

Jung / Kessler / Kretzschmar / Meier (eds.)

# Metaphors for Leading - Leading by Metaphors





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Stefan Jung / Volker Kessler /  
Louise Kretzschmar / Elke Meier (eds.)

# **Metaphors for Leading – Leading by Metaphors**

With 5 figures

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## Inhalt

Foreword . . . . .	9
Susanne Krüger	
Introduction to metaphor . . . . .	13
Louise Kretschmar	
An ethical analysis of ‘big man’ and ‘inner ring’ leadership in South Africa: The example of Jacob Zuma and the resistance of Thuli Madonsela . . . . .	17
Peirong Lin	
From stealing someone’s lunch to the inclusion of justice and care: A reflective follower’s interpretation on the self-reliance of Singapore . . .	29
Dorothy Mmakgwale Farisani	
Black South African women are not perpetual minors but hard rocks: Recognising leadership through metaphors . . . . .	43
Solomon Kgatle	
The cup and baptism: Metaphors of servant leadership in Mark 10:38–39	55
Eberhard Werner	
Modelling inclusivist friendship in leadership . . . . .	65
Jack Barentsen	
The pastor as entrepreneur? An investigation of the use and value of “entrepreneur” as metaphor for pastoral leadership . . . . .	75

Mathias Nell	
Military metaphors we lead by: Paul's self-enactment as a field commander . . . . .	89
Thomas Kröck	
Masters or midwives? The role of international development workers . . .	101
Konstantin Schneider	
Die Hebamme: Eine Leitbild-Metapher für das Leiten in Gemeinde aus theologischer Perspektive . . . . .	115
Elelwani Farisani	
The role of the king in the Old Testament and its significance for modern leadership in Africa . . . . .	129
Peter Westphal	
Resilient leadership through a system of unique and separated roles: King, Priest, and Prophet as metaphors for counter-balancing leadership functions in organisations . . . . .	139
Christoph Stenschke	
"Shepherd the Church of God" (Acts 20:28): Pastoral metaphors for leadership in the Bible . . . . .	153
Emanuel Kessler	
Herding bees: A metaphor for agile project management . . . . .	165
Volker Kessler	
Herding cats: A helpful metaphor for leading academic researchers . . .	175
Nelus Niemandt	
"Narraphors" in missional transformation of South African denominations: A herd of buffaloes . . . . .	187
Christo Lombaard	
Leading Lady: Lady Wisdom from the Hebrew Bible book of Proverbs as a metaphor for leadership . . . . .	201
Martina Kessler	
Der Mann als Metapher für Leiterschaft . . . . .	213

Johannes Reimer

The metaphor of father: A comparison of fatherly and paternalistic  
leadership in mission . . . . . 225

Johann Kornelsen

The *flowing stream* metaphor: Leading organisations towards strategic  
flexibility in a permanently changing world . . . . . 237

Stefan Jung / Kristina Willjes

The agile organisation: New metaphors for an old concept? . . . . . 249





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## Foreword

### Metaphors for leading – leading by metaphors

Metaphors are great; they are insightful and influential. They help us to understand the world and they influence the world as they interpret and construct reality. Leaders are people who have influence. They will, wittingly or unwittingly, use metaphors while leading and this usage may be good or evil and have either positive or negative consequences.

As many metaphors are discussed in this book, it was difficult to decide on how to organise them in a coherent order. After much discussion, the editors agreed to organise the chapters of the book according to the sources from which the metaphors were drawn. Some authors discuss metaphors drawn from *social interaction*, for example, the ‘inner ring’, inclusion, ‘stealing people’s lunch’, perpetual minors, and baptism. Several metaphors relate to *professional life*: entrepreneurs; midwives; kings, prophets and priests; and even the military profession. Readers are further introduced to surprising metaphors from the world of *animals*, such as a ‘herd’ of buffaloes, and ‘herding’ bees, cats, and sheep. Three chapters use metaphors drawn from *gender roles*, such as father, man, and Lady Wisdom. The final two chapters employ metaphors of *motion*, namely, a flowing stream and agility.

Credit for the choice of the topic for this book must be given to Mats Alvesson and André Spicer, who edited the book, *Metaphors we lead by*. This book really was an ‘eye-opener’ for many of us, and its insights inspired our own research.

