...a certain body of knowledge ...".

He continues to explain that the intellectuals in a civilisation have historically acted as the voice of the people in that civilisation, but tragically, western-educated Africans became lost and irrelevant as intellectuals. They "absconded from Africa" and did not play a role as developers in the continent (Makgoba, 1999:203).

Similarly, ATR has experienced a lack of applicable academic works. This is mainly attributable to the fact that ATR has no canons, system of theology, and no clerical institutions. It is a product of oral culture (Bennett, 2011a:X). Since the writings of Mbiti (1969), ATR has benefited from writings of various scholars, although some have criticised certain practices, such as the veneration of ancestors and the use of "muthi" (traditional medicine) in traditional healing. Seeing that there is little distinction between the sacred and the secular, and between the natural and the supernatural, in ATR, the new African cultural revival discourse will certainly be accentuated by ATR.

3.1.3 ATR in Pre-Democratic South Africa

In pre-democratic South Africa, African Traditional Religion was “allowed” or “tolerated”, but within the context of guiding legislation such as the Witchcraft Suppression Act, 3 of 1957, and the Witchcraft Suppression Amendment Act, 50 of 1970. These Acts meant that traditional healers could not in theory practise their trade, which was therefore illegal (Denis, 2006:312). Although it was “tolerated” by the apartheid government, it did not enjoy the recognition as a true religion in South Africa. The Constitution and the post-apartheid political agenda are, however, creating a conducive atmosphere for ATR to flourish in. This can be derived from the actions of the recent ANC top leadership, as seen in past President Jacob Zuma’s traditional behaviour and decision-making style, past President Thabo Mbeki’s African Renaissance, and past President Nelson Mandela’s spirit of ubuntu.

3.1.4 Leading Party in Government consults ancestors for guidance and wisdom

South Africa has witnessed total transparency from newly appointed President Cyril Ramaphosa regarding the consulting of ancestors. He publicly stated that the top six leaders of the “ANC will do what Africans do in the face of misfortune”, which is to “go back to ancestors to talk to them”. During a press conference after his election as new ANC President, he explained why the party’s top officials were going to visit the graves of previous ANC leader. “We visited Rubusana’s grave to ask for a way forward,” he said. Other leaders’ graves visited were those of Oliver Tambo, John Dube, Albert Luthuli and Nelson Mandela. The ANC spokesperson, Zizi Kodwa, told the press in January 2018 that “this will be a call on the dead to continue guiding the ANC as it is headed for a new start”. Ramaphosa and other ANC leaders visited Nelson Mandela’s grave in Qunu “to draw wisdom” (Sidima and Feketha, 2018:n.p.).

President Ramaphosa is not the only South African president who has consulted ancestors for guidance. Another example was seen when President-elect Jacob Zuma appealed to his ancestors for a victory during the 2012 ANC presidential race (Mhlophe, 2012:n.p.). This was done during a ceremony in which a cow was slaughtered and the ancestors were petitioned to help President-elect Zuma win the election. An elder of the Zuma tribe pleaded with the ancestors:

“You are the ones who chose him among us to lead the country and you cannot forsake him in Mangaung” (Mhlophe, 2012:n.p.).

Another example of past President Zuma’s traditional values was seen in his endorsement of African Traditional courts, by stating that problems should be resolved “the African way, not the white man’s way”. Although his statement caused an uproar in the legal sector, this “approach” was legally embraced by the Traditional Courts Bill of 2017 (Laing, 2012:n.p.). This Bill aims to rectify the provisions of the Black Administration Act, 1927, and former homeland legislation which are in sheer conflict with the Constitution (RSA, 2017). Naki (2018:n.p.) explains that past President Zuma’s political agenda was set on traditional values and that he stood for the “ignored members of society”, which made him popular, and is still keeping him popular, among traditionalists. Past President Zuma’s belief in the power and authority of ancestors was further displayed when he issued a warning that if the land issue is not resolved, South Africa will experience a civil war, and that “black people will be punished by their ancestors”.

3.1.5 The reality of ATR in South Africa

Due to the progressive nature of the South African Constitution, the freedom exists to practise religion. This has enabled a stronger platform for a religion such as ATR to grow. The Bill of Rights, in Chapter 2 of the Constitution, states that “everyone has the right to freedom of religion, belief and opinion”. The equality clause in Section 9 “prohibits unfair discrimination on various grounds including religion” (RSA 1996:5&7). Africans are notoriously religious (Mbiti, cited by Pityana in Makgoba 1999:138). This means that Africans cannot separate daily life from religious life. They depend on their belief system, rituals and practices to make their lives meaningful. According to Pityana (in Makgoba, 1999:138), there is no value outside this lifestyle and this remains true for people in South Africa today. Caring for the daily wellbeing of ancestors is the primary reason why African Traditionalists zealously sustain their religion (Light, 2012:110). Therefore, if something goes wrong in their daily lives, questions will be raised regarding how they might have disrupted or disregarded the wellbeing of ancestors. Mhlophe (2013:301) explains that the “dead are held in high regard” in Africa and that speaking poorly of them will bring upon you the fury of many people in Africa. Gehman (1989, in Light, 2012:111) explains that African people

experience fear or anxiety due to not pleasing ancestors, the presence of evil spirits, and malicious witches or sorcerers.

Although many African people might claim to be Christian (or followers of other religions), religious syncretism is prevalent in South Africa (Mhlophe, 2013:302). This is especially true in the case of Christianity and ATR, and is mainly attributable to the mid-nineteenth century missionary work of missionaries such as Anglican Bishop John William Colenso; Rufus Anderson, the secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; and Protestant missionary, William Charles Willoughby. They took an enlightened position that African people are not atheists but practised a natural religion, which forms a basis on which Christianity can be built (Denis, 2006:312).

Mbiti (1975, cited in Bennett, 2011a:7) explains that ATR is not superstition, but rather the manifestation of people's response to situations in their life and how they reflect upon experiences. Defining ATR as being superstitious is seen as derogatory. Superstition is defined as "excessively credulous belief in and reverence for the supernatural" (Oxford Online Dictionary, 2018:n.p.). Ramaphosa (2017:2) exclaims that the African belief system, customs and traditions should not be "ridiculed as superstitious and a hindrance to development". Pityana (in Makgoba, 1999:139), on the other hand, reasons that because of the nature of the past inequalities, African people in South Africa have developed a dependency syndrome and as result, there is an exaggerated reliance on superstition or religion to both solve daily challenges and prevent possible future calamities arising. The observers of ATR will, therefore, avoid calamity by revering ancestors. Although ATR is not an institutionalised religion such as Christianity, ATR is real for many Africans in South Africa. Ancestors are as real to them as Jesus is for Christians. This is one of the reasons why the President and top ANC officials visited the graves of deceased ANC leaders and called upon them for wisdom. Mhlophe (2012:315) reckons that endeavours exist in South Africa to formalise and institutionalise ATR, which is seen in the formation of cultural groups such as traditional healers' associations and associations of traditional leaders.

3.1.5.1 African Renaissance and Contradictions with the spirit of ubuntu?

Past President Thabo Mbeki coined the term 'African Renaissance' in 1997, when serving as vice-president. Although Mbeki was seen more as a "modernist" than a

“traditionalist” like Zuma, his African Renaissance initiative encouraged South Africans to embrace an African Identity within a non-compromising democratic governance framework. The African Renaissance sought to set out an inspiring vision and lay down policy actions that could create the conditions for Africa’s rebirth (Adebajo, 2016:n.p.). Mbeki’s African Renaissance had as its central goal the right of African people to determine their own future. However, Adebajo (2016:n.p.) reasons that the African Renaissance is bereft of applicable policy content and that current leaders create an environment for “cultural schizophrenia” in that only black citizens are referred to as African.

A negative blow to the African Renaissance, “Africanness” and the spirit of ubuntu was experienced through the outbreaks of xenophobic violence between 2008 and 2015. Past President Zuma’s governance was harshly criticised by various international human rights groups. The Human Rights Watch reported on various human rights infringements in South Africa in its 2017 world report (HRW, 2017:n.p.). Contradictory to the spirit of ubuntu and the foundation of ATR, Zulu King, Goodwill Zwelithini, told foreigners to “pack their bags and go home”. This incident was classified by the SAHRC as perpetuating discrimination against foreigners, as a result of which seven people were killed and 5000 people were displaced (HRW 2017:n.p.). The irony and misery in these incidents arise from the fact that black Africans were directly affected. Maybe this is one of the “foreign tendencies” that President Ramaphosa referred to as “riddling the ANC and which requires ancestors’ intervention” (Sidima and Feketha, 2018:n.p.).

African Traditional Religion has been benefiting from the endeavours of “South African government and Africanist intellectual circles to protect promote and scientifically validate indigenous knowledge” (Denis, 2006:314). These endeavours are carried out as part of the agenda of the African Renaissance philosophy and are recognised by the promulgation of legislation to preserve African traditions and rectify past wrongs. Nyaundi (in Bennet, 2011a:15) explains that ATR does not enjoy an obvious place in the national order, and that the relationship between state and ATR can best be described as “ambivalent”. This means that the South Africa government “does not openly promote traditional beliefs, nor does it openly oppose them” (2011a:15). Although it is true that the South African government does not openly oppose religion or promote any religion, recent actions by President Ramaphosa do show an

inclination towards ATR and indicate that the ANC government requires the wisdom and guidance of ancestors to lead the country into the “new dawn”. The current drive to decolonise Africa and realise the rebirth of Africa requires a recommitment to original ATR beliefs and values.

3.1.5.2 *Governing South Africa and Appeasing the Ancestors*

The actions and decelerations of President Cyril Ramaphosa shortly after his election as the President of the ANC clearly indicate that he is a follower or observer of African Traditional Religion. As derived from his statements in public and during the 2018 State of the Nation Address, he strongly indicates that the ruling party, which is also the majority party in parliament, will look towards ancestor intervention and wisdom for improving how the ANC is governed and how it governs (Sidima and Feketha, 2018:n.p.).

The approach shown by President Ramaphosa is reminiscent of the African Renaissance philosophy as discussed above. The African Renaissance became part of the ideology of the ANC. The African Renaissance refers to a revival of an “Africa of hope and prosperity”, which implies a “positive vision” of Africa as a “peaceful, democratic and market-orientated region that will attract foreign trade and investment, as well as the return of thousands of talented Africans and billions of flight capital now in safe havens abroad” (Louw, 2000:4). A simpler definition is a return to, and the revival of, African cultural roots. The foundation of African cultural roots lies within ATR.

During the 19th African Renaissance Conference, in May 2017, then Vice-President Cyril Ramaphosa referred to the African identity and emphasised the turbulent past, which substantiates the African Renaissance:

“To realise Africa’s ability to give birth to a world with a more human face we carry the responsibility to confront the colonial limitations that were imposed upon us. Through brute force, through the plunder of resources, through the enslavement of minds and bodies, Africans were stripped of their humanity and dignity. For the absurd colonial project to prosper, we were reduced to unimaginative, primitive savages who were merely content with subsistence living. Our belief systems, customs, and traditions were denigrated, frowned upon, and ridiculed as superstitious and a hindrance to development. Long after

the overthrow of colonial rule, imperialism and racial prejudice prevented our historical wounds from properly healing and for us to freely march forward to progress”.

It is clear from this statement that President Ramaphosa has an ‘African-Nationalist Agenda’, which seeks the unity of all Africans, and not only of South Africa, in the quest for decolonisation. The “new dawn” includes an inclination towards traditional values and ensuring that African people are proud of their heritage. He further states:

“In our quest to root out the evils of poverty, unemployment and inequality, in our pursuit for an equitable economic renaissance, we must simultaneously plant the seeds of Africa’s cultural revolution”.

What are these seeds of Africa's cultural revolution? President Ramaphosa does not name these seeds, but it could be derived from his speech that the seeds refer to knowledge of true African Identity; South Africa’s shared affinity with civilisations such as Egypt, Timbuktu, Mapungubwe and Great Zimbabwe; knowledge of ancient ruins; African Unity; and a return to an African belief system, customs and traditions. The main aim of such a cultural revolution seems to be to uproot colonial or Eurocentric thinking from the African school of thought and to rid Africans of the “moral decay attributed to the West” (Teffo, in Makgoba, 1999:149).

Ntuli (in Makgoba, 1999:185) reasons that the traditional African world view can be used as a conceptual tool to analyse the current situation in South Africa. This world view is rooted in the veneration of ancestors. He further contends that the transformation of education regarding Africa will help African people “regain their pride, dignity and identity” and that a “body of African knowledge system – both contemporary and indigenous” – is required for an African cultural transformation (Makgoba, 1999:198). Derived from President Ramaphosa’s sentiments and the cited authors, a foundational step for the African cultural revolution is to transform the methods and approaches of how the current generation obtains knowledge, especially about the historical African narrative and African roots.

President Ramaphosa concluded his key note address with the following statement:

“Let me plead with you, lovers of my Africa, to carry with you into the world the vision of a new Africa, an Africa reborn, an Africa rejuvenated, an Africa re-

created, young Africa. We are the first glimmers of a new dawn." (Ramaphosa 2017:7)

As newly elected President, he reiterated the same sentiment in the SONA 2018 address by referring to the "new dawn", which is inspired by the late President Mandela's memory and the current transformation transpiring in South Africa (SONA 2018:n.p.). Motshekga (2018:n.p.) explains that President Ramaphosa's "new dawn" vision refers in particular to the "African redemption or liberation that underpinned the Ethiopian (or Black African) theology which catalysed the birth of African nationalism". The philosophy of the "new dawn" is therefore rooted in African theology, which also informs the African Renaissance and the governing party's ideology. President Ramaphosa emphasised the point that the ANC will call on the dead to continue guiding the ANC as it is headed for a "new start" (Sidima and Feketha, 2018:n.p.).

The members of the top leadership of South Africa are not secretively practising a religion that is still seen as a taboo; rather, they are exerting their right to freedom of religion as promoted by the South Africa Constitution. The influence that ATR practices will have on the governance in the near future will be seen through the actions of the President and his leadership team. The influence will sprout from the values they promote and the ethics that guide them, and will depend on whether the spirit of ubuntu will be applied to a selected race or not.

The current land reform initiative will reflect greatly on whether ATR principles are aligned with constitutional values and the proposed amendments of section 25 of the Constitution. The question is whether the spirit of ubuntu will prevail.

3.2 Case Study 2: “Batho Pele: An African Tradition that forms the basis of redressing service delivery in South Africa”

In this section, I provide a case study of Batho Pele and its value to governance and service delivery in South Africa. The case study sheds light on the origins of Batho Pele and how it relates to fundamental ATR beliefs.

3.2.1 Background of Batho Pele

African countries differ in the ways in which they approach the setting of service standards for better governance within their public services. South Africa has been at the forefront of developing an approach to enhance service delivery. The main concept in South Africa is called “Batho Pele”, which means “People First”. The underlying principle of the public service in South Africa is “service delivery to the people” (RSA, 1997:9). The South Africa Government developed and published the transformation principles in the White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery (Batho Pele White Paper) in October 1997.

The main objective of the White Paper is to “provide a policy framework and a practical implementation strategy for the transformation of Public Service Delivery” (RSA 1997:1). Batho Pele is a method that can exert “pressure on systems, procedures, attitudes and behaviour within the Public Service ... an approach which puts the people first (RSA, 1997:12).

Batho Pele consists of eight principles, which were developed during Nelson Mandela’s administration. The principles capture the essence of transforming public services. They are aligned to the Constitution (RSA, 1996), which requires government officials and public servants to be “polite, open and transparent and to deliver good service to the public” (Batho Pele Handbook, 2003:8). The eight principles are:

“1. Consultation: Citizens should be consulted about the level and quality of the public services they receive and, wherever possible, should be given a choice about the services that are offered.

2. Service standards: Citizens should be told what level and quality of public service they will receive so that they are aware of what to expect.

3. *Access: All citizens should have equal access to the services to which they are entitled.*

4. *Courtesy: Citizens should be treated with courtesy and consideration.*

5. *Information: Citizens should be given full accurate information about the public services they are entitled to receive.*

6. *Openness and transparency: Citizens should be told how national and provincial departments are run, how much they cost and who is in charge.*

7. *Redress: If the promised standard of service is not delivered, citizens should be offered an apology, a full explanation and a speedy and effective remedy; and when complaints are made, citizens should receive a sympathetic, positive response.*

8. *Value for money: Public services should be provided economically and efficiently in order to give citizens the best possible value for money”¹.*

The Batho Pele Revitalisation Strategy represents a framework within which efforts are made to intensify the Batho Pele campaign. It is supported by four pillars, namely²:

- Re-engineering and improving the back-office operations of government;
- Re-engineering and improving the front-office operations of government;
- Internal communication; and
- External communication.

Batho Pele principles not only imply a new mode of governance, but form a foundation for developing service delivery standards, which must be recorded in a Service Delivery Improvement Plan (SDIP). Each Ministry/Department must have an SDIP that contains specific activities for improving services. The DPSA provides the following questions as guidelines towards developing an SDIP:

- Who are our Service Beneficiaries?
- Where are we now?

1 <http://localgovernmentaction.org.dedi6.cpt3.host-h.net/content/batho-pele-principles>

2 http://www.dpsa.gov.za/dpsa2g/documents/tenders/DPSA002_2015/DPSA%20SDIP%20Step-by-Step%20Guide%20Manual%20march%202013.pdf

- What are our KEY services? (The most benefit to the largest number of people.)
- What are our current standards for those key services? (Quantity, Quality, Time and Cost.)
- Where do our service beneficiaries want us to be (in terms of key services and standards)?
- What is the service 'gap'?
- How do we address the 'gap'?
- How do we make it happen?
- What rewards/incentives will we offer?

At the core of the transformation of governance and public services is the human factor, people first – Batho Pele. Therefore, the main concept for transforming the governance arm of South Africa originated from the ATR concept of community and the importance of people.

3.2.2 Making Batho Pele Tangible through Governance Institutions

To comprehend the environment in which governance operates, a better understanding of the meaning of separation of powers is required (Mojapelo, 2013:1). It is referred to as the doctrine of the separation of powers and refers to demarcated duties and authority allocated to distinctive institutions at different levels (national, provincial and local), within the three branches of government, which are the:

- Legislative Authority – mandated to make, amend and repeal rules of law;
- Executive Authority – has the power to execute and enforce rules of law; and
- Judicial Authority – has the power to adjudicate matters which can be resolved through the application of law (Schwella, 2015:170).

