



# TRANSFORMATIVE LEADERSHIP

Citizen participation means that citizens have a say when it comes to leadership issues and other issues that affect them. This is one of the basic tenets of a democracy. Recently in Africa there has been a lot of discussion around what a good leader is.

## **Objectives**

- Exploring what qualities a good leader must have
- Discuss the concept of transformative leadership
- Discuss how citizens can hold their leaders accountable

# POWER AND POWERLESSNESS

Participants should be seated in groups of three to four persons each. In your groups, take a few minutes to share:

- An incident in which you felt powerful.
  - An incident in which you felt powerless.
1. What do these incidents have in common?
  2. What is it that makes us feel powerful?
  3. What is it that makes us feel powerless?
  4. What are the different types of power?
  5. What are the main ingredients of empowerment?

Report back in plenary session.

**Notes:** This session is designed to move from an experiential understanding of power, to an analysis of the key ingredients of power and empowerment. The examples illustrate different kinds of power. It is important to make the distinction between power that derives from external factors such as status/ position/economic/political/social clout and power that derives from internal factors such as personality/ knowledge/ inner self and indeed the combination of the two. Conversely, the discussion should examine what is required for a person to be empowered. How do lack of status/position/knowledge/ confidence lead to disempowerment and how can these be overcome? Why are these problems especially acute for women in our society?



## Definitions

**Power:** Ability to do or act.

**Power over:** A relationship of domination/subordination, ultimately based on socially sanctioned threats of violence and intimidation; invites active and passive resistance and requires constant vigilance to maintain.

**Power with:** A sense of the whole being greater than the sum of the individuals, especially when a group tackles problems together.

**Power within:** The spiritual strength and uniqueness that resides within each of us and makes us truly human.

*Adapted from the Oxford Gender Training Manual, 1994*

# MANAGEMENT AND LEADERSHIP

Fill out the following table of what qualities you associate with a good leader, and what qualities you associate with a good manager. Alongside each column say which of these qualities you associate with “masculine” traits and which of these you associate with “feminine traits”.

<b>LEADERSHIP QUALITY</b>	<b>M/F</b>	<b>MANAGEMENT QUALITY</b>	<b>M/F</b>

**QUESTIONS**

1. Can a manager be a leader and vice versa?

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2. Is there anything in the way that men and women are socialized that is either an advantage or disadvantage with regard to taking up management or leadership roles?

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3. Is our understanding of what constitutes management/leadership changing?

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# TRANSFORMATIVE LEADERSHIP

In groups, discuss the following and then complete the table below:

- ✓ What makes a good leader?
- ✓ Do women have unique qualities that make them good leaders?
- ✓ Do communities support women in leadership? How can they do this?
- ✓ What can be done to change the negative attitudes - both women's and men's towards women in leadership?

<b>What do communities expect from their leaders</b>	<b>How can communities contribute to good leadership, what role can they play?</b>	<b>What are the problems associated with leadership?</b>

Complete the gender aware leadership scorecard below.

**Gender aware score card**

Please rank your leader on each of the following qualities where 1= very poor and 5= excellent.