The starting point for this book was a conference on metaphors for leadership, held on 25–27 April 2018, at *Karimu* in Burbach, Germany. Scholars from four different continents, Africa, Asia, Europe, and North America, attended. Their professional background was very diverse. Apart from many theologians, linguists, computer scientists, and specialists for organisation development attended. This mixture made for a diverse and inspirational atmosphere. Later, authors who had not attended the conference also contributed chapters to the book.

This conference, the fourth international Christian Leadership Conference, was hosted by GBFE, a consortium of ten European Colleges ([www.gbfe.eu](http://www.gbfe.eu)), together with Wycliffe Germany ([www.wycliff.de](http://www.wycliff.de)), and the YMCA University of Applied Sciences, Kassel ([www.cvjm-hochschule.de](http://www.cvjm-hochschule.de)). In addition, six partner organisations or institutions supported the conference. These included the Lutheran School of Theology, Aarhus in Denmark; the North Park University, Chicago, USA; the University of South Africa, Pretoria, South Africa. Three German partners also supported the conference, the Akademie für christliche Führungskräfte in Gummersbach ([www.acf.de](http://www.acf.de)), ingenior training & consulting, located in Bruchköbel ([www.ingenior.de](http://www.ingenior.de)), and the Theologische Hochschule Ewersbach ([www.th-ewersbach.de](http://www.th-ewersbach.de)). We greatly appreciate the support of all these organisations and institutions, some of whom helped to make possible the publication of this book. Special thanks go to the team at the International Conference Centre *Karimu* in Burbach. It is a marvellous place to host such a conference; the friendly staff and the excellent venue contributed a lot to its success.

## The peer review process

All the chapters of this book underwent a rigorous academic peer review process. Each chapter was sent to two scholars who are experts in the relevant disciplines or fields of research (the reviewers were not revealed to the authors). These scholars were selected from academic institutions in Germany, South Africa, and the United States and were independent of the publisher and the authors of the book. Although they remain anonymous, we sincerely appreciate the substantial academic peer reviews they provided. Their reviews certainly helped the various authors to revise judiciously their chapters and thereby improved the quality of the book.

## Research justification

This book is a further publication of the ongoing ‘academic conversation’ between Africa and Europe (and beyond). So far, we have hosted four Christian Leadership Conferences, in South Africa (2013), Germany (2014), Belgium (2016), and again in Germany (2018). The following include some of the publications that have resulted from this co-operation:

- Two full issues in an accredited journal (*Koers – Bulletin for Christian Scholarship* 75(3) [2010] and 79(2) [2014])

- Two books: Barentsen, J.; Kessler, V. & Meier, E. (eds) 2016. *Christian leadership in a changing world: Perspectives from Africa and Europe*. Leuven: Peeters; and Barentsen, J.; van den Heuvel, S. & Kessler, V. (eds) 2017. *Increasing diversity: Loss of control or identity adaptive construction*. Leuven: Peeters.

The significant diversity and influence of metaphors and, in this instance, metaphors of leadership, have already been outlined above. Because they are important, an academic study of their nature and influence is justified. In this book, various metaphors for leadership are discussed; some are criticised and others are recommended. These metaphors are drawn from a variety of sources and applied to diverse contexts. Various cultures are reflected in the book (e.g. the Netherlands, Singapore, South Africa, and Germany) as are several social contexts such as society, politics, the economy, software engineering, universities, Churches, mission history, etc. The topic of this book provided space for a great deal of creativity, and the authors made the best of this opportunity. New knowledge and insights are presented in the book, and we trust that this will lead to further research. While written with academic rigor for researchers in the field of leadership, this book also seeks to be accessible for practitioners to foster in depth reflection on various forms of leadership practice.

We have enjoyed preparing this book for publication and we certainly hope you will enjoy reading it! We trust that this book will create an increased awareness of the metaphors used in the study and practice of leadership. May it inspire leaders to reflect on the metaphors they lead by, and motivate future research. Because many metaphors of leadership are used in our world, some for good and others for ill, it is essential to improve our understanding and usage of these metaphors.