Essentially, the three branches, as established through the Constitution, ensure that no one is above the law and that there are limitations on the powers of government. The doctrine of separation of powers is a main characteristic of the Constitution (Schwella, 2015:166). National government departments are the main custodians of service delivery and must ensure the implementation of legislation through appropriate policies and mechanisms for service delivery.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, governance in South Africa experiences the complex dynamic of cooperative governance and intergovernmental relations (IGR), which have a direct relationship with Traditional Leadership. These two concepts are essential mechanisms for enabling the state to achieve its mandate in the Constitution (RSA, 1996:n.p.). The Constitution incorporates the principle of community involvement at ground level, which is aligned to an original value of the Freedom Charter that “the people will govern” (Freedom Charter, 1955:1). Essentially, Batho Pele enhances the democratic experience of South African citizens. (An evaluation of whether Batho Pele is succeeding in its goal will be discussed in Chapter 4). Schwella (2015:22) argues that the public sector is a significant element of governance. One must be able to measure the quality of governance through the public sector.

As part of the executive arm of governance, the public service needed to be transformed to become more “ubuntu” orientated and to meet the expectations of the Constitution (RSA, 1996), which are that:

- “a high standard of professional ethics be promoted and maintained;
- services be provided impartially, fairly’, equitably and without bias;
- resources be utilised efficiently, economically and effectively;
- peoples’ needs be responded to;
- the public be encouraged to participate in policy-making; and
- it be accountable, transparent and development-oriented”. (RSA, 1997:10)

The spirit of ubuntu, as a foundational constitutional value, has been incorporated into government strategic plans, service delivery plans, cooperative governance concepts, and local government public participation models. The main governance actor in ensuring Batho Pele is achieved is the public service. Hence, Batho Pele has become a guiding principle for government departments in efforts to transform governance and service delivery.

Delegated authority has been given to the provincial legislatures, by which a scenario is created in South Africa where national law can co-exist with provincial law. The provincial legislatures have jurisdiction over their geographical areas in terms of Schedules 4 and 5 of the Constitution. There are nine provinces in South Africa, which are headed by Premiers and Members of the Executive Council (MECs) who are

political heads of departments. Each province has the responsibility to ensure to formulate a “Provincial Growth and Development Strategy (PGDS)” that sets out the overall provincial service delivery framework.

Within the nine provinces, a further geo-political division is found in terms of local government. “This sphere of government is closest to the people” (Schwella, 2015:175). There are various municipal districts which are divided into various municipal areas. The District Municipalities consist of various Local Municipalities. Although the municipalities have autonomy over matters pertaining to their communities, this is still subject to national and provincial laws (Schwella, 2015:175).

Local government is assigned with specific objectives by the Constitution, which are to:

- Provide democratic and accountable government to communities;
- Ensure sustainable service delivery;
- Promote socio-economic development;
- Promote a safe and healthy environment;
- Encourage public participation in local government matters (Constitution, 1996:s 152)

Municipalities are at the coalface of service delivery and are also the sphere of government in which most governance challenges are experienced. Local governments have the people at their front doors. Therefore, the value of Batho Pele becomes much more tangible and relevant at the local government level.

3.2.3 Batho Pele is the spirit of Ubuntu

The Batho Pele concept directly relates to the meaning behind “ubuntu”. As discussed in Chapter 2, ubuntu (*botho/batho*) is the foundational ethical value of ATR. Ubuntu’s obvious English translations are “humanity“, "personhood" and "humaneness", but ubuntu has a more holistic meaning within African Culture. Bennett (2011:31) expands on the meaning of ubuntu within the legal context of South Africa and suggests that the concept of ubuntu would be better understood when the ways and the contexts within which it is used are considered. The exact origins of the use of the word cannot be determined, but it made a public appearance as part of an *Inkhata* slogan in the

1920s that was used in an effort to revive respect for traditional Zulu values. From there, ubuntu found its way into the business and theological dialogues, where it was applied to “package decision-making in the appearance of traditional African values” (Bennett, 2011:32). Ubuntu sets the framework for ATR ethical values, which can be summarised as meaning that an individual has a responsibility towards others and to do more than the minimum that is expected (Bennett, 2011a:223&228). Amusan and Mchunu (2017:2) refer to “Batho Pele” and “Ubuntu” as “twin principles” which are the “representation of the values meant to permeate through South African society”.

The concept of ubuntu became a guiding principle of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). Commenting on the success behind the TRC, Canadian philosopher John Ralston Saul concluded that there was no clear explanation for the success. However, he concedes that the Christian and human outlook of the Chairperson, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, contributed to the success and that he “very consciously evoked pre-European African concepts such as Ubuntu to establish a personal and national sense of justice” (Saul, 2001, cited in Bennett, 2011a:224-225). Bennett (2011:38) provides an example of case law, *Joseph and Others v City of Johannesburg and Others*, in which the Constitutional Court linked “fair and respectful administrative action” to Batho Pele. The Constitutional Court judge stated:

“Batho Pele gives practical expression to the constitutional value of ubuntu, which embraces the relational nature of rights”.

In an appeal addressed to courts to “move beyond the common-law conception of rights as strict boundaries of individual entitlement”, the judge remarked:

“... Batho Pele indicated an equivalence of “citizen” and “customer” for the purposes of the public service (especially because the customers have no choice in service provider).”

3.2.4 Governance in a New Cultural Revival

Batho Pele creates a platform for advocating cultural awareness which will be of benefit to the governance of South Africa. Schneider and Barsoux (cited, in Mullins 2010:24) advocate culture awareness and state:

“Each country has its unique institutional and cultural characteristics, which can provide sources of competitive advantage at one point, only to become liabilities

when the environment changes. Managers therefore need to evaluate the extent to which national culture can interfere with their company's efforts to respond to strategic requirements, now and in the future" (Mullins, 2010:24).

This is true for government institutions. Governance leaders need to be aware of cross-cultural differences and be able to adapt within a transforming environment. The ability to adapt to changes is a skill that is lacking within South Africa's public service. Cross-cultural awareness could benefit government institutions "by increasing self-awareness, sensitivity to differences, questioning own assumptions and knowledge, and lessening ignorance, prejudice and hatred" (Mullins, 2010:26).

3.3 Conclusion

This dissertation does not aim to prove whether ATR is a false or valid religion, but rather to create an awareness of the fact that our country's leaders do use religious practices to "improve" or "transform" their leadership and, ultimately, governance in South Africa.

South Africa's top leaders are followers of ATR. Seeing that ATR followers do not make a distinction between the spiritual and secular worlds, decision-making and actions by the leaders will be guided by their ATR values. Is this a bad thing? The answer is probably 'no' in the context of a neutral perspective. However, other religious and non-religious groups could question the actions and declarations of the leaders as being against the Constitutional principles of freedom of religion and equality. The actions of the current leadership can be compared to the apartheid government's actions in asking God for guidance. The first uses "Sangomas", whilst the latter used "Dominees" (Pastors).

Furthermore, transformations of governance and service delivery are occurring through the fundamental twin principles of Ubuntu and Batho Pele. It has been proven that ubuntu is a religious concept, which is a foundational value of our constitution. In the same sense, Batho Pele is derived from the "humanness" concept of ubuntu. Therefore, Batho Pele's roots are also situated in African Traditional Religion.

The hope is that the awareness on ATR and associated traditions and culture will create a questioning of one's own assumptions and knowledge, and thereby reduce ignorance, prejudice and hatred among citizens. Gaining an understanding of the

value of ATR to Africans might change the paradigms in which Christians, European descendants, non-religious groups, and other religions perceive Black African People. The reciprocal is also hoped for, in that ATR followers will stay true to the foundational ethical value of ubuntu, which is akin to the Christian value of agape love or the Hindu belief of dharma (Bennett, 2011:47).

There must, however, come a time when a number of ATR followers ask the introspective question of whether a person can be both an ATR follower and a Christian at the same time – analogous to the case where a person cannot be a follower of Islam and Christ at the same time.

Chapter 4: Evaluation and Interpretation of African Traditional Religion in South African Governance

In Chapter 4, the focus is placed on the evaluation and interpretation of the information at hand. Both the information and the sources are evaluated. I will also provide an evaluation of the approach and methodology adopted for the research study.

4.1 Evaluation of African Traditional Leadership & Religion

ATR, in this research study, should be understood in the context of South Africa and associated with Sub-Saharan Africa. As derived from Section 2.3, African Traditional Religion is not an exact science and is still vastly lacking in academic literature that conceptualises it in relation to governance, law, public services and other matters of government. Even in the cases where literature is available, most studies have been produced by Eurocentric scholars and theologians, who had “less regard for the authenticity of the beliefs than ATR adherents” (Bennett, 2011:8).

African Traditional Leadership (ATL), on the other hand, has received valuable attention in the sense that it is constitutionally and legally recognised in South Africa through the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act, 41 of 2003 (RSA, 2003). The information available on ATL provides valuable perspectives for formulating a conceptualisation of ATR in relation to governance. Furthermore, findings from research regarding the values, beliefs and leadership approaches of the presidents of our new democratic dispensation shed light on the integration of ATR into politics and governance. I hold the view that acquiring an improved knowledge of ATR practices will help us to better understand our leadership figures and their decisions. It must, however, also be understood that our leaders do not always make decisions based on their religious backgrounds, which I define as the *political-religious ethical conflict*.

In the endeavour to better understand African Leadership and Religion, we must acknowledge the existence thereof and the important role these concepts play in Southern African social structures. Based on various items of Christian academic literature, African religion has been deemed as being “irrational”, “witchcraft” and “superstitious” (Bennett, 2011:9&11). Although practices such as the veneration of ancestors and the questionable traditional “muthi” practices in ATR remain debatable

and research-worthy matters, ATR is recognised as a religion in South Africa. This gives ATR the same constitutional protection as other religions, although some practices in ATR are still seen as harmful and impinging on human and animal rights.

4.1.1 Rejection of ATR Practices in South Africa

An unbiased approach towards religion was required during this research to ensure that an objective view could be formed without being overly critical towards the practices and traditions within ATR. It is necessary, though, to critique some customs, rituals and beliefs in relation to the Bill of Rights, ethical values and laws, as guided by the Constitution (RSA, 1996). ATR has been an accommodative religion in terms of followers being able to adhere to Christian practices. Christian purists will, however, reject opposing beliefs, principles and practices drawn from ATR.

It is important to understand why ATR has been rejected or opposed by other religions, especially Christianity, seeing that almost 80% of South Africans have indicated that they adhere to the Christian faith. The opposition and misunderstanding of ATR have intensified the already existing conflicts and tensions in the country. The primary reason Christianity rejects ATR is the fact that ATR adherents do not see Jesus Christ as “the way, the truth and the life” and the only way to God the Father (as per John 14:6). I have concluded through that the other main two factors that have led to the conflict with and rejection of ATR are the veneration of ancestors and witchcraft-related practices, which are deemed “demonic”, “evil” and “idolatry” by Christians (Light, 2012:148-150; Mhlophe, 2013:273-280).

4.1.1.1 Veneration of Ancestors

Due to the abundance of literature available on Christian critiques regarding ATR’s practice of ‘veneration of ancestors’, it is appropriate to distinguish between the words ‘veneration’ and ‘worship’. When reference is made to the interaction of ATR adherents with ancestors, it is mostly referred to as “veneration”. Crafford (1996:16) points out that, on the one hand, some Protestant traditions “reject ancestral veneration as idolatry and superstition, a transgression of the first commandment”, although no “distinction is made between worship and veneration”. On the other hand, the Roman Catholic traditions have been more “accommodating, whereby ancestors have been recognised as mediators, in a way similar to that of the saints”.

Van Der Merwe (2008:40-44) makes several references to the concept of ancestral 'worship', rather than 'veneration'. In the same way, Van Der Toorn (1996:229, cited in Mulaudzi, 2013:92) equates the provision of food and libation to ancestors as ancestral worship. Mhlophe (2013:118) defines the word 'veneration' as giving much respect or honour to something, but he does not clearly state whether he equates it with worship. However, he cites Hamlyn (1971:16, cited in Mhlophe, 2013:118) who states that "reverence for or worship of the dead is found in all societies", which is likely a comparison of the two concepts at the same level.

This notion, however, is rejected by Mulaudzi (2013:92) who states that if ancestors were to be worshipped, then the role of God (or the Supreme Being) would be obsolete. Therefore, he reasons that ancestors are not worshipped. It is clear that some scholars (e.g. Van Der Merwe; Van Der Toorn; and Mhlophe) make no obvious distinctions between veneration and worship. A scholar such as Mulaudzi (2013:94), however, views these as two separate concepts with two different meanings. This viewpoint is similar to that of the Roman Catholic Church, which makes a distinction between worship and veneration. A distinction is made through the Greek terms "*doulia*" or Latin "*servitus*", which are theological terms denoting "the honour paid to the saints", while 'latria' means "the state of a hired servant", which denotes "worship given to God alone". Therefore, "*doulia*" is the veneration of saints, and "latria" the worship and adoration of God (Catholic Encyclopedia, 1911:n.p.).

Whatever meaning is assumed by non-ATR followers, the veneration of ancestors is a foundational practice in ATR. Their belief is that ancestors are close to the Supreme Being and they have supernatural powers and "limitless vision". Ancestors are further revered as a source of moral authority and they are believed to ward off evil spirits and bestow blessings on the living (Masondo, in Bennett, 2011:22-23). Therefore, African people desire to communicate with ancestors to obtain guidance and wisdom, especially in times of adversity. According to Ezenweke (2008:4), the interaction between ancestors and the living is continuous, through "dreams, appearances, visions, sounds, and incarnations through animals such as: birds, butterflies, bees, snakes, lions" and that "messages are received from them through diviners, mediums, medicine persons or priests".

Mhlophe (2013:306-307) reasons that even though South African statistics indicate that almost 80% of the South Africa population is Christian, Africans who are

Christians will still default to a “reverential relationship with ancestors in their hour of need”. African people also make it a priority to keep the ancestors appeased through various actions that are undertaken to remember them. Mhlophe (2013:231-235) provides some insights into the practices that are observed to keep ancestors appeased. He explains that, firstly, the dead are remembered through a ritual of slaughtering a goat “to incorporate and accompany” a person who has passed away into the world of the ancestors; and then an ox is slaughtered to call upon the spirit of the deceased as an ancestor to guard over the living relatives. Therefore, the ancestor’s passage to the world of the dead and new role is totally dependent on the whether the relatives complete these rituals.

It is believed, however, that ancestors will remind the living of their existence and their obligation towards them via “dreams or omens” and that ignorance will result in misfortune. Ancestors can also request a meal from the living through a dream, after which the relatives must respond by slaughtering a goat or ox and then eat the meal “on behalf of the ancestor” (Mhlophe, 2013:233). In the same way, ancestors can become thirsty and relatives respond by preparing a traditional brew or beverage to quench the ancestor’s thirst. The act of feeding ancestors is a sign of respect for ancestors and is performed to ensure their blessings (Mulaudzi, 2013:92). The reality is that ATR followers assign the ‘living properties’ to deceased ancestors as though they are still alive.

The veneration of ancestors relates to governance in the sense that the people governed by law in South Africa are first and foremost governed by their ATR beliefs. Therefore, adherence to what the ancestors want or advise will take preference over what any political leader or governing body suggests. A question still to be answered is what wisdom the ancestors imparted to President Cyril Ramaphosa when he visited the graves of six previous ANC leaders after he was elected as the President of the ANC.

The veneration of ancestors is not seen as “illegal” or “unconstitutional” in South Africa, although associated practices, such as the slaughtering of animals, have been questioned by animal rights groups. Specifically, some practices relating to “muthi”, which is directly associated with ATR, are rejected not only by Christians, but also by a wider audience in South Africa. Many of the ATR practices are still debated in terms

of their legality, such as use of rhino horns, dwarf chameleons, and the African rock python and other protected species in ATR health practices (Bennett, 2011:215).

4.1.1.2 Muthi

Muthi is a Zulu word that is loosely translated as “medicine”, but can also have the meaning of “poison”, depending on the intended use thereof (Labuschagne, 2004:192; Ashforth, 2005:212). Muthi is generally associated with traditional medicines or traditional healing techniques. The WHO defines Traditional Medicine as to

[Include] diverse health practices, approaches, knowledge and beliefs incorporating plant, animal and/or mineral based medicines, spiritual therapies, manual techniques and exercises applied singularly or in combination to maintain well-being, as well as to treat, diagnose or prevent illness. (Traditional Medicine Strategy, 2002-2005, cited in Richter, 2003:6).

“Traditional medicine and traditional healers form part of a broader field of study classified by medical anthropologists as ethnomedicine” (Richter, 2003:7). The practising of ethnomedicine is constitutionally recognised in South Africa under the Traditional Health Practitioners Act, 22 of 2007 (RSA, 2008). The Act aims, inter alia, to regulate and govern traditional healing practitioners and “to provide for a regulatory framework to ensure the efficacy, safety and quality of traditional health care services” (RSA, 2008:2). The WHO estimates that up to “80% of people make use of traditional medicine”, and that the ratio of traditional healers to the population is 1:500 and that medical doctors have a ratio of 1:40 000”. The Department of Health estimates that 200 000 traditional healers are active in South Africa (Hassim, Heywood and Berger, 2010:204).

The National Development Plan (‘NDP’) states that 28 million South Africans make use of traditional medicine and consult around 185 500 traditional medical practitioners. The NDP promotes the collaboration of the health industry with traditional healers and further states that the integration of traditional medicine into the national health care system has been limited (NDP, 2012:349).

Although muthi mixtures mainly contain herbs, plants, roots and animal parts, human body parts are also harvested for this purpose (Phelps, found in Bennett, 2011:145). According to Labuschagne (2004:193), the reason for using human body parts is because it is believed that these body parts hold more powers than “the usual

ingredients or methods used by the traditional healer as they contain the person's 'life essence'. Muthi is only administered or prepared by specialist traditional healers or herbalists (also known as Sangomas or Izinyangas) (Ashforth, 2005:228). The traditional healers also consult ancestors before the preparation of the muthi to find out what the causes of the problem are and what the most appropriate treatment should be (Labuschagne, 2004:193).