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The editors, March 2019



## Introduction to metaphor

A book covering the proceedings of a conference dealing with leadership and metaphor is called on to provide some sort of definition of metaphor to start with. This constitutes a challenge, because there is no clear and simple definition. It is a very old concept, already described at length by Aristotle. For him, it was a literary device used in good speaking and writing. It was part of figurative speech, used specifically in certain literary styles and contexts, and as such to be distinguished from the literal use of language. More recently, metaphor has been described as something far more widespread and fundamental to human communication. Lakoff and Johnson (1980:3) say that “the way we think, what we experience, and what we do every day is very much a matter of metaphor”. Metaphor has, in turn, been described as part of the domains of semantics, pragmatics, cognitive linguistics, or psychology. Some include parables, similes and metonymy as part of the concept of metaphor, others see them as different parts of figurative speech. The fact is that metaphor is found everywhere: in literature, in letters, in the Bible, and in everyday speech. Metaphor is an integral part of how we express and explain things and it seems logical that it shapes our thinking and understanding as well.

For the Christian Leadership Conference we used a fairly wide definition of metaphor. The focus was on leadership and how metaphor can help us understand and describe leadership. Looking at this focus, there are some aspects of metaphor that are worth explaining in this introductory chapter.

We definitely understand metaphor more broadly than merely using the meaning of one word or phrase to better describe another word or concept. To quote Lakoff and Johnson (1980:7) again: “Since metaphorical expressions in our language are tied to metaphorical concepts in a systematic way, we can use metaphorical linguistic expressions to study the nature of metaphorical concepts and to gain an understanding of the metaphorical nature of our activities.”

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This describes very well the goal, the conference tried to achieve. The call for papers stated: “They [metaphors] all help describe the underlying view on leadership and give insight into how leadership is influenced by our metaphorical view of the world.”<sup>2</sup>

There are many metaphors used to describe leadership. Studying current metaphors on leadership should help us gain an understanding of how the concept of leadership is perceived and understood. On the other hand, discoveries about leadership can be described in new metaphors to help explain abstract concepts and clarify specific aspects that seem worth highlighting.

So, what are the foundations for this use and understanding of metaphor?

As a very basic principle, we can say that by using a metaphor we use the characteristics of one word or concept and apply it to another word or concept. There are fairly simple and straightforward metaphors like the expression: *He has a heart of stone*. We know that some characteristics of the word ‘stone’ include hard, cool, and unbendable. If somebody displays similar characteristics in his emotional make-up, we describe this abstract concept of a person’s personality through a concrete example from everyday life. Some metaphors have shaped our vocabulary significantly. Both Lakoff (1980) and Levinson (1983) give examples of this: “Argument is war” is a metaphor seen in most verbs used to describe an argument. We attack an argument or defend our position. We advance a new theory or regroup our thoughts. Indeed, it seems difficult to describe any kind of argument in the English language without using words that can be traced back to language used in war.

However, as stated above, metaphor goes beyond using the meaning of one word or concept for something else. Foss (2009:267) describes metaphors as “nonliteral comparisons in which a word or phrase from one domain of experience is applied to another domain”. Hence, metaphor has a lot to do with our experience and world-view. Lakoff and Johnson (1980:5) say: “The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another.” Experience is a crucial part of metaphor. In order to understand and interpret metaphorical use of language, we need to draw not only on our language skills but on our every-day experience, our world-view, and our cultural understanding. The metaphor *He has a heart of stone* only makes sense, if in our world-view emotions are located in the heart. In many cultures, where this is the case, the metaphor is immediately understood without necessarily thinking about it much. It fits the common cultural understanding. But in some cultures,

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2 Niemandt in his chapter describes how the concept of metaphor has recently been further expanded by using the term “narraphor”. Kok & Jordaan (2018:11) apply ideas from Lakoff’s research into cognitive neuroscience and emphasise that metaphors are always embedded in a particular frame of reference and also *ipso facto* a result of an embodied experience. They adapted the concept to include the broader idea of “metanarraphor”.

emotions are linked to very different parts of the human body, for example the stomach. In such cultures the metaphor would not make sense and could only be understood if explained.

So metaphors can tell us something about how we see the world. They can bring deep-seated convictions to the surface; convictions that we might not even be aware we hold. Metaphors can show how we view and define the reality around us. In this sense, the study of metaphor will help us understand the individual or cultural view of an abstract concept like leadership. Alvesson and Spicer (2011:6) say: “We think by exploring unusual metaphors of leadership, it is possible to begin to reveal interesting and perhaps useful aspects of leadership that are frequently missed.” We look at a metaphor and interpret it. This often happens subconsciously as we automatically connect our knowledge, our emotions, and our world-view of one concept to another one. At other times we might very consciously think about the metaphor and interpret it in order to understand better how it might bring clarity to the word or concept it describes.

On the other hand, it should be possible to create new metaphors to explain aspects of leadership that might be difficult to explain otherwise. If Lakoff is right in saying that our whole thinking and doing “is very much a matter of metaphor” (see above), then new metaphors should very much support our thinking and understanding of more abstract concepts such as leadership. Schön (1993:137) makes the very compelling argument that metaphor “refers both to a certain kind of product – a perspective or frame, a way of looking at things and to a certain kind of process – a process by which new perspectives on the world come into existence”. He calls this “generative metaphor” (1993:137), a concept taken on by other scholars. The term describes how new metaphors are created and constructed or “generated” in order to see things in a new way.

Schön (1993) also describes the necessity to deconstruct metaphors in order to truly come to new understandings. He looks specifically at metaphors describing problems in social policy. Like others before him, he points to the danger of the use of metaphors as they reduce a very complex situation to a more concrete and simple way of looking at it. He points out that if we don’t take the time to understand the metaphor by “renaming, regrouping, and reordering [... its new] features and relations” (1993:156), we run the danger of limiting ourselves to certain aspects of the problem and hindering a process which will truly bring new understandings and, according to his argument, new solutions.

So our studies of metaphors concerning leadership will allow us to understand how different people and groups view leadership. They will help us create new metaphors to link concepts of leadership with characteristics of concrete experience and realities. These new metaphors will, in turn, be deconstructed and interpreted by others. A circle of invention, description, and interpretation



begins that will, one hopes, ultimately increase our understanding of leadership. And consequently, one hopes, make us better leaders.

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## **An ethical analysis of ‘big man’ and ‘inner ring’ leadership in South Africa: The example of Jacob Zuma and the resistance of Thuli Madonsela**

### **1 Introduction**

Two metaphors relevant to leadership are discussed in this paper. First, I discuss the metaphor of the ‘big man’ (or woman) and second, the ‘inner ring’. This is because so-called ‘big men’ commonly surround themselves with an ‘inner ring’ of supporters. A metaphor is a figure of speech used to explain a word or concept by comparing it with something else with which it shares some characteristics. In this way abstract concepts about leadership are more easily understood. Metaphors “[...] have the power to both positively create belief and commitment to an idea or practice and negatively to bamboozle receivers into a false position of poor or even detrimental practice” (Lumby & English 2010:116).

The aims of this paper are first to describe ‘big man’ political leadership, with reference to ex-President Zuma, and the roles of those in his ‘inner ring’.<sup>2</sup> A second aim is to provide an ethical analysis of Zuma’s leadership. Third, I outline the moral resistance revealed in the leadership of the former Public Protector, Thuli Madonsela. The stark contrast of the lives of these public figures clearly reveals the realities of recent South African experience.

The methodology used is theoretical; I draw upon the insights of several commentators on socio-political affairs and a range of writers within the academic fields of Christian Ethics and Leadership Studies. The metaphor of the ‘big man’ is not used here in the sense of the ‘Great Man’, an understanding of leadership common in some schools of thought (Meier 2016:113), but refers to dictatorial, authoritarian and hierarchical leadership.<sup>3</sup> Those who adopt ‘big man’ leadership do not value organisational ethics (Jung and Armbruster

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2 This analysis does not include a discussion of leadership in sectors such as business, religion, and education, but there too ‘big man’ leadership is visible.

3 Sometimes such leaders are also charismatic, but the nature and dangers of charismatic leadership are not discussed here.

2016:77–91), justice or political accountability, but rather employ loyal followers to protect their own interests.

## 2 The metaphor of the ‘big man’ in South Africa

Over the centuries many countries have experienced ‘big man’ leadership at one time or another. Recent examples of ‘big man’ leaders in Africa include Idi Amin (Uganda), Charles Taylor (Liberia) and Robert Mugabe (Zimbabwe). However, this paper will focus attention only on Jacob Zuma. Although the paper focuses on ‘big men’, there were women who supported Zuma, benefitted from his patronage and operated as ‘big women’ within their spheres of influence. They included women who hold (or held) high leadership positions in government such as Baleka Mbete (the Speaker of Parliament), Bathabile Dlamini (South African Social Services Agency), Faith Muthambi (Minister of Communications) and Dudu Myeni (South African Airways).