Muthi can be prepared for ailments, to ward off evil, or to do harm to someone, to the extent of killing that person (Phelps, found in Bennett, 2011:144). The latter category is generally associated with witchcraft practices, which had been suppressed by South African apartheid legislation, the Witchcraft Suppression Act, 3 of 1957, which is still relevant more than 20 years into the current democratic dispensation (RSA, 1957; SALRC 2016:2). However, parts of this Act have been contested as being unconstitutional by the South African Pagan Rights Alliance, in association with the Traditional Healers Association (Ward, 2016:n.p.). After review, parts of the Act were subsequently declared unconstitutional by the South African Law Commission in 2016, which proposed a draft bill called the "Prohibition of Harmful Practices Associated with Witchcraft Beliefs Bill" (SALRC, 2016:92). Within the SALRC review, specific mention is made of unlawful and harmful muthi-related practices involving the mutilation of bodies and removing of human body parts to be used in muthi (SALRC, 2016:36&42). Muthi murders and related crimes remain unlawful and are directly in contravention of the Bill of Rights contained in the Constitution. However, Labuschagne (2004:193) reminds us:

"It should not be assumed that in modern times such practices are sanctioned by the larger community. The majority of Africans and traditional healers do not condone such behaviour and associate it more with charlatans and evil traditional healers".

ATR, therefore, faces the same challenge as other religions do in warding off charlatans and imposters in their religion. ATR is still shrouded by mystery, misperceptions and stigmas, especially in terms of witchcraft-related activities. Although no statistics are available, the number of muthi-related murders in South Africa is indicative of the ongoing support and sustaining of this religious practice (Labuschagne, 2004:194).

Muthi relates to governance in the sense that the practice thereof is influencing or has influenced the review of current South Africa legislation, including the National Health Act, 61 of 2003, and the Traditional Health Practitioners Act, 22 of 2007, (RSA, 2003c; RSA, 2007). Furthermore, it must be realised that the majority of South African citizens are using traditional medicine, either out of choice or because of a lack of adequate and accessible health services in communities (Hassim et al., 2010:204). It might further mean that people do not have the money needed to access primary health care, which is indicative of poverty, and is a direct governance challenge for good governance. Based on the still limited knowledge and literature available within the academic field on muthi and its related practices, the education on the topic is a relevant governance challenge.

As mentioned, African people are governed first and foremost by ATR and traditional leadership. Elected and traditional leaders have a golden opportunity to impact positively on the transformation of the country, especially in the way in which the country is governed.

4.1.2 African Traditional Leadership and Governance

A debate regarding the legitimacy of, and need for, Africa's traditional leaders in modern society has been going on for decades. The role of traditional leadership has been a source of conflict and a governance challenge in Africa, especially between political and traditional leaders. At the heart of the conflict are the "traditionalist" and the "modernist" views. Traditionalists view their leadership as flexible and adaptable, with its strength lying in ancestor and historical roots. Furthermore, tradition is seen as the key strength to building communities and assist polity in achieving its goals. Tradition is acknowledged as being a power to eliminate the "failures of the Western liberal democratic model" being implemented in Africa (Logan, 2008:1). The modernists view traditional governance as "relics of the past that may actually impede democratic development" (Logan, 2008:1). The "modern" South African Constitution recognises "traditional" leadership. South Africa has progressive legislation in this regard, but it is a matter for investigation whether African Traditional Leadership is really a governance actor and whether the traditional leaders are adding transformational value to South Africa.

It was established in Chapter 2 that traditional leadership has a defined and recognised role in South Africa. The institution of traditional leadership in South Africa is recognised in section 212 of the Constitution (RSA, 1996). The Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Amendment Act, 41 of 2003, further institutionalises traditional leadership in South Africa (RSA, 2003d:1). This Act defines traditional leadership as the “customary institutions or structures, or customary systems or procedures of governance, recognised, utilised or practised by traditional communities”.

The comprehensive study done by Afrobarometer regarding African Traditional Leadership has revealed that traditional leaders in South Africa have a mixed reputation, after emerging from apartheid (refer to Section 1.2, Assumptions). This means that, on the one hand, some people view the traditional leaders as being corrupt participants with the government, whilst on the other hand, they are viewed as having “essential importance to the stability, solidarity and dignity of their communities” (Murray, 2004, cited in Logan, 2008:4). Mathonsi and Sithole (2017:38) support the view that the relationship between the South African government and traditional leadership is still fraught with contradiction, confusion and tension, notwithstanding the passing of the years since the advent of democracy.

The majority of the conflict is situated at local government level, where the South African Local Government Association (SALGA) frequently needs to intervene to resolve matters such as participation and remuneration of traditional leaders in municipal councils (Mathonsi and Sithole, 2017:38). The conflicting relationships between local government leaders, governance actors and traditional leaders are also attributable to the fact that the roles of these actors are not clearly defined, and this leads to overlapping in terms of authority and responsibilities (Bikam and Chakwiriza, 2014:143).

The roles of traditional leaders are provided for in the 1998 White Paper on Local Government and the White Paper on Traditional Leadership and Governance, 2003 (RSA 1998; RSA 2003e). The 1998 White Paper on Local Government lists the following responsibilities of a traditional leader, inter alia, to:

- “act as head of the traditional authority, and as such exercise limited legislative powers and certain executive and administrative powers;

- preside over customary law courts and maintain law and order;
- consult with traditional communities through imbizo/lekgotla,
- be a symbol of unity in the community; and
- be the custodian and protector of the community's customs and general welfare, and more." (RSA 1998).

In the view of the above, it can be derived that African Traditional Leadership, with the influence of ATR, has an extremely important role to play in the governance of South Africa, especially at the local levels. Another dimension that adds to the complexities of traditional leadership is that "only religious leaders are contacted more frequently by ordinary Africans in their efforts to solve their problems or express their views" (Logan, 2008:1). Estimates by the World Health Organization suggest that 70–80% of South Africans consult traditional healers (Bennett, 2011:184). Taking cues from President Ramaphosa's speeches (Ramaphosa, 2017; SONA, 2018) the "new dawn" contains strong elements of a return to stronger African Traditional values and emphasis of the Africanness agenda. These values are primarily based on ATR, which is essentially the identity of African people. The main aim of African Traditional leaders is to sustain traditional values such as ubuntu and the veneration of ancestors. Furthermore, taking cues from President Ramaphosa's actions (Chapter 3), respecting these ATR values is one of his priorities, which filters through to other executive political leaders.

The institutionalisation of African Traditional leadership in South Africa provides convincing evidence that a relationship between governance and the role of African Traditional leaders exist. However, with the profusion of executive authority at local levels, traditional leaders feel that their "territory is encroached" (Mathonsi and Sithole, 2017:41). I propose that South Africa has a dichotomous approach to traditional leadership, which can be summarised as 'recognised, but localised and marginalised'. In light of this, the impact of traditional leadership is more significant on communities than on the broader spectrum of the population. However, traditional beliefs guide most of the communities that form the majority of the voting public. Hence, it could be derived from the actions of the ANC that they are either true modern traditionalists, trying to maintain a balance between a modern democratic system and older

traditional structures, or their traditional actions constitute a pretence to maintain the majority of votes that they hold.

4.2 Evaluation of Governance

Governance is defined as bringing a multitude of actors into the governing arena, and is also the activity to ensure social cohesion and address the social injustices of the past.

4.2.1 South Africa Governance Overview as per the IIAG

This section contains an overview of recent statistics provided by the Mo Ibrahim Foundation on Governance in South Africa. According to the website of the Mo Ibrahim Foundation (MIF), it is an “African foundation, established in 2006 with one focus: the critical importance of governance and leadership for Africa (IIAG, 2017:n.p.). The MIF states that it is their “belief that governance and leadership lie at the heart of any tangible and shared improvement in the quality of life of African citizens”. The Mo Ibrahim Foundation defines governance as

“the provision of the political, social and economic public goods and services that every citizen has the right to expect from their state, and that a state has the responsibility to deliver to its citizens. In the IIAG, country performance in delivering governance is measured across four key components that effectively provide indicators of a country’s Overall Governance performance” (IIAG, 2017:n.p.).

The MIF provides statistics that are gathered from all African countries in terms of governance, which is divided into main categories, namely i) Safety & Rule of Law, ii) Participation & Human Rights, iii) Sustainable Economic Opportunity, and iv) Human Development. All of these main categories are further organised into sub-categories which are evaluated to provide quantitative and qualitative information (IIAG 2017:n.p.).

“Over the past decade, South Africa has consistently featured among the ten best scoring countries in Overall Governance and rank^s 6th in 2015. However, it has registered an overall decline (-1.9) and is the tenth most deteriorated country on the continent since 2006. South Africa ranks in the top ten countries across all four categories and in ten (out of 14) sub-categories in 2015.

However, it registers faltering trends in three of the four categories, progressing only in Sustainable Economic Opportunity (+1.8) in the past ten years. For each category, there is an underlying dimension in which South Africa figures among the ten most deteriorated countries over the past ten years: Accountability (-13.1), Gender (-2.2), Public Management (-5.0) and Education (-5.0)” (IIAG, 2017:276).

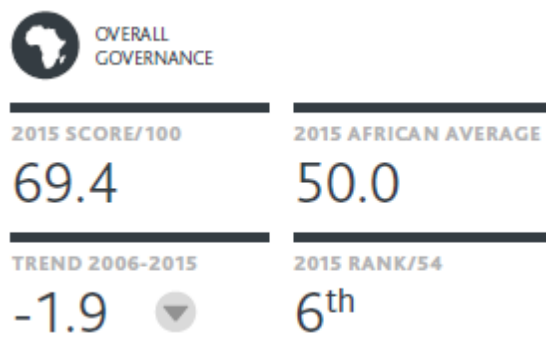


Figure 2: South Africa’s Overall Governance Indicators ratings

(Source: IIAG, 2017, Overall Governance, South Africa from list selection)

From Figure 2 above, it can be derived that South Africa still has a high overall ranking for most of the governance indicators. Figure 3 below reflects an alarming decline in ‘Safety & Rule of Law’, whilst ‘Participation & Human Rights’ and ‘Human Development’ have negative trends. ‘Sustainable Economic Opportunity’ experienced a small, but positive, trend over the ten-year period.



Figure 3: South Africa’s Main Indicators for Governance

(Source: IIAG, 2017, Main Indicators for Governance, South Africa from list selection)

As indicated in Figure 4 below, ‘Public Management’ has experienced a significant, negative trend, although South Africa has retained the first ranking for this indicator. The main reasons for the decline are the fraud and corruption matters that have surfaced over the past ten years.

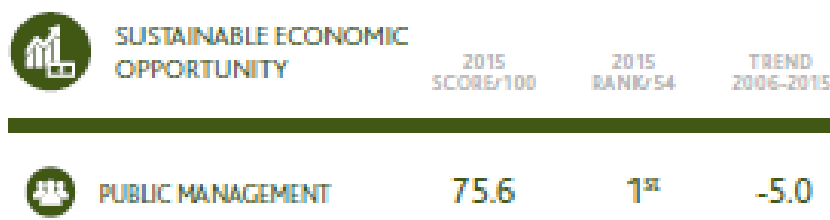
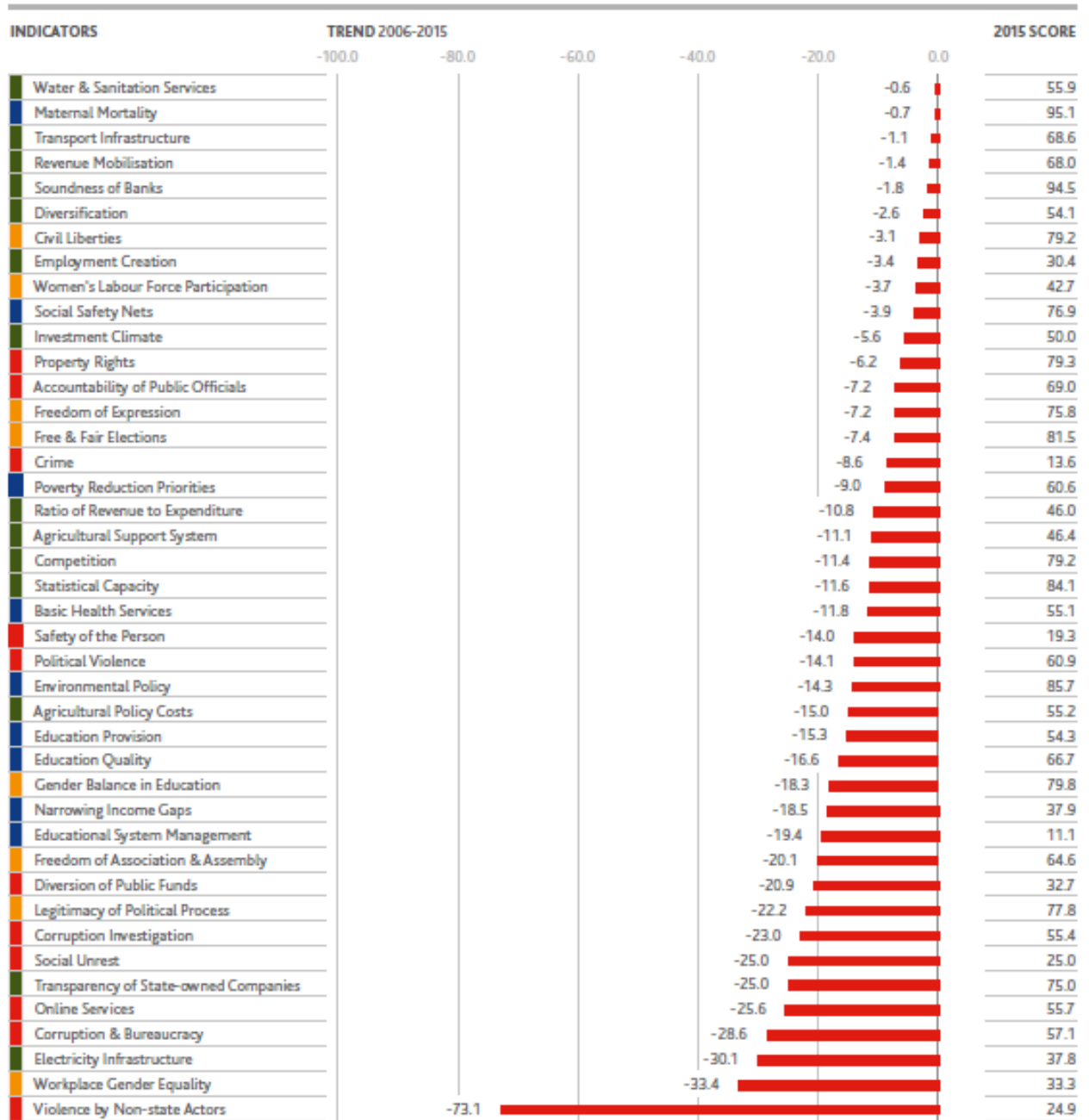


Figure 4 South Africa’s Public Management Trend

(Source: IIAG, 2017, Public Management, South Africa from list selection)

Figure 3 above indicates that South Africa has experienced negative trends in numerous indicators relating to public management and service delivery. As reflected in Figure 5 below, these include accountability of public officials, poverty reduction activities, basic health services, education provision and quality, educational system management, diversion of public funds, transparency of state-owned companies, and corruption and bureaucracy. A very alarming indicator, although not directly linked to public management, is the extremely negative trend in terms of violence by non-state actors.



No ten-year trend (2006-2015) is available for the *Antiretroviral Treatment (ART) Provision* Indicator.

Figure 5: South Africa Negative Trends

(Source: IIAG, 2017, Negative Trends, South Africa from list selection)

An evaluation of the statistics provided by the Mo Ibrahim foundation provides an overall positive view of governance in relation to the rest of Africa. However, citizens living in rural areas or informal settlements would most likely disagree with these figures.

4.2.2 Governance Challenges in South Africa

Currently, South Africa is facing a plethora of governance challenges, which are caused by an equal array of problems in the governance system. Some of the main governance challenges being experienced in South Africa are:

- Unemployment Challenge – too few people are working
- Education Challenge – Quality of School Education
- Infrastructure Challenge – Inadequate Infrastructure limiting social inclusion
- Marginalised poor challenge – Spatial Challenges
- Sustainability Challenge – Growth-path highly resource-intensive
- Health Challenge – ailing public health system
- Corruption Challenge – corruption undermines state legitimacy
- Divided Society Challenge – South Africa remains divided (Schwella, 2015:144)

At the *trias politica* level, namely the executive authority, the legislative authority and the judicial authority, the separation of powers between the three branches of government has been distorted. Consequently, this challenge has caused indecisiveness, lack of direction in terms of transformation, a muddling of focused transformative plans, and apathy towards correcting people who disrespect the separation of powers.

Thomson (2000:226) reasons that the ruling party struggles to separate state and party, which distorts the “source of authority” in South Africa and undermines and weakens the “status of parliament”. The opposition has used the Dinokeng scenarios effectively to emphasise the fact that there is a “conflation of party and state by the ruling party, which results in the politicisation of the public sector” (Schwella, 2015:245). The Dinokeng scenarios “suggest three possible futures for South Africa and are stories intended to stimulate action-oriented conversations among citizens as to their options and choices” (Dinokeng Scenarios 2018:n.p.). Labuschagne (2011:19) states that the general view is that the ANC’s headquarters (Luthuli House), rather than the Union Buildings, constitute the real source of power in South Africa.

The consequences of challenges at national level have filtered down to local level governance. This is a trend that threatens the very fabric of our constitutional democracy (Labuschagne, 2011:4). Therefore, substantial proof exists that there is instability in the *trias politica* institutions, which means that the Constitutional directive requiring the separation of powers has been corrupted. This automatically causes a breakdown in the well-planned checks and balances that have been put in place to ensure the facilitation of transformation of our country and delivery of services to all.

As discussed in the previous section, African Traditional Leadership and Religion form part of the modern democratic system that is active in South Africa. Governance does not take place behind closed doors. The modern democratic system requires governance at the coalface of service delivery. Therefore, local governance is critical in the government machinery to ensure transformation. With the background understanding that conflict still exists between traditional authorities and local governance (municipal) structures, it is important to be aware of the value that cultural understanding adds to service delivery.

4.2.3 African Traditional DNA in South African Governance: What is our national culture?

Various governance theories could be identified when the wide spectrum of the South African governance system is dissected. In light of evaluating governance against traditional influences, “Social Interpretive” and “Cultural Institutional” theories present valid perspectives for analysing governance within the South African context. The main view off the Social Interpretive Theory is that different people interpret the world different (Chhotray and Stoker, 2010:36). The fact that people have different world views creates a significant challenge for government. It is also one of the South African government’s constitutional objectives to ensure that most world views are catered for. The Cultural Institutional Theory is similar in terms of recognising that people have many different world views, which impacts on the decisions that they make and the way in which they perceive government. Their respective world views will affect the way in which people vote, and this is rooted, ethical behaviour. “Worldviews are also central to the individual’s decision-making” (Chhotray and Stoker, 2010: 42). Within the South African context, this has been one of the daunting challenges for government, in that they have to “satisfy” the diverse world views in South Africa.

Schneider and Barsoux (2003:9) reason that cultural awareness of one's own society is critical. They state that all countries have "unique and cultural characteristics" that comprise an asset, but could become a liability when the environment changes. The influence of the "natural culture" should be understood in order to manage the future. Mullins (2010:25) states that "national culture is not only an explanation of human beliefs, values, behaviours and actions: it is arguably the most significant feature underlying the study of organisational behaviour". Each organisation in South Africa has been influenced by a culture or a combination of cultures. The governing party in South Africa, the ANC, is no stranger to this concept. According to Mathonsi and Sithole (2017:37), the history of traditional leaderships clearly indicates that governance formed a part of the traditional structures:

"When considering the historical overview of traditional leadership, it is noted that before the advent of colonialism and imperialism in Africa, traditional leadership served as the backbone of local governance in many parts of the continent as communities were led by sultans, kings, and queens who were assisted by chiefs and headmen".

Governing is therefore not an unfamiliar concept to traditional leaders, who receive skills transfers, guidance and wisdom from existing chiefs and elders. Therefore, Traditional Leadership is a generational vocation. The roots of the ANC's existence are firmly planted in "Traditional Chieftaincy". A founding member of the ANC was Chief Albert Luthuli, a traditional leader, who together with other traditional leaders took part in the early formation phases of the ANC in 1912 (Kompi and Twala, 2014:984).

'A large number of chiefs or their representatives and the leaders of local and regional political organisations converged on Bloemfontein on 8 January 1912 to attend the national conference convened by Seme to discuss the formation of a new national organisation of the African people. Upwards of sixty delegates participated in the four-day conference. The occasion was a landmark in the history of African politics in South Africa' (Odendaal, 1984:270, cited in Kompi and Twala, 2014:984).

Ever since then, the ANC has had close relationships with traditional leaders (Mathonsi and Sithole, 2017:37). Although traditional leaders are commended for their

role in the struggle against apartheid, they have not been immune to criticism. Ntsebeza (2005:256-58, cited in Mawere and Mayekiso, 2014:6) argues that the ANC's embracement and recognition of traditional leadership and institutions as modes of governance have "compromised the very existence of the democratic project it fought for". The main critique is that traditional leaders are born into their positions and are not democratically elected. Further criticism against traditional leadership is that they align themselves with government to safeguard their positions (Mawere and Mayekiso, 2014:4). Mawere and Mayekiso (2014:3), however, suggest that, with resourced and capacitated traditional authorities, "democracy is more likely to benefit postcolonial South Africa because the two organs, traditional leadership and modern government institutions will police each other". African traditional leaders cannot be divorced from their religion.

Mhlophe (2013:278) criticises the government for practising ATR rituals, such as ancestral veneration, during government-sponsored events without considering the multicultural society of the audience. He states that, although black Africans are the majority in South Africa, the government should not force the ATR world view on all citizens. He also reasons that African people are not a homogenous group of people and that not "all of them believe in the efficacy of such practices and beliefs" (2013:279). Lambert (2008:121) critically asks whether the promotion of African culture and customs to evoke a cultural revival would bring about a renaissance. In his analysis, from a Christian perspective, he concludes that "virtue causes a renaissance" and not the "superstitious practices of ancestral worship and witchcraft which are disguised as culture" (Lambert, 2008:121&122). Although his reasoning about superstition and witchcraft is clearly opposed by the Constitution, I support his view that virtue is foundational for a renaissance. Lambert (2008:123) goes further and asks what it is that causes virtue. He also asks what the virtues would be to cause hospitals and schools to be built. He concludes by stating that virtue is a gift from God.

This is a Christian perspective, which is compatible with the ATR belief in God and the values of ubuntu. It is therefore necessary to recognise that virtues found in ATR can constitute a driving force to transform service delivery and governance. As discussed in Chapter 3, the batho pele principle is directly derived from the ubuntu principle. Amusan and Mchunu (2017:2) refer to "Batho Pele" and "Ubuntu" as "twin principles",

which are the “representation of the values meant to permeate through South African society”. The integration of ATR with governance is clear.

4.3 Evaluation of Transformation in relation to ATR

This section reflects and evaluates transformation in South Africa and the role that batho pele principles have played in transforming governance and service delivery. I will also demonstrate that the principles have not been sufficiently and equally understood by public officials (Maluka et al., 2014:1019). Politicians, government officials and public servants need to understand transformation and change management approaches and techniques. Furthermore, this section will expand on transformation and reconciliation as parallel concepts in the democratising process.

In this context, I believe that it is important to understand how adherents to ATR perceive transformation and how they choose to approach it. Knowledge regarding this would provide an enhanced perspective on how to drive service delivery changes and address governance challenges, especially at a community level.

Reflecting on his inauguration as president, President Nelson Mandela said the following of transformation:

I never lost hope that this great transformation would occur. Not only because of the great heroes ..., but because of the courage of the ordinary men and women of my country. I always knew that deep down in every human heart, there is mercy and generosity. No one is born hating another person because of the colour of his skin, or his background, or his religion. People must learn to hate, and if they can learn to hate, they can be taught to love, for love comes more naturally to the human heart than its opposite (Mandela 1995:115).

Transformation is not a once-off process, but is an ongoing effort by a multitude of leaders, governance actors, stakeholders and ordinary citizens. As President Mandela pointed out, it requires courage from ordinary men and women. Transformation is both a practical process of ensuring the machinery of government is functioning properly as well as an abstract concept that requires sound emotional and ethical values. The fact that transformation in South Africa is based on the religious concept of batho pele, which has ethical origins from ubuntu, speaks of a religious, emotional, humane and perhaps a psychological approach towards transformation.

4.3.1 Transformation pivotal to the ideology of the ANC

As mentioned in Chapter 2, South Africa has the benefit of having the White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery, 1997, (Notice 1459 of 1997). It lays the foundation for transforming service delivery in South Africa, which is accentuated by the batho pele principles. However, the principle of transformation has a profoundly pivotal place in the ANC. During the 1997 National Congress in Mafikeng, the ANC placed transformation at the centre of its ideology. As explained by Roux (2013, cited in Schwella, 2015:89), the definition of transformation was not made lucid at that time, but mainly contained the following elements:

- Demographic Representation is the main gauge for measuring transformation; implemented for example through BBEE, Employment Equity, Affirmative Action and fair discriminatory processes;
- Transformation for the ANC would be achieved through the aim of “gaining total control over South African society and state”, which includes control over public debate and discourse;
- Transformation means the implementation of the “cadre policy”, in which party loyalist would be rewarded with strategic jobs in all spheres of government.

Pretorius (cited in Schwella, 2015:89) criticises these elements and reasons that the ANC clearly disclosed their comprehension of democracy as not “being part of a system of government by the people”, but rather as “exercising government over the people”. Another criticism that can be lodged against these elements is that “ideological uniformity or blind racial solidarity” cannot be justified as catalysts for transformation and building a nation in a multicultural society such as South Africa. Civil society, in its holistic and diverse form, should be pivotal to the ideology of transformation and nation building (Mangcu, 2008:119). I view a blind racial solidarity in the same light as the ethos of the apartheid’s government in which one race group was benefited above others. Further, I view the current “new dawn” proclaimed by President Ramaphosa, which emphasises an African nationalist revival, as reinforcing the disunion among racial groups. The government should be wary, because this approach shows signs of racial exclusion. Terreblanche (2012:78) points out that one critical transformation challenge is that the South African population is still divided along racial and ethnic lines (Terreblanche, 2012:78).

This approach is contrary to the ATR values found in the spirit of ubuntu and the batho pele principles, which aim to unite people, rather than to exclude. Transformation has been a part of the reconciliation initiatives taken to unite South Africa. The Truth and Reconciliation Committee chaired by Archbishop Desmond Tutu is proof of what positive dialogue and forgiveness can do to reconcile and transform a nation (Bennett, 2011:224). In terms of reconciliation, forgiveness and transformation, Archbishop Tutu seemed to have the belief that “African people have access almost to a superior humanity, which enables them to do things that surpass cold logic” (Krog, 1998:110). Tutu (1999:35) emphasised the importance of Ubuntu/Botho in the context of forgiveness and reconciliation, and reasons that it “speaks of the very essence of being human”. The essence of putting people first and being aware of each individual’s humanness were direct aims of the batho pele transformation initiatives that were instituted during the Mandela administration.

4.3.2 The religious virtue of “people first”: Has “batho” been “pele”?

The Batho Pele principle has become the golden standard of policy for improving the quality of public services, which includes governance. Batho Pele and the twin principle of Ubuntu are religious principles that are compatible with, or at least palatable to, other religions. It resonates, for instance, with the Christian principle of “Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself” and the universal “Golden Rule” accepted by most world religions, which says “treat others as you want to be treated” (Gensler, 2012:11). Bennett (2011:228) supports this by drawing a parallel in terms of Joseph Fletcher’s definition of love within the context of “situation ethics”. The question, however, is whether “batho pele” has been successful in ensuring better governance and service delivery, improving relationships between government and citizens, and ultimately uniting communities for the betterment of South Africa.

Fakir (2011:n.p.) reasons that citizens form a positive perception of democracy when they are at the better end of service delivery. However, the lack of good governance and substandard service delivery cause “a cycle of antagonism between public servants and citizens”, which stifles progress and transformation, and makes people emotional. The intended positive transformational goals of Batho Pele have, however, filtered through in some areas of service delivery. Fakir (2011:n.p.) states the following:

Places where I have renewed my car license, requested a new passport and filed my taxes have been efficient and friendly. I enjoy going to these places and have a positive view of the public servants there. Staff in these places are happy and deliver public service with enthusiasm.

This reflects the intent of Batho Pele of “putting people first”. The contrary is also true. Maphunye et al. (2014:110-111) argue that the implementation of Batho Pele has been adversely affected by systemic limitations, which are:

- i) Corruption, “which remains a key challenge to providing quality services”. Governance systems are severely crippled by corruption through, for example, the misappropriation of funds, nepotism, and appointment of cronies;
- ii) Culture of entitlement: the people of South Africa are prone to entitlement – “On the one hand, the officials often behave as if they are doing the public a favour whenever they are rendering services; on the other, the public also often appear to think that government must provide services haphazardly without following strategic plans like the IDP (Integrated Development Plans)”.

Through Batho Pele principles and services delivery plans, government institutions publish the service standards and quality of governance that the public should expect. The surge in service delivery protests over the last few years is indicative that these promised service standards are not being attained (Kotze and Taylor, 2010:203). In support of this argument, Milnerton (2018:n.p.) states that batho pele is a “forgotten phrase and a goal unrealised” and that the improved service delivery from a “responsive and caring government” is not a reality. The government, specifically the ruling party, has a mammoth task to rekindle the ideological principle of transformation.

In evaluating this matter, my perspective is that it is not the batho pele principles that are failing or are ineffective, but it is rather that the governance actors should ensure they are implemented. Batho Pele principles by virtue then constitute a positive concept in the governance sphere and a stimulant for social cohesion, but they will only be effective in a healthy democracy. It is not fair to expect that any public servant would be able to maintain the batho pele principles one hundred percent of the time, but it is realistic to expect that the general values of batho pele should constantly filter

through in service delivery and governance. To expect public servants to comply with the eight principles is like expecting a Christian to constantly maintain the laws of God. It is humanly impossible.

Gumede (2008:n.p.) reviews the “immense and imminent possibilities” in South Africa and refers to social cohesion as a driving force for transformation. He explains that “social cohesion” refers to the extent to which a society is coherent, united and functional, thereby providing an environment within which its citizens can flourish. During the apartheid years, ATR was not recognised as a religion. Its practices and rituals were perceived as being witchcraft or “dark magic”, and therefore were never recognised to be of value within the governance system of South Africa or as an element to promote social cohesion. Through Batho Pele, the ATR value of ubuntu has been made tangible in governance.

4.3.3 Changing Africa: calling for transformative leaders

South Africa has a hybrid of governance models at work in the country (such as the New Public Management Model and Network Governance Model) (Schwella, 2015:48-50). Within these governance models, there are numerous leaders who are either driving the transformation agenda of the country or their own agendas. The reality in South Africa is that bad leadership trends have become obvious. What are the characteristics of ‘bad leadership’ (or non-transformative leadership) and are they visible in our nation-state? Unfortunately, South African media and the justice system are laden with reports of corruption, unethical behaviour and other governance-related leadership problems.

In Table 1 below, I present the governance challenges which, in my view, arise as a result of the lack of transformation and I indicate which of these are associated directly with the lack of transformative leadership.

Table 1: Governance challenges associated with Bad Leadership

Governance Challenge (Schwella, 2015:144)	Association with Bad Leadership
Unemployment Challenge – too few people are working	Lack in implementation of transformative economic policies that would enable more job creation. Short-sighted approaches and dealing with symptoms, rather than the root of the problem.
Education Challenge – Quality of School Education	“Bad” teachers (defined as absent, uncommitted and underperforming). Education and training of teachers also not to an acceptable standard (Schwella, 2015:145). Good governance goes hand in hand with development, in which education plays a vital role. “The 2002 Schools Values Manifesto set out the values which should permeate the education system. These are: democracy, social justice and equity, equality, non-racism and non-sexism, <i>ubuntu</i> , human dignity, an open society, accountability, responsibility, the rule of law, respect and reconciliation” (NDP, 2012:462). The current education system is not reflecting all these values.
Infrastructure Challenge – Inadequate Infrastructure limiting social inclusion	Lack of coordination within government and between state-owned enterprises for the delivery of household infrastructure and other infrastructure. Exuberant costs to build state infrastructure, for example in the late 1990s, the cost of providing a school was R5 million and by 2011, the same-size school cost R40 million (Schwella, 2015:146,149).
Marginalised poor challenge – Spatial Challenges	The majority of rural communities are not located close to economic activity or development. Some public services have improved but infrastructure and education still remain weak, resulting in a growing poverty trap (NDP, 2012:459). Municipal leaders in South Africa have been blamed for poor service delivery and misappropriation of funds. Khumalo (2018:n.p.), highlighting findings from the Auditor General's report, states that “most municipalities could not account for

Governance Challenge (Schwella, 2015:144)	Association with Bad Leadership
	public finances due to the rise in undocumented municipal financial ‘awards’ to employees, councillors, close family members and other staff officials”. The Auditor General found proof that municipal leaders are driven by personal agendas and not the interests of the community. This is not in line with the values of ubuntu. Empirical research to indicate how many of these leaders are followers of ATR is lacking.
Sustainability Challenge – Growth-path highly resource-intensive	Leaders not implementing sustainable economic policies and directing use of resources effectively. An example is that the “governance structures for state-owned enterprises (SOEs) should be simplified to ensure clear lines of accountability and stable leadership” (NDP, 2012:409).
Health Challenge – ailing public health system	“Health system collapsing partly due to policy mistakes made by government” (Schwella, 2015:147).
Corruption Challenge – corruption undermines state legitimacy	This is perhaps the most prevalent association that can be made. Perceptions that corruption is too high. Parliament or leaders’ lack of concern towards it. Unethical behaviour by state officials, politicians and government employees. In short, it can be said this is not ubuntu.
Divided Society Challenge – South Africa remains divided	We need leaders and citizens to commit to a bold programme to build a better future, based on ethical values and mutual sacrifice. “The leadership required will think and act long term, rising above short-term personal or political gain. They will think and act in the interests of the nation as a whole, and avoid promoting the interests of one group of South Africans at the cost of others (NPC 2011:28)”.

An additional dimension to transformative leadership is constituted by the changes that Africa will face in the imminent future. Pietersen (in van Zyl et al., 2016:402) provides insights regarding these changes. She argues that changes in Africa will

include significant institutional changes, for example in terms of NEPAD (New Partnership for Africa's Development agency) which is impacted by a firm drive for liberalisation in geopolitical situation. Geopolitics refers to "the influence of factors such as geography, economics, and demography on the politics and especially the foreign policy of a state" (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, "geopolitics"). Political changes at the continent level comprise the agenda for achieving good governance. Emerging economic challenges as predicted by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) include trade revenue losses, high unemployment rates and a decline in economic growth. Adding to these challenges are the "rapid population growth, climate change impacts" and increasing tension between "population growth add food security". I agree with Pietersen's view that it is not the case that there is a lack of vision in Africa, but rather that the implementation of the envisioned goals is severely inhibited by the lack of technical expertise.

For Africa a "critical challenge would be to create functional, well-coordinated and sustainable institutions to equip its states with better means to engage effectively on the global stage" (van Zyl et al., 2016:402). In support of this view, I suggest that the change management stage is set for transformative leaders to stand up and do what is required. Transformational leaders will have to come forward from all walks of life. Seeing that African Traditional Leaders and Healers constitute the most consulted leadership in South Africa, their role in transforming South Africa is now more relevant than ever before. For the National Development Plan to succeed, "effective leadership by government" and cooperation among all sectors of society are required (NDP, 2012:408).

4.4 Evaluation of Ethics: ATR ethics in Governance

The vastness and complexities of ethics, specifically African Traditional ethics, merit a deeper analysis and separate study. This section has been limited to provide an overview and brief perspective of how ATR ethics, perhaps unnoticeably, became part of everyday governance practices. The philosophy of Ubuntu has been discussed in Chapter 2, in unison with the Batho Pele principles.

4.4.1 Ethics in Ubuntu

Ethics is defined as the “discipline dealing with what is good and bad and with moral duty and obligation, a set of moral principles, a theory or system of moral values, and the principles of conduct governing an individual or a group” (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, “ethic”). Rossouw (2018:2) defines ethics as “a set of moral principles that govern or influence our behaviour, above and beyond the laws or policies that govern a country, industry, profession or company”. Therefore, ethics becomes a moral compass. Ethical behaviour is synonymous to all religions.