Zuma has often been referred to as the ‘big man’, and other synonymous terms were also used to describe him in South Africa, such as ‘Number One’ and ‘uBaba’ (Father). The ‘big man’ syndrome, says Gqubule (2017:206–207):

[...] is alive and well in crumbling institutions throughout the continent [...] [it is] a system that sets up a patron-client relationship characterised by an asymmetry of power. It is an order in which patrons use state resources to buy popularity, political constituencies and loyalty. When the ‘Big man’ is on top of the heap, life is fun, fun is impunity. The sex comes easily, the money is good and the masses offer admiration and affection.

In essence, ‘big man’ leadership is hierarchical and self-serving and it offers patronage and impunity – but only for as long as the ‘big man’ is in power, an unpleasant fact often disregarded by ‘big men’ and their followers. (In February 2018, Zuma was supplanted as the South African President by Matamela Cyril Ramaphosa. Since then, several Commissions of Inquiry have been investigating instances of State Capture and related matters.)

## 3 An ‘inner ring’ of supporters

### 3.1 C.S. Lewis

C.S. Lewis (1898–1963) was a professor of Medieval and Renaissance English at Cambridge University, a novelist and public speaker on matters of faith and life.

He defines the 'inner ring' as a secret group, a system or hierarchy within the official systems of the school, the army, government or other institutions:

There are no formal admissions or expulsions. People think they are in it after they have in fact been pushed out of it, or before they have been allowed in: this provides great amusement for those who are really inside. (Lewis 1944:4)

According to Lewis, this 'inner ring' is characterised by the 'lure of the caucus', secrecy, and being 'in-the-know' (:5). What makes this 'inner ring' powerful and insidious is "the desire to be inside the local Ring, and the terror of being left outside" (:4). Lewis argues that this desire "is one of the great permanent mainsprings of human action" (:6, 7). He goes on to say: "We hope, no doubt, for tangible profits from every Inner Ring we penetrate: power, money, liberty to break rules, avoidance of routine duties, [and] evasion of discipline. But all these would not satisfy us if we did not get in addition the *delicious sense of secret intimacy*" (:7, my emphasis). He adds, "Exclusion is no accident: it is the essence" (:10).

Lewis provides two reasons for arguing that 'inner rings' are evil. The first is that the prospect of being admitted to such a ring, or the desire to remain within a ring, inevitably compromises one's attitudes and behaviour. One may shrug off a good friend, while pursuing relationships with those in the ring, and one may derive "pleasure from the loneliness and humiliation of the outsiders after you yourself were in [...]" (:6). In a seemingly innocuous way, a person will be approached by someone who is already in the ring, and such a person will be invited to do something that is not fully within the rules. Because one longs to belong to the ring, one accepts and enters (:8). Once you have been drawn in, you will be asked to do something that is a bit further from the rules, and later on, something further still (:9). In this way, one is corrupted. Lewis states, "Of all the passions the passion for the Inner Ring is most skilful in making a man who is not yet a very bad man do very bad things" (:9).

Lewis's second reason for stating that 'inner rings' are evil is because being in a ring is ultimately unsatisfying:

The torture allotted to the Danaides in the classical underworld, that of attempting to fill sieves with water, is the symbol not of one vice but of all vices. It is the very mark of a perverse desire that it seeks what is not to be had. The desire to be inside the invisible line illustrates this rule. As long as you are governed by that desire you will never get what you want. You are trying to peel an onion: if you succeed there will be nothing left. Until you conquer the fear of being an outsider, an outsider you will remain. (:9)

Lewis makes it clear that groups of people working together do not necessarily constitute 'inner rings'. Confidential discussions are sometimes necessary and friendships within institutions can be a good thing (:6). Groups consisting of professionals, craftsmen, and musicians that contentedly operate on the basis of

mutual respect do not operate in secrecy or deliberately exclude others. Rather, says Lewis, they are “[a] wholesome group of people which holds together for a good purpose [...] [they] exclude others because there is work only for so many or because the others can’t in fact do it” (:10). In today’s language, one may speak of a team or a network of people working together in a dedicated, but transparent way.

Lewis’s insights are important because no ‘big man’ can become powerful, or remain in power, without the support of an ‘inner ring’. It is a mutually corrupting association. Significantly, the Nationalist Party, which governed South Africa from 1948–1994, had its own ‘inner ring’, the secret society of the Afrikaner Broederbond (Band of Brothers).