The religious concept of “Ubuntu lies at the heart of the African ethical system” (Bennett, 2011:223). The Ubuntu philosophy permeates every element of daily life throughout Africa and is a concept common in all tribes found in “Southern, Central, West and East Africa amongst people of Bantu origin” (Khomba, 2011:128). The philosophy is used daily by African Traditional Leaders to govern their communities. Although ubuntu is not by definition in opposition to the laws of the country, it can be found to be “antithetical” in the sense that is non-legal in nature (Bennett, 2011:226). The application of the ubuntu philosophy has become universal in South Africa and is the fundamental ethical value of ATR. Masina (cited in Bennett, 2011:226) reasons that the fundamental character of ubuntu is “caring, compassion, unity, tolerance, empathy and compromise”. In ATR, an individual has an “inborn corresponding duty to accord respect to other members of the community” (Netshitomboni, 1998:4-5).

The ethical yardsticks for ubuntu can be derived from two important sayings. The first being “*Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*” which means “I am because you are, you are because we are” (Netshitomboni, 1998:5). In other words, ‘I only exist as a part of a whole, and the whole only exists because of the individuals’. Bennett (2011:238) explains that within the different African vernaculars, the word *umuntu* has a more significant value than a “lone individual”, and rather means “a member of humankind”. He further explains that *umuntu* has a qualitative value that describes a holistic view regarding the fullness of “human life, truthfulness, generosity, self-respect, respect for others and integrity”. Therefore, ethical decisions by ATR followers will be based on the holistic concept of *umuntu*. This concept should, in essence, be applied by politicians and government leaders who adhere to ATR. If critical questions are asked to evaluate whether the qualitative values are exemplified by all politicians and

government officials, the answers would probably have a generally negative undertone. This idea, however, is not based on empirical research, but rather on a review of current news affairs, of which the VBS bank saga is a prime example (News24, 2018:n.p.).

The second saying is *Umntu akalahlwa* which means that no person should be “thrown away” (Netshitomboni, 1998:6). This saying defines the value of human life and dignity under all conditions. Therefore, a person’s humanity must stay intact, despite a wrongful act being committed by that person against the community. The concept of ubuntu adds value to our understanding of human rights in an ATR context. In this respect, it is safe to assume that a traditional leader such as past President Jacob Zuma could have been pardoned for all his “transgressions” within his Nkandla community. However, according to South African good governance and legal requirements, he must still account for his actions within our judicial system. Although ubuntu is an apologetic or forgiving ethical concept in ATR, it is not above the laws of South Africa. It has, however, become an accepted ethical principle in South African law.

4.4.2 Ubuntu ethics in law, governance and reconciliation

Ubuntu is found in South African legislation and has also been the foundational ethical philosophy used during the Truth and Reconciliation Committee sessions. Bennett (2011:224) reasons that although ubuntu is a spiritual idea, “lawyers, politicians and business owners have latterly appropriated it”. It is also found in the National Development Plan as a guiding value for the educational system (NDP, 2012:462). Mbigi (1995, cited in Robbins, Odendaal and Roodt, 2007:63) argues that integrating values of ubuntu, namely morality, interdependence, spirit of man and totality, into organisations will avoid value conflicts. Empirical research to provide substance to this claim still eludes the academic world (Robbins et al., 2007:63). It could, however, be reasoned that ubuntu is an effective concept to integrate African, Western and Eastern ideologies (Robbins et al., 2007:111). Mangoliso (2001, cited in Robbins et al., 2007:371) argues that African managers who were appointed as heads of parastatals after 1994 have “failed to make ubuntu the dominant workplace philosophy even where Africans are in the majority”.

Even where the implementation of batho principles in governance environments can be used as a measuring tool for the application of ubuntu, there is still much to be desired. The issue regarding the specific application of ubuntu ethics in governance by politicians, government officials and managers still lacks empirical research. In South Africa, decisions and views by government officials and politicians should primarily be guided by the Constitution. However, as discussed in previous chapters, the world view of African people is intertwined with their religious beliefs and a value such as ubuntu. This has a direct relation to the conduct of ethical behaviour by African leaders.

Perhaps the main symbol for ethical behaviour and showing the spirit of ubuntu is late President Mandela. Nelson Mandela said, “(t)hese were my people, and I had no right and no desire to deny myself to them” (Mandela, 1995:102). Here, he refers to the fact that he put the needs of the community above his own in the quest for freedom. His humble nature and goals signified the ethical values of ubuntu. Another example of his legacy is that during his time as president, the batho pele principles were established to ensure the transformation of public services in South Africa.

In evaluating the ethics found in ATR, it is found that ATR ethics are comparable to the ethical philosophies of other religions. The guiding ATR ethics found in ubuntu could therefore constitute “an acceptable” value for promoting transformation and unity. Our current governance system incorporates elements of ATR ethical values, as is found in the implementation of batho pele. When evaluating ATR ethics, in comparison to Christianity and the ethics of other religions, similarities can be found such as respect, putting others’ needs above your own, integrity and truthfulness. The results of applying these ethics in governance, whether from a perspective of ATR, Christianity, Islam or any other religion, still elude concrete proof.

Lambert (2008:40) comprehensively argues that the desire of African people to uphold community and loyalty to leaders far outweighs their desire to advance or sustain moral or ethical principles. He further reasons that chiefs are seen as an embodiment of the “venerated corporate soul of the tribe” and therefore are above reproach. He reckons that this loyalty principle in African tradition keeps corrupt African leaders in power. My opinion is that a conflict exists within ATR in the sense that ubuntu prevents an individual from doing harm to the community, but the respect for chiefs and traditional leaders abandons the spirit of ubuntu in specific situations. Bennett

(2011:229) argues that ubuntu is “situationist”. This means that the behaviour of ATR adherents will be dictated by their immediate situations. Ethics derived from ubuntu is not legalistic and therefore will not always fit into the westernised logic and ethical framework.

4.4.3 Ubuntu as a Social Construct

The interim constitution of South Africa contained the following paragraph:

*“The pursuit of national unity, the well-being of all South African citizens and peace require reconciliation between the people of South Africa and the reconstruction of society. The adoption of this Constitution lays the secure foundation for the people of South Africa to transcend the divisions and strife of the past, which generated gross violations of human rights, the transgression of humanitarian principles in violent conflicts and a legacy of hatred, fear, guilt and revenge. These can now be addressed on the basis that there is a need for understanding but not for vengeance, a need for reparation but not for retaliation, **a need for ubuntu** but not for victimisation”* (RSA, 1993:n.p.).

The philosophy of ubuntu is a significant value that informed the transition of South Africa from apartheid into a new democracy. Ubuntu is used here in direct opposition to ‘victimisation’. This established ubuntu as a guiding principle for fairness, equality and non-discrimination. Former President Nelson Mandela was knowledgeable about ubuntu.

The motivation behind former President Nelson Mandela’s behaviour, actions and leadership could probably be best defined by the spirit of ubuntu. During his presidency, he stated that all South Africans must “act together as a united people, for national reconciliation, for national building, for the birth of a new world” (Gumede, 2008:n.p.). By implication, his words referred to the spirit of ubuntu. This laid the foundations on which a social contract should be built for South Africa, and is also an essence of the Constitution. In ATR, “coexistence and strengthening in the human community and the world at large of life-force is the supreme aim of the African culture” and each individual has a responsibility towards the community to ensure this (Light, 2012:93-94). This is ubuntu.

Shutte (2001, cited in Metz, 2011:537) summarises the intrinsic value of ubuntu:

Our deepest moral obligation is to become more fully human. And this means entering more and more deeply into community with others. So, although the goal is personal fulfilment, selfishness is excluded

Metz (2011:558) concludes that ubuntu, “if suitably interpreted, can serve as a ground of public morality”. Public morality is a key pillar to make a social contract work. Public morality not only refers to the public at large, but also to the leaders who must effectively manage the social contract.

In relation to social theory, I would categorise ubuntu within social constructionism. Social constructionism is the theory that examines what is defined by humans and society to be reality (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2009:891). In other words, the question asked is “what is real?” Social constructs are time-period bound, meaning that what was relevant socially a hundred years ago, could be irrelevant in modern days. Money is an example of a social construct in that the value attached to money is constructed by humans. Language is another social construct, which is carried over to the next generations. In Africa, Ubuntu is a social construct that has remained intact over centuries, and the exact time and origin thereof cannot be established. Ubuntu is not something we see, feel or hear, but it is real to African people. Strong social constructs are dependent on language, social habits, and people’s perceptions and knowledge, which are not self-existent, but rather, society constructs these (Sinn, 2016:n.p.). ATR is an oral tradition, which means that a social construct has been orally handed down to succeeding generations. Due to a lack of knowledge on the origin of ubuntu, it could be reasoned that ubuntu has become a ‘brute fact’. This places it within a ‘weak social construct’. In this regard, ‘weak’ means that it is not dependent on current fact to explain it, nor can the working thereof be questioned. It is a fact that cannot be explained (Fahrbach, 2005:449)

From this discussion, it can be derived that ubuntu is an essential and real aspect of ATR, and African traditions and ethics. Ubuntu has the ability to inform new social constructs, meaning that the modern democratic South Africa can use the concept and redefine the country’s transformation and governance discourse.

4.5 Evaluation of Social Contract Concepts

At the dawn of our new democracy, then President Mandela made an appeal to South Africa that we “seize the time to define for ourselves what we want to make of our

shared destiny". This plea came with the realisation, as he stated, that "none of us acting alone can achieve success". He then counselled that "we must therefore act together as a united people, for national reconciliation, for national building, for the birth of a new world" (Gumede, 2008:n.p.). There can hardly be an argument that suggests that he did not imply the spirit of ubuntu. This laid the foundations on which a social contract should be built for South Africa, and is also an essence of the Constitution.

Although the original concept of a social contract has remained relevant, especially in relation to the myriad of contracts in pursuit of liberty, the concept has evolved ever since. According to Lessnoff (1990, cited in NOREF, 2016:8) the emerging view of the day is that the social contract is a process of sustaining an "equilibrium between the expectations and obligations of the institutions in power and those of the rest of society". Schwella (2015:33-35) discusses the concept of a social contract in relation to state authority. He argues that the citizens of a republic are concurrently the "sovereign power and subjects of their own sovereignty created through the social contract" and through this, the citizens agree to the power of state as legal and legitimate, and therefore consent to the authority of the state (Schwella, 2015:35).

The current expectations of the people of South Africa are immense, and the leadership will have to embrace the values of ubuntu at all the levels of governance, and this must filter down to all governance actors. ATR followers, specifically, have a role to play in displaying the value of ubuntu to all citizens. Although there are best practices that can be taken from Batho Pele, it is failing in that it has not become a tangible method for enhancing service delivery. Although the outcome it seeks is noble, the implementation thereof has not delivered the required results over all spheres of government. My view is that Batho Pele can work, if the approach and the symbolism thereof are communicated differently and more effectively. Not all South Africans know their rights regarding service delivery and how they should hold the state accountable; therefore, the one route people take is normally that of violent protests, which makes the problem worse. However, if that is the only way people can get their voice to be heard, that will stay the trend. Batho Pele is about empowering people with knowledge of how their needs can be met by government through a social contract.

Human (1998:50) argues that, should the State not address the immediate needs of the numerous communities, it essentially becomes a 'jelly-fish' state with no integrity. Considering this comment, the question can be asked, "are the communities' immediate demands being met?" The answer is overwhelmingly 'no'. If their needs were being met, the impetus for sporadic service delivery protests would have been avoided. It is clear, in light of all the recent protests, that our government is failing in various areas. Service delivery to the people ultimately underscores the relevance of a social contract.

In evaluating the current social contract in relation to ATR values, it can be seen that it falls short of the goal of creating a unified society and a sovereign state. The guiding principle of ubuntu should result in the existence of united communities. The unison will not only be a bulwark that opposes substandard service delivery, it will also oppose unethical leadership. Unfortunately, corruption within South African governance leadership has rendered the real spirit of ubuntu powerless.

4.6 Evaluation of Research Approach & Methodology

During the development of the research proposal that preceded this study, it became clear to me that the proposed study might be overly optimistic in terms of the number of objectives I wanted to achieve. Seeing that an empirical research method was not a feature of this study, I relied strongly on a theoretical foundation within the interpretive, ontological and hermeneutical traditions. Therefore, some of the objectives have been amended during the drafting of this paper to ensure an attainable research outcome. An array of resources is available on ATR from a Christian Theological perspective, and an abundance of resources was found on Governance. It became clear that integrated literature on the chosen topics is limited. My approach and methodology was to ensure that I gain sufficient academic insight from both these topics to ensure an integration and synergy of the concepts.

This study reflected on the holistic topics of Religion, Ethics and Governance. My aim of approaching the research from a governance perspective proved to be one of the main obstacles within the research. Academic literature that relates governance to religion, specifically to ATR, is not readily available. Most of the literature on the topic of ATR has been written from a Christian Theological perspective. The research was further inhibited by the fact that anthropological style interviews were not conducted.

Interviews and questionnaires were avoided due to possible ethical and time challenges. The research, therefore, comprised a desktop literature review, in which I treated the information within a cultural anthropology research perspective in order to remain non-biased towards topics of religion and theology.

4.7 Conclusion

In Chapter 4, the focus is on the evaluation and interpretation of the theoretical concepts and an integration of the concepts and findings of the case studies. Additionally, I also provide an evaluation of the approach and methodology that I use in the research study. In the first section, I evaluated ATR in terms of traditional practices which are either rejected or accepted by the wider population. Some practices associated with Muthi still have a negative connotation to them. I examined traditional leadership and evaluated the transformational value it can add to the South African Governance system.

In the section, I evaluated governance in relation to current challenges and also ATR. The third section contains an examination of transformation, which is a pivotal ideology of the ANC, but which is neglected. I evaluated the interrelatedness between transformation and ATR.

The fourth section looks deeper into the concept of ethics. It is critical to understand the value of ubuntu in the ATR religious system. In the fifth section, I evaluate the concept of a social contract and how it can be linked with ATR. In the final section, I critically evaluated the approach and methodology of this study.

ATR, in this research, should be understood in the context of South Africa and associated with Sub-Saharan Africa. African Traditional Religion is not an exact science and still requires in-depth research to be done in a variety of areas. ATR lacks academic literature that conceptualises it in relation to governance, law, public services and other matters of government.

Chapter 5: Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Introduction

Chapter 5 contains a summary of the research questions and aim of the study. I further present findings, conclusions and recommendations, based on my research.

5.2 Summary of Research Question and Aims of Study

The main aim that I set out to achieve was to establish whether a relationship between ATR and Governance exists in South Africa. The study also aimed to change the perception that ATR is not politically organised and lack governance structures. The study provided evidence that ATR has an established hierarchy within traditional leadership, which also defines the “governance” of African communities. The research method was based in the interpretive tradition within the ontological position. The study was qualitative and based on a literature review.

The research obtained sufficient evidence to prove that ATR had and still has an active role in the way African people are political organised and “unofficially” governed. Through the research findings were made to indicate that key ATR principles and values permeates the new South African democratic governance system.

5.3 Findings

In this section, I will provide findings as derived from the study. I have grouped the findings according to my research objectives.

5.3.1 Why is it important to understand ATR in relation to South African governance and politics?

It is important to recognise that religion in Africa has always held a paramount role in the way that African people have lived and were ruled or “governed”. Mbiti (1991:2) explains that religion is found in all areas of human life, which plays a dominant role in the way Africans behave, make decisions and have fellowship. African religion, to all intents and purposes, has shaped African culture, leadership, social life, political organisation and economic approaches. Mbiti (1991:164) argues that African people’s “political welfare is bound up intimately with their religious welfare”. This is true in the

historical and modern-day sense. Even though ATR was oppressed by colonial and apartheid rule, it has remained a reality in the lives of African people. ATR has also been impacted upon by the modern democratic governance system, but has managed to retain its social and religious status in a new democratic South Africa. I am of the opinion that ATR has a stronger status now than before 1994. Although ATR is still not an “institutionalised religion”, a greater freedom exists to engage in ATR practices, without the fear of oppression, prosecution or discrimination. A significant finding in this area is that the majority of South African citizens still consult traditional healers and leaders during times of trial or to obtain wisdom.

In terms of political organisation, African people will not disregard traditional leadership, but will follow the philosophy and values of their leaders. The moral and social values that a traditional leader upholds will influence the people who follow him or her. Mathebula (2011:838) defines IGR as functioning where “two or more governmental jurisdictions, functionaries, persons, levels, spheres, tiers and/or institutions interact, transact and/or relate”. Therefore, IGR in relation with ATL becomes the main governing and service delivery mechanism at the local level. Although Africans will rally behind a specific political party (such as the ANC), they will still submit to the authority of traditional leadership that is in force at home, in villages and in the community. Therefore, the South African Government cannot dissociate traditional leadership from its governance approaches and decisions. This proves that the relationship between ATR and governance is a reality.

5.3.2 How are ATR philosophies and/or ideologies included in South Africa Politics?

It has been found that the religious concept of “Ubuntu lies at the heart of the African ethical system” (Bennett et al., 2011:223). The Ubuntu philosophy permeates every element of daily life for African people. It is defined as “Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu” which means “I am because you are, you are because we are” (Netshitomboni, 1998:5). ATR’s foundational ethical principle of ubuntu can be found in our constitutional values, legislation, service delivery and transformation approaches. Ubuntu was only second to forgiveness as the most influential ethical principles guiding the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

Leaders in Africa, and as we lately have seen in South Africa, are in a relentless search for power and dominance. This happens through state capturing, corruption, seeking of self-interest and self-enrichment. This is a reality in South Africa, and this impacts negatively on governance and service delivery. This constant search for power comes at a price, in that it discards ethics and morals to secure the ultimate power. The IAG has quantified the effect of poor leadership on the state of governance in South Africa, which clearly shows that South Africa is deteriorating. Poor people, children, the elderly specifically suffer as of result of the greed shown by top leadership. This is totally in contradiction to the philosophy that ubuntu upholds.

The “new dawn” vision that President Cyril Ramaphosa promotes in essence promotes ATR philosophies and ideologies. It refers in particular to the “African redemption or liberation that underpinned the Ethiopian (or Black African) theology which catalysed the birth of African nationalism”. The philosophy of the “new dawn” is therefore rooted in African theology, which also informs the African Renaissance and the governing party’s ideology. Before the “new dawn” philosophy, transformation was, and should still be, pivotal to the ideology of the ANC and it is based on Batho Pele.

“Batho Pele”, which is in essence an African Traditional Religious concept, underpins transformation of the public service in South Africa. The South African Government developed and published the transformation principles in the White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery (Batho Pele White Paper) in October 1997 (RSA 1997:9). Therefore, our current governance system incorporates elements of ATR ethical values, as is seen through the implementation of batho pele. It is, however, fraught with misunderstanding, and tangible successes are not as idealistic as people have been led to believe.

The South African governance context provides an interesting perspective on the Traditionalist and Modernist views. Based on the evidence presented in Chapter 4, it is clear that South Africa has a mixture of both modernist and traditionalist views in terms of governance. At national level, traditionalism is practised, or allowed, in various forms, of which the veneration of ancestors is held in the highest regard. At the local government levels, African Traditional Leaders are held in high esteem, amidst an ongoing conflict between local government institutions and traditional leaders. The “modern” South African Constitution recognises “traditional” leadership, but the relationship is still fraught with contradiction, confusion and tension (Mathonsi

and Sithole, 2017:38). South Africa has progressive legislation in this regard, but African Traditional Leadership is not adding transformational value to the governance systems as anticipated by legislation.

Although attempts exist in South Africa to formalise and institutionalise ATR, it still does not have the same foothold, as do other religions such as Christianity and Islam. This, in my view, is attributable to the fact that ATR has not yet been declared a formal religion in South Africa. Statistics SA did not include ATR as a specific religion on the census from in 2001, and neither did they in their estimations in 2011. The ATR foothold is, however, becoming stronger, and perhaps more recognised, at national government levels. During the apartheid government era, the Dutch Reformed church had a liturgical influence on the governance system in the sense that rules of the church were respected and adhered to, for example during funerals of statesmen. Although ATR is not defined as a liturgical religion, I am of the opinion that the respect shown for, and practising of, various ATR rituals are informing a new religious liturgy within our government. A criticism of government is that they practise ATR rituals, such as ancestral veneration, during government-sponsored events without considering the multicultural society of the audience (Mhlophe, 2013:278).

5.3.3 Does ATR have principles which could be constructive or destructive for a new social contract?

5.3.3.1 Ubuntu as a social construct

The findings related to ubuntu are the most significant ones in my study. The main reason is that ubuntu is not merely a thought, but speaks to the “normative account of what we ought to most value in life” (Metz, 2011:537). It is the foundational ethical compass within ATR and best describes the absolute “intentions” or “results” that ATR seeks. In Christianity, one absolute we seek is to make disciples of all nations and baptise them in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit (Holy Bible, KJV, 1769; Matthew 28:19). One absolute in ATR is to achieve ubuntu and ubuntu, and in turn, achieve the highest morality. This includes living in harmony with others and pleasing ancestors.

Ubuntu is real for African people. Westerners will need to adjust their perceptions, and perhaps biased ideas, to truly understand ubuntu and do essentially understand African people. It is achievable. Due to a significant and sustained syncretism of

Christianity with ATR, ubuntu has already been adopted or accepted within some South African Christian denominations.

Ubuntu is a social constructive principle that, if recognised and implemented, could stabilise the rolling-out of a new social contract. The “new dawn” philosophy speaks of a new type of social contract. The new social contract will be rebuilt upon the foundations laid by President Mandela, in which people come first. ATR followers, specifically, have a role to play in displaying the value of ubuntu to all citizens.

Therefore, ubuntu should be acknowledged as an enabler to define new social constructs and to redefine the transformation and governance discourse of the modern, democratic South Africa.

5.3.3.2 Batho Pele: ATR DNA in Governance

Batho Pele, as the twin principle of Ubuntu, can be a constructive principle for transforming governance. Although there are best practices that can be taken from Batho Pele activities, it could be said that Batho Pele is failing in the sense that it is not being adopted as a tangible method of enhancing service delivery and governance. Service delivery to the people ultimately underscores the social contract.

5.3.3.3 New dawn: For Africans or South-Africans?

The new social contract should, however, not only be for Africans, but for all South Africans. The new dawn approach is akin to the classification of races in that it focuses on differences between the people of the country in favour of one ethnic group. This is in contradiction with the Constitution of South Africa, which states that discrimination based on race is not allowed (RSA, 1996:n.p.) The ‘new dawn’ idea seems to be too close to a sort of apartheid, or a further division along racial lines. Therefore, the newfound vigour to establish African Nationalism could be extremely destructive during the development of a new social contract.

I support Lambert (2008:40) who argues that the desire of African people to uphold community and loyalty to leaders far outweighs their desire to advance or sustain moral or ethical principles. Unfortunately, corruption, greed and self-interest within South African governance leadership have rendered the real spirit of ubuntu powerless.

5.3.4 How do ATR ethical principles relate to South African Governance?

I have established that ubuntu is the foundational ethical philosophy within ATR. Mbiti (1991:179) argues that, as far as can be established, if ATR adherents were to keep to the moral demands of human conduct, they would “enjoy happiness, peace, prosperity and well-being”. The religious concept of Ubuntu informs the twin principle of Batho Pele, which forms the foundation for transforming public services and improving governance. The government of a country cannot achieve better service delivery if it does not govern effectively.

In South Africa, governance needs to incorporate ubuntu to realise the prescribed constitutional values. I have established that the roots of the ANC are entrenched in African Traditional Leadership, the members of which are entrenched in ATR. The concept of ubuntu has not suddenly appeared, but was a guiding principle for the founding fathers and writers of the Freedom Charter (SAHO, 2016:n.p.). Therefore, the ubuntu philosophy pioneered the Freedom Charter phrase “the people shall govern” (SAHO, 2016:n.p.). The values of the Freedom Charter have also been adopted in the 1996 Constitution and current governance goals (DOE, 2005:3). As derived from the research, the foundational ATR ethics are underpinning the values of the South African governance system.

5.3.5 Final sentiments regarding ATR

I am of the opinion that ATR is an “accommodative religion”. This means that ATR is syncretic in nature. Adherents are willing to merge ATR with other religions. Turaki (2000:n.p.) explains that the “plurality of gods or divinities permits plurality of beliefs, practices, feelings and behaviour in one religion”. Mbiti (1991:15) confirms this by arguing that, after conversion to another faith, Africans would sustain ATR beliefs with those to which they have been converted. “In this way they are not losing something valuable, but are gaining something from both religious customs” (Mbiti 1991:15).

Has ATR been able to survive due to being a ‘parasitic’ or ‘mutualistic’ religion? We cannot deny the fact that significant interaction exists between ATR and Christianity in South Africa. This co-existence or interaction can be described through an analogy I draw with the mutualism, symbiosis and commensal phenomenon in natural science. Mutualism is defined in biology as a phenomenon where the interactions between two

species or organisms benefit each other (Bronstein, 2015:1-2). Mutualism occurs, for example, between the red-billed oxpecker that eats ticks that are embedded in the impala's body. The oxpecker and impala each benefit from this relationship. Mutualism is further defined by forms of symbiosis, being the co-existence of two heterogeneous organisms (Bronstein, 2015:26). Symbiosis can be mutualistic, parasitic, or commensal. 'Commensal' refers to the interaction between organisms, with neither benefit nor harm to each other (Bronstein, 2015:26). 'Parasite' is defined as "an organism that lives in or on an organism of another species (its host) and benefits by deriving nutrients at the other's expense".³ 'Host' is defined as "an organism (animal or plant) on or in which a parasite or commensal organism lives".⁴

A strong case can be made that ATR has been able to survive in modern society in Africa because of its mutualistic relationship with Christianity and Islam. It can be reasoned that Christianity has been negatively influenced by ATR practices, seeing that African Christian Churches allow for the continued practice of ATR rituals. Adamo (2011:n.p.) states that adherents of ATR, or African Indigenous Religion as he refers to it, still consult ATR leaders, especially in times of emergency. In this scenario, it renders ATR as having a symbiotic–parasitic relationship with Christianity. This means that ATR has a beneficial and accepted existence within African Christian churches. Adherents can, therefore, interchangeably consult witchdoctors, whilst also being able to consult the church pastor.

On the other hand, it is accepted that ATR existed in Africa before Christian missions brought Christianity to the continent (Ogunbiyi, 2015:n.p.). Accordingly, Christianity's growth was mutualistic in terms of its interactions with ATR. ATR is currently not defined as an institutionalised religion in South Africa, and therefore is actually mainly hosted by Christianity, and to some extent, by Islam. ATR does not have buildings, a written canon or a denominational network. ATR adherents benefit from practising rituals and beliefs within churches (Ogunbiyi, 2015:n.p.; Mbiti, 1991:4). Without sufficient empirical data, I cannot prove that ATR has parasitical characteristics, but I can suggest that ATR, Christianity and Islam have mutualistic and symbiotic

3 <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/parasite>

4 <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/host>

interactions in South Africa. From a protestant Christian perspective, the mutualistic interaction is not beneficial to Christianity.

ATR has been a robust religion, being able to survive colonial and apartheid rule. Moreover, it has survived over the centuries without having a canon text or an official institution. It survived by means of mainly transferring knowledge through drawings and carvings, and primarily through verbal transmission to succeeding generations (Mbiti, 1991:4). ATR, in the same way as Christianity, has been influenced by many religions over the years, but seems to have maintained the core beliefs of ancestral veneration, traditional healing, muthi practices and ubuntu. I believe that, as within Christianity and Islam, ATR adherents also struggle to maintain faith and in living out all the ethical values, all the time, as prescribed by their religion. I consider ATR to be a “performance-based” or “spiritual meritocracy” religion, meaning that the adherents must perform various rituals and practices to please ancestors, who act as mediators with the Supreme Being. Therefore, it is a religion in which you will be rewarded for your deeds.

5.4 Recommendations

In this section, I make recommendations which aim to add value to the concepts of ATR and Governance and their existing relationship.

5.4.1 Tip of the ATR Iceberg

My main recommendation is that further empirical research is required to be done on the relationship between ATR and Governance in South Africa. I believe that this study has just scratched the academic surface, and is not all-encompassing on the topic. I submit that a better understanding of ATR would assist government to find better ways of engaging citizens and meeting their needs. Proper ATR channels could alleviate the governance challenges that are being experienced in South Africa. In this regard, I recommend that the South African Government should explore the institutionalisation of ATR to create better channels of communication and consultation.

5.4.2 A proper home for ATR: To institutionalise or not?

Although African Traditional Leaders are given a constitutional place in South Africa, documenting their religious and ethical frames of reference would add further value to

the governance system. I therefore recommend that, in the modern society that we live in, academics should rise to the occasion and document ATR. I acknowledge that although it will be written in books, it will remain engraved in the hearts of African people.

I recommend that the role of African Traditional Leader, as governance actors, should be re-evaluated by government to ensure that they add transformational value to governance. Seeing that traditional leaders are not democratically elected, it should be a priority of government to ensure that traditional leaders uphold the democratic values of the country. I acknowledge that traditional values, and even more so, ATR values, will occasionally be in conflict with legislation and governance approaches. Therefore, the South Africa Government should develop clear policies to enhance the relationship.

5.4.3 Modern-day ATR Ethics: Grounding a new ATR moral theory

Oyeshile (2003:1) reasons that the absence of appreciation of some African political values by new African leaders at independence was a “flaw in the political arrangements subsequently set up in most African States”. He further states that although these social-ethical values “cannot act as a grand solution to present political crises”, they can offer several ways out of the current political pandemonium and play a role in “engendering a workable polity” in Africa (2003:1&2). I support this argument and recommend that *African political values* be better defined and clarified by government to create an enabling environment for a workable African polity. This should be done in unison with instilling higher moral ethical values in political leaders. This should be synonymous with the foundational ATR values grounded in ubuntu. I agree with Metz (2011:536) that the redefining and interpretation of ubuntu is dependent on those living in modern Southern Africa “so that its characteristic elements are construed in light of our best current understandings of what is morally right”. In this sense, I further concur with Metz (2011:536) that a process of redefining and interpretation can be assisted by employing selected techniques of analytic philosophy, which include the “construction and evaluation of a moral theory”.

5.4.4 New dawn for all

The current “new dawn” proclaimed by President Ramaphosa, which emphasises an African nationalist revival, African Renaissance and decolonisation, is reinforcing the disunion among racial groups. I recommend that government should be wary of adopting policies that favour the majority and leave out the rest of the population. It is contrary to the value in ubuntu *Umuntu akahlwa*, which means no person should be “thrown away” (Netshitomboni, 1998:6). Government must acknowledge that a significant transformation challenge is that the South African population is still divided along racial and ethnic lines (Terreblanche, 2012:78). The guiding ATR ethics found in ubuntu could therefore be “an acceptable” value for promoting transformation and unity.

5.4.5 Transformation is the child that should be raised by the village

The African proverb stating “it takes a village to raise a child” talks to the ubuntu approach in communities where everyone has a role to play in the upbringing of a child (Tyatya, 2015:n.p.). Therefore, it is a shared responsibility amongst the members of the community. By drawing an analogy from this proverb, I foresee and recommend an enhanced environment in which transformation could flourish. The child represents ‘transformation’ and the village represents government, traditional leaders and other governance actors (for example NGOs). The current state in which transformation is found in South Africa is attributable to the fact that the ‘governance-village’ is neglecting the ‘transformation-child’. The conflict that exists between Local Government and Traditional Leaders is not moving our country forward. The political alliances that traditional leaders form with political leaders are not always healthy for their communities, especially where an alliance becomes a corrupt relationship.

Furthermore, it is important to understand how adherents to ATR perceive transformation and how they choose to approach it. Knowledge regarding this would provide an enhanced perspective on how to drive service delivery changes and address governance challenges at community level. I recommend that the transformation ideology be enhanced by better cooperation within the governance-village. This requires transformative leadership, which should be an essential competency present in all leaders in the governance-village.

5.4.6 A Transformative Leadership Model

I believe that many traditional leaders have an inherent moral sense to do what is best for their communities. Without empirical data, I cannot confirm this, but submit that those traditional leaders who adhere to ATR (or even Christianity), would regard community as being important. Therefore, good governance and progressive transformation would be part of their leadership agenda. Transformation has been lacking in South Africa, which is evident in all the governance challenges that still exist. Traditional Leaders, with the other governance actors, need to become accountable transformative leaders.

What are the attributes that make a leader good, transformative and ethical? Jahan (2000:3) presents a table of transformative leadership qualities, which she divides into two parts: a) Vision and Commitment, and b) Institutional Behaviour. I am adapting her table by adding a third dimension of the quality of ‘good governance’, as adopted from Schwella (2015:30), and a fourth dimension that includes Kotter’s elements of change leadership (Kotter, 2011, found in van Zyl et al., 2016:405).

I therefore recommend Table 2 below as setting out an attributes model for the transformative leadership that is required in South Africa.

Table 2: Proposed Model for Transformative Leadership in South Africa

A. Vision and Commitment (Jahan, 2000:3)	B. Institutional Behaviour (Jahan, 2000:3)	C. Good Governance Principles (Schwella, 2015:30-31)	D. Change Leadership Attributes (Kotter found in van Zyl et al., 2016:405)
Equality	Participatory	“Deliver high security for state and society	“Establishes direction
Equity	Egalitarian (Democratic)	Functions in and promotes rule of law	Empowers action that allows change to take off
Empowerment	Responsive	Promote good education	Seeks to inspire and is more collaborative
Human rights	Transparent	Establish framework for functioning health system	Requires tolerating risk
Peace	Accountable	Establish framework for economic growth	Initiates change on a larger scale
Sustainability	Non-corrupt	Ensure effective arteries of commerce	Is a response to an urgent need for change

A. Vision and Commitment (Jahan, 2000:3)	B. Institutional Behaviour (Jahan, 2000:3)	C. Good Governance Principles (Schwella, 2015:30-31)	D. Change Leadership Attributes (Kotter found in van Zyl et al., 2016:405)
Shared power, responsibility, well-being	Consensus-oriented	Enshrine human freedom	Innovates and sets a vision for a 'new normal'
My addition: Engaging the future	Empowering	Empower civil society	Empowers people to create change
		Protect the environmental commons	Motivates and inspires"
		Provide citizens with sense of belonging to national enterprise – includes all	
		Delivering benefits to the ruled (rather than contributing only the fortunes of a few)	
		Produce results, enhanced standards of living, basic development indicators	
		Strengthened infrastructure"	

An interesting finding made from fusing these models is the reference to *'empowerment of people'* in each of them. It can therefore be derived that empowerment of people should be a priority on a transformative leader's agenda.

The intention of this model is to provide a framework of values to change transformative leadership in the context of the governance-village.

5.4.7 Fusing ideologies: Ubuntu the mediator

Mbigi (1995, cited in Robbins et al., 2007:63) argues that integrating values of ubuntu, namely morality, interdependence, spirit of man and totality into organisations, will avoid value conflicts arising. Empirical research to provide substance to this claim still eludes the academic world (Robbins et al., 2007:63). It could, however, be reasoned that ubuntu is an effective concept for integrating African, Western and Eastern ideologies (Robbins et al., 2007:111).

African people constitute the majority race group in the population of South Africa, and therefore the majority of South Africa would be able to understand the value of ubuntu. Government departments and officials, however, also need to become more knowledgeable in terms of how ATR values can align with good governance. It is therefore recommended that ubuntu, as guiding principle, be used to fuse ideologies in South Africa. This effectively means that ubuntu could be used as the ‘pivotal ideology’ for all political parties, leaders and racial groups. This is a utopian idea, but could, in my view, render positive returns for government.

5.4.8 Decolonisation of Education in the Spirit of Ubuntu

How will decolonisation be formulated through the ATR world view? Will it be, as one student said, that the existing system must be overthrown and the “people it is supposed to serve must define it for themselves”? (Wingfield, 2017:1). Or could a better and sustainable solution be found through ubuntu? These questions can be answered by utilising ubuntu ethics and the governance-village analogy.

Firstly, ubuntu ethics will not dictate an approach in which people are victimised, or even where property is damaged. Ubuntu prescribes a peaceful solution in which all voices are heard. We can be reminded of the words from the Interim Constitution that state:

These (challenges) can now be addressed on the basis that there is a need for understanding but not for vengeance, a need for reparation but not for retaliation, a need for ubuntu but not for victimisation” (RSA 1993:n.p.)