### 3.2 Zuma’s inner ring

Zuma’s supporters are referred to in various ways, including the clique, faction, corrupt elite, and inner circle (Gqubule 2017:4, 141, 194, 224). According to Du Preez (2018), members of this ‘inner ring’ included Des van Rooyen, Bathabile Dlamini, Faith Muthambi, Mosebenzi Zwane, and David Mahlobo. Zuma also gathered around himself a ‘Premier League’, consisting of the premiers of three regions, the Free State (Ace Magashule), Mpumalanga (David Mabuza) and the North West (Supra Mahumapelo), who helped him to manipulate the levers of power within the Party and the country (Gqubule 2017:65–66). They, and many others, were governed by the desire to be part of an inner ring of power and were allegedly willing to do what was morally wrong. According to Du Preez (2018):

The stark truth is that under Zuma, South Africa became poorer, more divided, more unstable and more unequal. [...] He destroyed many of the hard-won gains our society had made between 1994 and 2009. [...] He sat on a throne like a feared king, dishing out and receiving favours and gifts.

The members of his ‘inner ring’ enabled Zuma to become the President of the country in 2009 (Kasrils 2017:70–101, 126–137, 178–186) and to retain this position until February 2018. They literally kept him out of court by refusing to pursue the 18 charges and 783 counts laid against him; technically, he has not yet been proven guilty. Jacques Pauw’s explosive book, *The president’s keepers: Keeping Zuma in power and out of jail*, provides chilling details of how tax-avoiding ‘ganglords’ and Zuma himself were protected by Tom Moyane who was the head of the South Africa Revenue Service (SARS) (Pauw 2017:85–115, 123–139, 165–218). Pauw (2017:200–248) further argues that the State Security Agency was characterised by corruption and wasteful expenditure and that Zuma used people with dubious records to fill important posts in the police and

the National Intelligence Agency. The book also exposes the role of the Zuma and Gupta family members in capturing the State Owned Enterprises (SOEs) (Pauw 2017:201–209, 270–273, 312; also Johnson 2015:35–40).

Zuma survived nine votes of no-confidence in Parliament because African National Congress (ANC) loyalists were persuaded, or compelled, to support him even though reports of widespread corruption were becoming public knowledge. Despite his lack of integrity, the 'big man' was not questioned because this could have constituted a betrayal of the collective, undermined ethnic loyalty and displayed failure to be subservient to high ranking leaders (Kretzschmar 2017:59–60, 65–67).

## 4 The formative factors and moral perils of 'big man' leadership

Below, several formative factors are discussed, first, the influence of family, education, and peers, and thereafter, the influence of moral values, virtues, faith, and view of power (Van der Ven 1998; Kretzschmar 2007:24–36).

### 4.1 Family, education, and peers

Jacob Zuma was born on 12 April 1942 at Nkandla (KwaZulu-Natal). His father died when he was young and his mother worked in Durban to earn money for her family. During his youth, he received little or no formal schooling and at the age of 17 he joined the ANC. In 1963, he was arrested, beaten, kept in solitary confinement and imprisoned. Poignantly, "For the ten years that he was on Robben Island, Zuma never received a single visitor. His mother, on her domestic worker's salary, was scarcely able to afford the fare. Cognisant of this fact, Zuma wrote to her, telling her to rather keep her income to look after his brothers and sisters" (SAHO 2018). Later, this concern for his family was distorted into gross nepotism.

After his release, he travelled to the Soviet Union in 1978 where he received leadership and military training over a period of three months. He remained active in the ANC in various capacities and countries. In 1993, the Motsuenyane Commission reported that the ANC had used torture in its camps and condemned Zuma "for not exercising proper supervision" (SAHO 2018; Pauw 2017:66–69). Nevertheless, he became the Deputy President of South Africa in 1999 and it's President in 2009.

His peers, as we have seen, constituted an 'inner ring'. Echoing Lewis, Gqu-bule (2017:70) says that "Zuma appeared to value personal loyalty over qualification or skill. Another sought-after quality seemed to be a willingness to bend the rules to favour members of a patronage network".