Decolonisation, as part of the ‘new dawn’ discourse, should be approached through understanding, reparation and ubuntu. The elephant in the room for South African education is the fact that African languages have never been developed into fully fledged academic languages. All African languages are older than what Afrikaans is. In 1909, the *Zuid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Lettere en Kunst deur Afrikaners* was established to develop Afrikaans into a higher-order language. Willemsse (2016:n.p.) refers to Professor Kwesi Prah, from Ghana, who described the development of Afrikaans as:

“... one of the three language wonders of the world. In only 50 years, Afrikaans evolved from the vernacular, or so-called kitchen language to a higher order academic and economic language that can hold its own on the world stage”.

The case made here is not for Afrikaans, but serves as an example for African academics to renew their love of native languages and start developing them into academic languages. Sadly, Afrikaans is still seen by many African people as the language of the oppressor and they prefer English instead. The paradox is that the *new dawn* and *African Renaissance* philosophies seek decolonisation, but nothing in the discourse is said about the removal of English. Wolf (2018:n.p.) argues that research has made it “explicitly clear that if efficiency of learning and cognitive development is the target, the mother tongue should be the medium of instruction from primary school, through secondary and into universities”.

I recommend that decolonisation of education should start primarily by developing other official languages in South Africa into academic languages. It is further recommended that Government should implement a national programme, similar to ABET for Afrikaans- and English-speaking people, to learn at least one of the other official languages. I acknowledge that not all people will make use of such an opportunity, but creating the platform will be a positive social construct. Better communication will create a better environment in which transformation can take place. I conclude with the following quote from Wolf (2018:n.p.) which captures the essence of transformation through language:

“Ultimately, African societies can be transformed from merely consuming knowledge to producing it. Until today and exclusively, knowledge came to Africa from the North, wrapped up in the languages of former colonial masters. This one-way road must change into a bidirectional one”.

5.5 Conclusion

Throughout history, religion and politics have always had an equivocal relationship. In South Africa, this has been true in the sense that the Dutch Reformed Church had an influence on the apartheid government, although its belief system never constituted a theocracy. ATR has, in a sense, replaced the Dutch Reformed Church as the main spiritual actor in governance. Years ago, Mahatma Gandhi made the following instructive statement: “Those who say religion has nothing to do with politics do not

know what religion is” (Gandhi, 1948:454). After considering the information revealed by this study, I conclude that that this statement can be rephrased and contextualised for South Africa as follows: “Those who say African Traditional Religion has nothing to do with politics do not know what African Traditional Religion is”. This research study aimed to prove that ATR has played an active role in the way in which African people are politically organised and “unofficially” governed, and that the principles and values thereof have been absorbed into the new democracy and governance systems. The topic and main aim together were to establish the relationship between ATR and governance in South Africa. The topic I have selected has not experienced many academic research enquiries. In relation to governance, ATR is not a well-documented religion, which made the study of ATR a bigger challenge. Therefore, a further aim of the study was to establish an academic foundation and understanding of the relationship between African Tradition Religion and South African Governance.

The most significant academic foundation for ATR is found within the Christian theology environment, in which ATR practices are both critiqued and compared, based on Christian beliefs. The most significant studies in the literature for my study were Vernon E. Light’s book “Transforming the Church in Africa (2012)”; Afrika Mhlophe’s book “Christianity and the Veneration of Ancestors (2013)”; D Crawford’s book “A world of religions: A South African perspective (1996)”; TW Bennett’s “Traditional African religions in South African law” (2011); and various books by the well-known expert in the field of ATR, John S. Mbiti.

This research study has determined that the adherents of ATR in South Africa are serious about their religion, and keep its customs secretive or unexposed, albeit that most of adherents practise a form of syncretism, mainly with Christianity. The study has shown that Westerners (in general and in South Africa) do not have sufficient understanding of ATR, which causes unnecessary prejudices, conflicts and misunderstandings. The lack of knowledge is not the error of Westerners alone, as ATR is an oral tradition and adherents thereto have a responsibility to inform others of their beliefs. ATR is still covered in mysticism and therefore the uninformed still see ATR as a religion of witchcraft and worshipping the dead. This study has illuminated the practices surrounding ancestral veneration and other ATR rituals. An example is that of muthi, which has both positive and negative connotations. Some practices

using muti are directly in contradiction to the Constitution, and accordingly a majority of traditional healers are distancing themselves from those practices.

If published statistics in South Africa are to be used as a yardstick, it seems as though there is no adherents to ATR in South Africa (Bennett, 2011:ix). The majority religion identified is Christianity. ATR is not an institutionalised religion and has no canon text, but is nevertheless considered to be one of the major religions operating in South Africa. Statistics in South Africa do not reflect the true figure in terms of its adherents. It is hoped that the next census will display ATR as a specific religion.

Some of the main governance challenges being experienced in South Africa are unemployment, education, inadequate infrastructure limiting social inclusion, marginalised poor, sustainability problems, health, corruption, and a divided society (Schwella, 2015:144). I conclude that the *current governance challenges* are not only attributable to the legacy of apartheid, but are also due to traditional practices associated with ATR and the ongoing conflict at local governance levels. The existing conflict between local government institutions and traditional leaders needs to be clarified for the sake of better governance.

Being an institution recognised by law, traditional leadership should have an imperative role in the transformation of the country. As Logan (2008:1) states, “traditional leaders, chiefs and elders clearly still play an important role in the lives of many Africans: only religious leaders are contacted more frequently by ordinary Africans in their efforts to solve their problems or express their views”. ATR requires an absolute form of obedience to traditional leaders. Where traditional leaders become corrupt, the “sin” seems not be exposed. This is captured in the philosophy of *Umntu akalahlwa*. “Africa suffers the consequences of the sin of the great western powers ... (but) it suffers also the consequences of its own sins” (Tshilenga, 2005, cited in Light, 2012:302).

In my view, ATR has influenced the “modern” systems of governance in such a way that the “traditional” view cannot be ignored or discarded. As long as there are Africans on the African continent, African Traditional Religion will remain a significant factor to consider when governing African people. Further research should be done on the topic of African Governance to better contextualise South Africa democracy. The impact of democracy on ATR and traditional leadership also requires qualitative research. The

question I am left with here is, “are the adherents of ATR content with the impact that democratic governance and laws have had on their ways of life?”.

I submit that the new African democracy model for governance has not been defined comprehensively enough and that it has not reached a refined state. The further research proposed should include gathering extensive empirical evidence and undertaking a qualitative study to obtain better statistics regarding the ATR status in South Africa. I accept that ATR followers are not concerned about the fact that no official institution or canon scripture exists to render ATR more legitimate, and that an effort in this regard may prove futile.

I conclude that clear evidence has been gathered through this study which has revealed that a relationship between ATR and South African governance does exist. My research has achieved the objectives of providing a better understanding of how ATR is part of South African politics and governance, and of how the ATR philosophy is ingrained in South African Governance. I established how ATR principles could inform a new social contract, and presented an understanding of how ATR ethical principles relate to South African Governance.

The relationship between ATR and governance will be ongoing unless a party comes to power that has a belief system which is based on something other than ATR. Even so, African people will still dominate the governance-village. Religious beliefs can interact with politics and play an important role to either validate or undermine the legitimacy of the state. In the final analysis, ATR’s philosophy of ubuntu could be the strongest conduit to bring about solidarity in a nation still divided along racial lines, and it could enhance the governance transformation processes.

Bibliography

- Adamo DT. (2011). 'Christianity and the African traditional religion(s): The postcolonial round of engagement', *Verbum et Ecclesia* 32(1), Art. #285, 10 pages. Found at URL: <https://verbumetecclesia.org.za/index.php/ve/article/view/285/808>. Accessed 21 January 2019.
- Adebajo A. (2016). "A Jacana Pocket Biography: Thabo Mbeki". Online extract found at URL: <https://theconversation.com/mbekis-dream-of-africas-renaissance-belied-south-africas-schizophrenia-58311>. Accessed 24 August 2018.
- Amusan L and Mchunu S. (2017). An Assessment of Xenophobic/Afrophobic Attacks in South Africa (2008–2015): Whither Batho Pele and Ubuntu Principles?, *South African Review of Sociology*, 48:4, 1-18, Online article available at <https://doi.org/10.1080/21528586.2017.1411744>. Accessed on 5 October 2018.
- Anstey, M. (1999). *Managing change: negotiating conflict*. Kenwyn, South Africa. Juta.
- Ashforth A. (2005). 'Muthi, Medicine and Witchcraft: Regulating 'African Science' in Post-Apartheid South Africa?', *Social Dynamics*, 31: 2, 211 — 242 To link to this Article: DOI: 10.1080/02533950508628714 URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02533950508628714>
- Banda, Zuze, & Saayman, Willem. (2015). Renaissance and rebirth: A perspective on the African Renaissance from Christian mission praxis. *Missionalia*, 43(2), 131-152. <https://dx.doi.org/10.7832/43-2-91>
- Batho Pele Handbook (2003). *Batho Pele Handbook*. Available online at URL: <http://www.kzneducation.gov.za/Portals/0/documents/BathoPeleHandbook.pdf>. Accessed on 23 March 2018.
- Bennett, TW. (2011a). *Traditional African Religions in South African Law*. UCT Press. Cape Town. South Africa.
- Bennett, TW. (2011). Ubuntu: an African equity, 14(4), 29-61. Online resource available at URL: http://www.scielo.org.za/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1727-37812011000400003&lng=en&tlng=en. Accessed on 28 August 2018. PER: Potchefstroomse Elektroniese Regsblad
- Bevir M. (ed.). (2011). *The Sage handbook of governance*, London: Sage.
- Bezuidenhout R, and Cronje F. 2014. Chapter 16 : Qualitative Data Analysis P. 228-250. Found in Du Plooy-Cilliers F. et al. 2014. *Research Matters*. Juta & Company Ltd. Claremont. South Africa

- Bikam, P. and Chakwiriza, J. (2014). Involvement of traditional leadership in land use planning and development projects in South Africa: Lessons for local government planners. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 4(13):142–152.
- Bosch D. (2013). The Impact of Transformational Leadership on Leader-Follower Work Value Congruence. Online article found at URL: <https://thejournalofbusiness.org/index.php/site/article/view/269/285>. Accessed on 9 August 2018.
- Breed G and Semanya K. (2015). HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies Ubuntu, koinonia and diakonia, a way to reconciliation in South Africa? Breed G, Semanya Kwena 2015:n.p.).
- Bronstein JL (2015). *Mutualism*. Oxford University Press. Great Clarendon. United Kingdom.
- Business Tech. Staff Writer. (2018) South African has a Huge Number of Traditional Leaders: Here's how much they get paid. Online article found at URL: <https://businesstech.co.za/news/government/263191/south-africa-has-a-huge-number-of-traditional-leaders-heres-how-much-they-get-paid/>. Accessed on 7 August 2018.
- Carr, W. and Kemmis, S. (1986). *Becoming Critical: Education, Knowledge and Action Research*. Routledge Farmer.
- Catholic Encyclopedia > D > Dulia (1911)
<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/05188b.htm>
- Chotray, V. and Stoker, G. (2010). *Governance theory and practice – a cross-disciplinary approach*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Codesria. (2008). *Religions and Religiosities in African Governance*. Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa. Online article found at URL: <http://www.codesria.org/spip.php?article64>. Accessed on 28 February 2018.
- COGTA 2016. About the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs. Online article found at URL: http://www.cogta.gov.za/cgta_2016/?page_id=253. Accessed on 8 August 2018.
- Denis P. (2006). The rise of traditional African religion in post-apartheid South Africa. *Missionalia* 34:2/3 (Aug/Nov 2006) 310–323. Online resource available at URL: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/265042701>. Accessed on 29 August 2018.
- Department of Education (DOE). (2005). *History of the Freedom Charter*. https://www.environment.gov.za/sites/default/files/docs/publications/history_freedomcharter.pdf

- Dinokeng Scenarios (2018). Online information accessed on 17 September 2018. Available at https://www.dinokengscenarios.co.za/scen_overview.php.
- Du Plooy-Cilliers F, Davis C, Bezuidenhout R. (2014). *Research Matters*. Juta & Company Ltd. Claremont. South Africa.
- Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2007). *Church and state*. Online article found at URL: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/church-and-state>. Accessed on 10 March 2018
- Ezenweke EO. (2008). The Cult of Ancestors: A Focal Point for Prayers in African Traditional Religion. Online article found at <https://www.ajol.info/index.php/jrhr/article/viewFile/87321/77037>. Accessed on 19 October 2018
- Fahrbach L. (2005). "Understanding brute facts," *Synthese* 145 (3):4–9 - 466
Online article accessed from URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20118605>. Accessed on 19 October 2018.
- Fakir S. (2011). Whatever Happened to Batho Pele (People First)? The South African Civil Society Information Service <http://sacsis.org.za/site/article/643.1>
- Freedom Charter. (1955). Online resource available at URL: <http://www.anc.org.za/the-freedom-charter>. Accessed on 25 August 2018.
- Gandhi MK. (1948). *Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth*, p.454, Courier Corporation
- Gensler HJ. (2012) Presidential Address Reflections on the Golden Rule Harry J. Gensler, S.J. <http://www.harryhiker.com/reflectionsongr.pdf...>
- Giliomee H. (2003). *The Afrikaners: Biography of a People*. Tafelberg Publishers. Cape Town South Africa.
- Gumede V. (2008). South Africa immense and imminent possibilities. Online article found at URL: [http://thoughtleader.co.za/vusigumede/\(2008\)/08/11/south-africa-immense-and-imminent-possibilities](http://thoughtleader.co.za/vusigumede/(2008)/08/11/south-africa-immense-and-imminent-possibilities). Accessed on 1 March 2018.
- Hassim A., Heywood M. and Berger J. 2010. Health and Democracy. Chapter 7 – Traditional and alternative health care <http://www.section27.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2010/04/Chapter7.pdf>
- Herald. (2018). *Release of movie about Xhosa initiation blocked*. 2 February 2018. Online article found at URL: <http://www.heraldive.co.za/news/top-news/2018/02/02/release-movie-xhosa-initiation-postponed/>. Accessed on 13 March 2018.
- Holy Bible. Matthew 28. 1769 King James Version of the Holy Bible (also known as the Authorized Version).
- Human P. (1998) – *Yenza: a blueprint for transformation*. Oxford University Press. Cape Town. South Africa.

- Human Rights Watch (HRW). (2017). Accountability for Xenophobic Attacks on Foreign Nationals. Online report found at <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2017/country-chapters/south-africa>. Accessed on 28 August 2018.
- Igboin, BO. (2016). *Traditional leadership and corruption in pre-colonial Africa: how the past affects the present*. *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, 42(3), 142-160. <https://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2412-4265/2016/228>
- IIAG. (2017). Online information found at Url: <http://mo.ibrahim.foundation/iiag/>. Accessed on 19 August 2017
- IOL. ANA Reporter. (2018). #ANC106: Party must return to values of its founders, says Ramaphosa. Online article available at URL: <https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/kwazulu-natal/anc106-party-must-return-to-values-of-its-founders-says-ramaphosa-12648711>. Accessed on 27 August 2018.
- Jahan R. (2000). Transformative Leadership in the 21st Century. Columbia University. Online article found at URL: <http://www.capwip.org/resources/womparlconf2000/downloads/jahan1.pdf>. Accessed on 15 September 2018.
- Johnson RW. (2015). Can South Africa be Decolonised? Online article available at URL: <http://www.politicsweb.co.za/news-and-analysis/can-south-africa-be-decolonized>. Accessed 29 August 2018.
- Keulder C. (2008). Traditional leadership. In *State, society and democracy: A reader in Namibian Politics*. Gamsberg: Macmillan, 2008, p.152.
- Khan S, Madue SM and Kalema R. (2016). *Intergovernmental Relations in South Africa*. Second Edition. Van Schaik Publishers. Pretoria.
- Khomba JK. (2011). Redesigning the Balanced Scorecard Model: An African Perspective. Online article found at URL: <https://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/28706/04chapter4.pdf?sequence=5>. Accessed on 4 October 2018.
- Khoza R.J. and Adam M. (2005). *The power of Governance: Enhancing the Performance of State-Owned Enterprises*. Pan Macmillan and Business in Africa. Johannesburg. South Africa.
- Khumalo J. (2018). “Billions in irregular expenditure, fewer clean audits – AG report paints bleak picture of municipalities. Online article found at URL: <https://city-press.news24.com/News/billions-in-irregular-expenditure-fewer-clean-audits-ag-report-paints-bleak-picture-of-municipalities-20180523>. Accessed on 6 October 2018.
- Khunou, F.S. (2011). Traditional leadership and governance: Legislative environment and policy development in a democratic South Africa. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 1(9):287–290

- Koenane MLJ (2017): The role and significance of traditional leadership in the governance of modern democratic South Africa. *Africa Review*. Online article found at URL: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09744053.2017.1399563>. Accessed 24 September 2018.
- Kompi, B. and Twala, C. (2014). The African National Congress and traditional leadership in a democratic South Africa: Resurgence or revival in the era of democratisation? *Anthropologist*, 17(3):981–989.
- Kotze, J.S and Taylor, D. (2010). Kenako: Service Delivery as a Key Challenge for the Zuma Administration. *Africa Insight*. Vol 40(3): 198-212.
- Krog A. (1998). *The Country of My Skull*. Random House. Cape Town. South Africa.
- Labuschagne G. (2004). Features and Investigative Implications of Muti Murder in South Africa. Online article found at URL: <http://forensic-psychologist.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/Features-and-investigative-implications-of-Muti-Murder-in-South-Africa-2004.pdf>. Accessed on 26 September 2018.
- Labuschagne P. (2011). State instability in South Africa: a matter of an organic state trapped within a constitutional state? E-publications. *Politeia*. Volume 30. Issue 2 pp4-24.
(http://refernce.sabinet.co.za/custom_search?prodtype=EJC%2A&_gParser=QparserGeneric&authors=Labuschagne%2C+Pieter).
- Laing A. (2012). Jacob Zuma backs traditional courts instead of white man's way. Online article available [at https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/southafrica/9653920/Jacob-Zuma-backs-traditional-courts-instead-of-white-mans-way.html](https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/southafrica/9653920/Jacob-Zuma-backs-traditional-courts-instead-of-white-mans-way.html). Accessed 27 August 2018.
- Lambert RT. (2008). *Toyi-Toyi: Celebration of unity or dance of death?*. A Christian analysis of the actual South African Reality. Blue Hedgehog. Queensburgh. South Africa.
- Leeds-Hurwitz, W. (2009). Social construction of reality. In S. Littlejohn, & K. Foss (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of communication theory*. (pp. 891). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc. doi:10.4135/9781412959384.n344
- Levi-Faur David (Editor) et al. (2012). *The Oxford Handbook of Governance*. Oxford University Press. Great Britain. Chapter 49 Thomas Risse.
- Light VE. (2012). *Transforming the Church in Africa*. South African Theological Seminary Press. Authorhouse. Johannesburg. South Africa.
- Logan C. (2008). Traditional Leaders in Modern Africa: Can Democracy and the Chief Co-Exist?". *Afrobarometer Working Papers*. Online article found at URL: http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/Pnadl326.pdf. Accessed on 18 March 2018.