## 4.2 Moral values, virtues, faith, and view of power

Self-mastery and adherence to moral values were not significant features of the Zuma presidency. Zuma valued certain aspects of Zulu culture, strongly coloured by his own perceptions and interests, such as patriarchy, male sexual prowess, and polygamy. Married six times, currently he has four wives (one has died, he is divorced from another, and he is about to marry again). It is estimated that he has fathered over 20 children. In 2005, he was acquitted of a rape charge, claiming that he had had “consensual sex” (Kasrils 2017:112–120, 211). Despite this, many female leaders and members in the ANC Women’s League voted for him in national elections. Why do women, some of whom have been subjected to rape, domestic abuse, and/or have been infected with HIV/Aids by their husbands, support ‘big men’ such as Zuma? Possible reasons are because they gain power via his patronage, they have internalised patriarchy and are fearful of resisting it, and/or because they are vulnerable because of their financial dependency and family relationships.

Zuma’s guilt has not yet been proven. Nevertheless, the evidence suggests that biblical moral norms such as, do not commit adultery, steal, bear false witness or covet (Ex 20:13–17) were not observed. Indeed, in March 2016, the Constitutional Court found that he had violated his Presidential oath of office. Nullens (2016:79, 82–94) notes that immoral leadership is a manifestation of sin; it is based on narcissism and short-sighted self-interest, brings suffering to the vulnerable and fails to pursue justice and the common good.

What can be said about Zuma’s virtues and character? It would appear that Zuma fell prey to the moral dangers and temptations of leadership, including vanity, greed, a lack of respect for others, the pursuit of self-advantage, seeking the advice of sycophants, and a longing for deference and adulation (Ciulla 2016:18–24). Selfishness was chosen over the common good, honesty and service to the country. Venality, being motivated by money and open to bribery also became a prominent feature of his behaviour. Once leaders no longer listen to criticism or engage in honest self-reflection and instead practice manipulation and intimidation, one can speak of pathological leadership (Lumby & English 2010:65, 98–104). Hence, deceit, denial, and secrecy were primary characteristics of his administration, while integrity, self-knowledge, and transparency were markedly absent. Even on the day of his enforced resignation, he asked “What did I do wrong?”

It appears that little or nothing of a religious faith can be detected in his life. One of his well-publicised, but morally dubious, claims was that “the ANC will rule until Jesus comes”. While he did manage to be ordained as an honorary pastor by an obscure, independent charismatic church in Kwa-Zulu Natal, the moral commitment that ought to accompany this position was nowhere to be

seen. Up until 1990, Zuma was a member of the South African Communist Party, but unlike other leaders such as Chris Hani and Joe Slovo, he did not commit himself to promoting the well-being of his people.

How did Zuma and his inner ring use power? Like Robert Mugabe, no distinction was made between self-interest and the public purse. Hence the looting and plundering of state assets continued apace. Kasrils (2017:17, 127–128, 195–196) argues that Zuma and his 'inner ring' were driven by a sense of entitlement. Having been deprived earlier in their lives of material goods and freedom, they seized the opportunity to reap the rewards of political power. As Gqubule notes, while corruption is "not a new phenomenon [...] such conduct appeared rampant, frequent and brazen, and the Zuma administration appeared to have no compelling societal vision. It seemed to hold power for its own sake, for the economic spoils alone" (Gqubule, 2017:70–71; also see Sebahene [2017] for a discussion of corruption in Tanzania).

In contrast to the balance of power stressed in the Old Testament (between kings, prophets, and priests), the separation of power in a democracy (between the judiciary, executive, and legislature) and the African principle of maintaining the harmony, shared humanity, and well-being of the community (*Ubuntu*), he centralised power into his own hands and that of his 'inner ring'. Their focus on power, patronage, plunder, and self-gratification meant that the country was not actually governed, let alone governed well (Johnson 2015:96, 135–174).

#### 4.3 The rotten fruit of 'big man' leadership

The primary victims of the Zuma administration were the poor, weak, sick, unemployed, and marginalised citizens of the country, especially women and children. Service delivery and employment plummeted while maladministration increased apace. The quality of school education decreased dramatically (Malala 2015:44–58) and the economy slumped (Mbeki & Mbeki 2016:59–100). Taxpayers were enraged and honest members of the civil service dispirited. Mistrust of government increased while business confidence and the value of the currency tumbled. The moral values that are the foundation of public trust and social well-being, such as truth, transparency, fairness, responsibility, compassion, and accountability were jettisoned.

Is the metaphor of the 'big man' necessarily morally flawed? I suggest that those who consider themselves to be 'big men' (or women) almost automatically disqualify themselves from becoming moral leaders. The Christian virtue of humility, properly understood to mean that one's self-perception is grounded in truth, is central to leadership. Despite the acclaim they received from many,



leaders such as Nelson Mandela, Desmond Tutu, and Thuli Madonsela have not encouraged, let alone required, the adulation that fed the vanity of Jacob Zuma.

## 5 The moral leadership of Thuli Madonsela

Below the moral leadership of Madonsela is discussed and compared with that of Zuma. She resisted and exposed his unjust and destructive leadership, and she set a very different example of leadership.

### 5.1 Family, education, and peers

Thuli Madonsela was born in 1962 and grew up in a stable, poor (but not destitute) family in Soweto. Her father, Bafana, “[...] believed in assessing individuals on their inner characteristics and strengths rather than on external frivolities” and her mother “[...] calm, compassionate and deeply spiritual, had given her the gift of empathy” (Gqubule 2017:103). When later asked what had prepared her for the difficult task she had faced as the Public Protector, she mentioned “parenting, change, religion and schooling” (Gqubule 2017:103).

After the 1976 student uprisings, she completed her schooling in Swaziland and, in 1987, attained a Bachelor’s degree in Law at the University of Swaziland. In 1990, she graduated with an LLB from the University of the Witwatersrand and holds an Honorary Doctor of Law degree from the University of Cape Town (2015).

Like Zuma, Madonsela personally experienced injustice and imprisonment, but she processed this experience in a very different way. Furthermore, as part of the United Democratic Front (UDF), a broad movement of resistance to *apartheid*, she worked towards a democratic and just South Africa. She aligned herself with leaders within the South African Council of Churches (SACC) who stood for ethical governance, social justice, and a determination to empower the poor.

Her studies and the influence of the respected jurists alongside whom she worked to draft the new South African Constitution further formed her moral framework. Her motive was to help the country to avoid the injustices of the past, whereas that of Zuma was to gain and retain political power. When, in October 2009, Zuma appointed her as the Public Protector, he had no idea that she would go on to expose his actions and those of his ‘inner ring’.

During her life, Madonsela has toiled together with friends, colleagues, teams, and networks, but these never became the secret and corrupt ‘inner ring’ formed by Zuma.

## 5.2 Moral values, virtues, faith, and view of power

For Madonsela, moral values were essential. She valued truth and a sense of honour. Her work as the Public Protector was characterised by the moral virtues of integrity, justice, compassion, and dedication. She showed courage by taking on the Zuma government at a time when few other voices of protest within the ANC were to be heard. Her inner strength, calmness, moral clarity, and humility are strikingly different to the vanity and insecurity of ex-President Zuma.

Unlike Zuma, Madonsela was a woman of firm Christian faith. In her youth and young adulthood, she experienced support from the faith movements that were part of the struggle and from the ministry of Archbishop Desmond Tutu. Her conviction that human beings are made in the *Imago Dei* lies at the root of her willingness to expose injustice, protect human dignity, and promote human rights (Gqubule 2017:187).

Interestingly, it was the Dominican Order, a group strongly influenced by the Catholic social justice tradition, who requested that her office investigate the relationship between the Gupta family and the state (Gqubule 2017:145, 155). Similarly, the SACC formed an "Unburdening Panel", based on Galatians 6:2, to investigate matters such as corruption, organised chaos, and inappropriate control within the Zuma administration (SACC 2017).

Finally, during her term as Public Protector, Madonsela determined to use her power to do what is right, protect the citizens of the country, be accountable, and hold others accountable (Malala 2015:165–180).

## 5.3 The good fruit of competent and moral leadership

During her term of office, Madonsela oversaw many investigations into maladministration and corruption. Among the most important were *When Governance and Ethics Fail* (the South African Broadcasting Corporation), *Derailed* (the Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa), *Secure in Comfort* (the misuse of State funds for Zuma's private residence at Nkandla), and *State of Capture* (the malign influence of the Gupta family). These reports exposed the venality of Zuma and his various 'inner rings' to the gaze of the public and played no small role in his subsequent loss of power.

Alongside the well-researched reports that emerged from the Public Protector's office, other individuals and organisations endeavoured to bring an end to Zuma's Presidency. These included the exposés of many books and hundreds of newspapers reports. Further, Chief Justice Mogoeng stood firm in upholding the Constitution, leaders within other political parties exposed the wrongdoing of the government, and senior ANC 'stalwarts' such as Ahmed Kathrada,