- Louw AH. (2000). The Concept of the African Renaissance as a Force Multiplier to Enhance Lasting Peace and Stability In Sub-Saharan Africa. Research Paper, Executive National Security Programme 02/2000 South African National Defence College 17 October 2000. Online resource found at Url: http://www.africavenir.org/fileadmin/_migrated/content_uploads/LouwAfricanRenaissanceForceMultiplier_03.pdf. Accessed on 27 August 2018.
- Louw DJ. (2001). Ubuntu: An African assessment of the religious order. Philosophy in Africa. University of the North. Online Article available at URL: <http://www.bu.edu/wcp/papers/afrilouw.htm>. Accessed on 7 August 2018.
- Makgoba MW (ed) (1999). African Renaissance: the new struggle. Sandton: Mafube Publications.
- Makholwa P. (2012). We need a new social contract to bridge divisions of labour and living. Article available from URL: <https://mg.co.za/article/2012-09-27-we-need-a-new-social-contract-to-bridge-divisions-of-labour-and-living>. Mail & Guardian. Accessed on 1 March 2018.
- Maluka B, Diale AJ and Moeti KB. (2014). Transforming public service delivery within the Department of Public Service and Administration: the quest for good governance. Journal of Public Administration, Volume 49, Issue 4, Dec 2014, p. 1019 – 1035. South African Association of Public Administration and Management (SAAPAM).
- Mandela R.N. (1995). Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela. Little, Brown and Company Boston New York London
- Mangcu, X (2008). To the Brink: the state of democracy in South Africa. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.
- Manyathela C. (2018). Ramaphosa: 2018 is Nelson Mand'la's Year. Online article available at URL: <https://ewn.co.za/2018/01/14pril14ed114osa-2018-is-nelson-mandela-s-year>. Accessed on 26 August 2018.
- Maphunye, K, Tshishonga, N, & Mafema, E (2014', 'Analyzing the Quality of South Afr'ca's Public Services at the Local Government Level through the Batho Pele Princip'es', Journal Of African & Asian Local Government Studies, 3, 1, pp. 105-119, Academic Search Ultimate, EBSCOhost, viewed 29 August 2018.
- Mathebula FML. (2011). South African intergovernmental relations: a definitional perspective, 46, 834-853 (2011", "South African Association of Public Administration and Management (SAAP"M)", Online artic114pril114edsed from URL: <https://hdl.handle.net/10520/EJC51815>. Accessed on 23 October 2018.
- Mathonsi N & Sithole S. (2017). The incompatibility of traditional leadership and democratic experimentation in South Africa. Online article found at URL:

https://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/59092/Mathonsi_Incompatibility_2017.pdf?sequence=1. Accessed on 5 October 2018.

- Mawere M and Mayekiso A. (2014). Traditional Leadership, Democracy and Social Equality in Africa: The Role of Traditional Leadership in Emboldening Social Equality In South Africa. *International Journal of Politics and Good Governance* Volume 5, No. 5.3 Quarter III 2014 ISSN: 0976 – 1195
- Mbiti JS. (1969). *African Religions and Philosophy*. London: Heinemann
- Mbiti JS (1989). *African Religions and Philosophy* 2nd ed. Oxford. London: Heinemann. From a summary of Mbiti's book produced by the SA Theological Seminary, 2012.
- Mbiti JS. (1991) [1975]. *Introduction to African Religion*. [Second edition]. Oxford:Heinemann
- Mbiti JS. (2015). *Introduction to African Religion*. Second Edition. Waveland Press. Illinois. USA.
- Meiring, P. (1996). *A World of Religions (A South African Perspective)*. Crafford, D., 1996, 'African Traditional Religions', pp. 1–26, Pretoria: Kagisco Publishers.
- Menski WF. (2006). *Comparative Law in a Global Context: the legal systems of Asia and Africa*. Second Edition. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.
- Merriam-Webster Dictionary. "Ethic". <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/ethic> accessed 16 October 2018.
- Merriam-Webster Dictionary. "Geopolitics". <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/geopolitics> accessed 21 January 2019.
- Metz T. (2011). Ubuntu as a moral theory and human rights in South Africa | Request PDF. Available from: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/317450107_Ubuntu_as_a_moral_theory_and_human_rights_in_South_Africa [accessed Oct 28 2018].
- Mhlophe A. (2012). Zuma appeals for ancestors help in Mangaung. Online article available at URL: <http://gatewaynews.co.za/zuma-appeals-for-the-ancestors-help-in-mangaung/?print=pdf>. Accessed on 25 August 2018
- Mhlophe A. (2013). *Christianity and the Veneration of Ancestors*. Salt Publishers. Belville. South Africa.
- Milnerton FC. (2018). Batho Pele Long Past. Online article found at URL: <https://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/cape-times/20180531/281857234216167>. Accessed on 5 October 2018.
- Mndende N (2006) *African Spiritual Journey: Rites of Passage among the Xhosa speaking of South Africa*. Cape Town: Icamagu Institute

- Mojapelo PM. (2013). Online resource available at URL:
<https://www.sabar.co.za/law-journals/20116prilril/2013-april-vol026-no1-pp37-46.pdf>. Accessed 30 August 2018.
- Mokgobi MG. 2014. Understanding traditional African healing
<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4651463/>. Accessed on 7 August 2018.
- Mongana LT. 2015. *Intergovernmental Relations and Cooperative Governance in South Africa: Challenges and Prospects*. Journal of Public Administration, Volume 50, Number 4, December 2015.
- Motshekga M. (2018). Heeding Ramaphosa's Call For A New Dawn With Land Expropriation Without Compensation. Online resource found at Url:
<https://www.news24.com/Columnists/GuestColumn/heeding-ramaphosas-call-for-a-new-dawn-with-land-expropriation-without-compensation-20180228>. Accessed on 27 August 2018
- Mulaudzi N. Ancestral consultation: a comparative study of Ancient Near Eastern and African religious practises with reference to 1 Samuel 28:3-25. Online thesis found at URL:
https://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/41370/Mulaudzi_Ancestrol_2014.pdf?sequence=1. Accessed on 3 October 2018.
- Mullins LJ. (2010). Management and Organisational Behaviour. Ninth Edition. Pearson Education Limited. Essex. England.
- Naki E. (2018). Why 'traditionalist' Zuma remains so popular in SA. Online article available at URL: <https://citizen.co.za/news/south-africa/1967423/why-traditionalist-zuma-remains-so-popular-in-sa/>. Accessed on 25 August 2018.
- National Development Plan 2030. (2012). Available online at Url:
<http://www.nationalplanningcommission.org.za/Pages/Downloads.aspx>. Accessed on 14 September 2018.
- Netshitomboni S. (1998). Ubuntu: Fundamental Constitutional Value and Interpretive. Master of Laws at the. Unisa. Sabinet. Online article found at URL: <http://uir.unisa.ac.za/handle/10500/15619>. Accessed on 3 October 2018.
- News 24 Articles relating to VBS Mutual Bank. Accessed on 16 October 2018.
https://www.news24.com/Tags/Companies/vbs_mutual_bank
- Nielsen N. (2018) The Social Glue of Cumulative Culture and Ritual Behavior. Child Development Perspectives 364.
- Noor, A. (2008). Ethics, Religion and Good Governance, JOAAG, Vol. 3. No. 2
- NOREF (The Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre). (2016). Engaged Societies, Responsive States: The Social Contract in Situations of Conflict

and Fragility. Concept Note article published by United Nations Development Programme

- Nürburger K. (2007). *The Living Dead and the Living God: Christ and the Ancestors in a changing Africa*. Pietermaritzburg. Cluster Publications. South Africa.
- Ogunbiyi D. (2015). *The Impacts of African Traditional Religion on Christianity*. Online Article found at URL: <http://globalwealthhipaq.blogspot.com/2015/08/the-impacts-of-african-traditional.html>. Accessed 25 September 2018.
- Oxford Online Dictionary (2018). Word definition search for “superstition”. Online search engine accessed 17 September 2018. Found at <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/superstition>.
- Oyeshile. O.A. (2003). *Traditional Yoruba Social-Ethical Values and Governance in Modern Africa*. *Philosophia Africana* Vol 6, No. 2, August 2003. Online article found at URL: <https://search.ebscohost.com/proxy.ufs.ac.za/login.aspx?direct=true&db=hus&AN=11099699&site=ehost-live>. Accessed on 21 October 2018.
- Pew Research Centre. (2015). *Global Religious Futures*. Online article found at URL: http://www.globalreligiousfutures.org/countries/south-africa/#/?affiliations_religion_id=0&affiliations_year=2010®ion_name=All%20Countries&restrictions_year=2015. Accessed on 16 March 2018.
- Ramaphosa MC. (2017). *Cyril Ramaphosa: Address by South African Deputy President, at the 19th African Renaissance Conference, Inkosi Albert Luthuli ICC, Durban (25/05/2017)*. Online resource found at URL: <http://connectingafrica.co/2017-Presentations/>. Accessed on 26 August 2018
- Ramaphosa MC. (2017). *Cyril Ramaphosa: Address by South African Deputy President, at the 19th African Renaissance Conference, Inkosi Albert Luthuli ICC, Durban (25/05/2017)*. Online resource found at URL: <http://connectingafrica.co/2017-Presentations/>. A
- Richter M. (2003). *Traditional Medicines and Traditional Healers in South Africa*. Online discussion paper available at URL: <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/8359/89878408b67007fa60bc844300a67a91317c.pdf>. Accessed on 4 October 2018.
- Robbins SP, Odendaal A, Roodt G. (2007). *Organisational Behaviour: Global and Southern African Perspectives*. Seventh Impression. Pearson Education. Cape Town. South Africa.
- Rossouw D. 2018. *The Social and Ethics Committee Handbook (Second Edition)*. Published by the The Ethics Institute, Hatfield, Pretoria, South Africa.

- RSA. (1957). *Witchcraft Suppression Act 3 of 1957*. Government Printers. South Africa.
- RSA. (1993). *Interim Constitution of the Republic of South Africa*. Government Printers. South Africa.
- RSA. (1996). *The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa*. Government Printers. South Africa.
- RSA. (1997). *White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery (Batho Pele White Paper)* Published in October 1997. Government Printers. Pretoria. South Africa.
- RSA. (1998). *White Paper on Local Government*. Government Printers. Pretoria. South Africa.
- RSA (1998b). *The White Paper on Local Government Development*. Government Printers. Pretoria. South Africa.
- RSA. (2003). *Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act-2003-Act-No-41 and Amendment Act 23 of 2009*. Available from URL: http://www.cogta.gov.za/cgta_2016/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/TLGFA-Traditional-Leadership-and-Governance-Framework-Act-2003-Act-No-41-of-2003.pdf.
- RSA. (2003a). *The White Paper on Traditional Leadership and Governance*. July 2003. Online article found at http://www.cogta.gov.za/cgta_2016/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/White-Paper-on-Traditional-Leadership-and-Governance.pdf. Accessed 18 March 2018.
- RSA. (2003b). *The White Paper on Traditional Leadership and Governance*. Government Printers. Pretoria. South Africa.
- RSA. (2003c). *National Health Act 61 of 2003*. Government Printers. Pretoria. South Africa.
- RSA. (2003d). *The Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Amendment Act 41 of 2003*. Government Printers. Pretoria. South Africa.
- RSA. (2003e). *White Paper on Traditional Leadership and Governance, 2003*. Government Printers. Pretoria. South Africa.
- RSA. (2007). *Traditional Health Practitioners Act 22 of 2007*. Government Printers. Pretoria.
- RSA. (2012). *National Development Plan 2030: Our Future-make it work*. Available online at Url: <http://www.nationalplanningcommission.org.za/Pages/Downloads.aspx>. Accessed on 14 February 2018.
- SAHO. (2016). *Congress of the People and the Freedom Charter* <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/congress-people-and-freedom-charter>

- SALawreform. (2012). Project 135 – Review of witchcraft legislation. Online article found at URL:
<http://salawreform.justice.gov.za/progress.htm#sthash.k4btWqEw.dpbs>.
 Accessed on 24 April 2018.
- SALRC (South African Law Reform Commission). (2016). Discussion Paper 139 The Review of The Witchcraft Suppression Act 3 of 1957 Project 135. Online article found at URL:
<http://salawreform.justice.gov.za/dpapers/dp139-WitchcraftSuppression.pdf>.
 Accessed on 6 October 2018.
- Schneider, S. C. and Barsoux, J. *Managing Across Cultures*, second edition, Financial Times Prentice Hall (2003), p. 167
- Schwella E (Editor) (2015). *South African Governance*. Oxford University Press. Cape Town South Africa.
- Shahadah A (2017). *Religions in Africa Today*. Online article accessed on 20 January 2019. Available at <http://www.africanbelief.com>.
- Sidima L and Feketha S. (2018). *Top six look to ancestors for guidance*. The Mercury 10 Jan 2018. Online article accessed on 13 March 2018. Available at <https://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/the-mercury/20180110/281586650993316>.
- Sinn (2016). *Theoretical Perspectives: Social Constructionism*, retrieved 2018-10-26 – video transcribe.
- SONA (2018). *State of the Nation Address by President Cyril Ramaphosa*. Online resource found at URL:
<http://www.wcpp.gov.za/sites/default/files/SONA%202018.pdf>
- StatsSA. (2001). *Primary tables South Africa CENSUS 2001, Census '96 and 2001 compared*.
<https://www.webcitation.org/6UxL3wQW4?url=http://www.statssa.gov.za/census01/html/RSAPrimary.pdf>
- Terreblanche SJS. (2012). *Lost in Transformation: South Africa's search for a new future since 1986*. KMM Review Publishing Company. Johannesburg South Africa.
- The Free Library. S.v. *Referral and collaboration between South African psychiatrists and religious or spiritual advisers: views from some psychiatrists*." Retrieved Oct 06 2018 from
<https://www.thefreelibrary.com/Referral+and+collaboration+between+South+African+psychiatrists+and...-a0380748178>
- Thompson A. (2017). *The Story of South Africa's Black Consciousness Movement in the 1970s*. Online article available at URL:
<https://www.thoughtco.com/black-consciousness-movement-43431>.
 Accessed 29 August 2018.

- Thomson A. (2000). *An introduction to African politics*. London. Routledge.
- Tuckness A. (2016). "*Locke's Political Philosophy*", *The Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2016 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), Available from URL = <<https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2016/entries/locke-political/>>. Accessed on 4 March 2018.
- Turaki Y. (2000). *Africa Traditional Religious System as Basis of Understanding Christian Spiritual Warfare*. The Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization. Online article found at URL: www.lausanne.org/Brix?pageID=13876 . Acsessed 5 July 2018.
- Tutu D. (1999). *No Future Without Forgiveness*. Random House. London. UK.
- Tyatya K. (2015). It takes a village to raise a child. Online article found at <https://www.news24.com/MyNews24/It-takes-a-village-to-raise-a-child-20150921>. Accessed on 28 October 2018.
- Udoye EA. (2011). *Resolving the Prevailing Conflicts between Christianity and African (Igbo) Traditional Religion through Inculturation*. Volume 26 of *Beiträge zur Missionswissenschaft und Religionsgeschichte*. LIT Verlag Münster.
- UNESCO. (2014). *Message from Ms Irina Bokova, Director-General of UNESCO on the occasion of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination dated 21 March 2014*. Online article found at URL: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0022/002264/226449e.pdf>. Accessed on 15 March 2018.
- Unisa (No date). *CHAPTER 4 Research Methodology and Design - Unisa Institutional*. Online article available at URL: http://uir.unisa.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10500/4245/05Chap%204_Research%20methodology%20and%20design.pdf. Accessed 12 April 2019.
- Uzochukwu, B., Mbachu, C., Onwujekwe, O., Okwuosa, C., Etiaba, E., Nyström, M. and Gilson, L. (2016). *Health policy and systems research and analysis in Nigeria: examining health policymakers' and researchers' capacity assets, needs and perspectives in south-east Nigeria*. *Health Research Policy and Systems*, 14(1).
- Van der Merwe PJ. (2008). Chapter 3: The Challenge of Ancestor Worship (P. 39-67). University of Pretoria. Online article available at URL: <https://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/25045/02chapter3.pdf?sequence=3>. Accessed on 3 October 2018.
- van Zyl E., Dalglish C., du Plessis M., Lues L., Pietersen E., Ngunjiri F., Kablan P. (2016). *Leadership in the African Context*. 2nd Edition. Juta. Cape Town. South Africa.
- Ward TP. (2016). South Africa's Witchcraft Suppression Act ruled unconstitutional. Online article found at URL: <https://wildhunt.org/2016/01/south-africas->

witchcraft-suppression-act-ruled-unconstitutional.html. Accessed 27 September 2018.

Willemse H. (2016). The origin and history of Afrikaans. Online article found at <http://english.afrikaans.com/afrikaans-today/the-origin-and-history-of-afrikaans>. Accessed 28 October 2018.

Wingfield B. (2017). What decolonised education should and shouldn't mean. Online article available at https://www.fabinet.up.ac.za/publication/pdfs/3089-what__decolonised_education__should_and_shouldnt_mean.pdf. Accessed on 28 August 2018.

Wolf HE. (2018). How the continent's languages can unlock the potential of young Africans. Online article found at URL: <https://theconversation.com/how-the-continents-languages-can-unlock-the-potential-of-young-africans-90322>. Accessed on 28 October 2018.

Yoruba C. (2014). *Decolonising the mind: The misunderstanding of traditional African beliefs*. May 6, 2014. Online article retrieved from URL: <https://thisisafrica.me/decolonising-mind-misunderstanding-traditional-african-beliefs/>. Accessed on 14 March 2018.