<p><b>1. Vision</b>                  Good leaders take you to a place where you have never been. They are able to close their eyes and see way beyond time and place and then work towards achieving that dream. They are not bound by culture, tradition, religion, or “the way things are.” They are interested in the way things could be. Only visionary leaders can, for example, see in their minds eye a society in which women and men are equal in every respect.                  How do you rate your leader against this quality?</p>	
<p><b>2. Empathy</b>                  Empathy goes beyond sympathy in that an empathetic person identifies with the problems or situations of people and tries to understand their thoughts and condition even if they are different to him or her. For example, a male leader will never have had an unwanted pregnancy, but can still be empathetic to those who argue for choice of termination of pregnancy by putting himself in the shoes of a woman who finds that she is carrying a baby she does not want or will not be able to care for.                  How do you rate your leader against this quality?</p>	
<p><b>3. The ability to inspire</b>                  To inspire is to call on the higher being and motivate people to act in a certain way. The best leaders are inspirational. They have high levels of emotional intelligence. They know how to win people; get people on board; earn trust; respect and loyalty. To this end, good leaders always consult women and men, boys and girls, to ensure that their ideas have a high level of buy in.                  How do you rate your leader against this quality?</p>	
<p><b>4. Personal integrity</b>                  Personal integrity is living in accord with the highest state of consciousness. It is about doing the right thing even when nobody is watching. The way a leader conducts his or her private life is an important indicator of personal integrity. For example, a male leader who beats his wife cannot claim to believe in gender equality, just as a corrupt woman leader cannot stand for the rights of the poor.                  How do you rate your leader against this quality?</p>	
<p><b>5. Humility</b>                  Good leaders readily acknowledge that they did not climb the ladder on their own but owe their success to others, especially the often invisible forces in their lives, like their mothers, sisters, wives and daughters. They celebrate their roots, however modest. In so doing, they connect easily with “ordinary” people, especially those who are most often marginalised in the corridors of power, like poor, black, rural, disabled women.                  How do you rate your leader against this quality?</p>	
<p><b>6. Principles</b>                  While there may be different interpretations of morality, every society has accepted standards of what is right and what is wrong. Good leaders have principles and values that they expound and live by. For example, leaders who believe in gender equality appoint equal numbers of women and men to work with them and treat them equally.                  How do you rate your leader against this quality?</p>	
<p><b>7. Respecting and promoting human rights for all</b>                  Good leaders strive to ensure a society in which both women and men enjoy their human rights. They are consistent in their understanding that rights are indivisible. They react equally strongly and decisively to any form of discrimination, whether is be based on race, sex, ethnicity, disability, foreignness or any other form of otherness.                  How do you rate your leader against this quality?</p>	

<p><b>8. Ensuring the empowerment of women</b>                  Good leaders understand that empowering women is an imperative that cuts across all forms of discrimination. As such, a good leader will allocate appropriate funds to programmes that are aimed at uplifting the status of women in society.                  How do you rate your leader against this quality?</p>	
<p><b>9. Leading by example</b>                  A good leader is worthy of imitation; respects the rights of women and men of all hues and classes; is not afraid of manual labour; conducts his or her life in an exemplary way; and would never propose a policy or a rule that he or she would not be willing to live by. For instance if a leader who has multiple concurrent relationships is not likely to be able to lead a campaign against HIV and AIDS.                  How do you rate your leader against this quality</p>	
<p><b>10. Confidence</b>                  Being confident in oneself is having high self esteem- accepting your body, and your personality, and loving them. It is not thinking you are better than other people but being comfortable in your own skin. People who have high self esteem see the best in the women and men around them.                  How do you rate your leader against this quality?</p>	
<p><b>11. Diplomacy</b>                  Diplomacy has been defined as the “art of telling someone to go to hell in such a way that they enjoy the ride.” A good leader must be able to take a position and argue his or her case with the courage of conviction, but win other people over to his or her side in the process. Issues of gender are often met with resistance. A good leader must be able to argue these issues convincingly, without alienating those around them. This should not be mistaken for being all things to all people. Arguments must be consistent and rooted in principle. Good leaders are able to “agree to disagree.”                  How do you rate your leader against this quality?</p>	
<p><b>12. Critical thinking</b>                  To be critical means purposeful and reflective judgment about what to believe or what to do in response to observations, experience and arguments. Good leaders approach issues with an open mind. For example, a woman leader should not believe that all men are bad just as male leaders should not believe that all women are good. They should approach every individual and situation with an open and objective mind.                  How do you rate your leader against this quality?</p>	
<p><b>13. Patriotism</b>                  While patriotism should never be blinding, it is a powerful anchor for good leadership. Being patriotic does not mean supporting all that is happening in a country. Indeed being patriotic may mean fighting the forces of patriarchy and or of undemocratic practices.                  How do you rate your leader against this quality?</p>	
<p><b>14. Honesty</b>                  Honesty means giving the actual and real facts; being truthful. Honesty comes with high levels of openness. By speaking the truth, one creates trust in minds of others. Good leaders should speak truth to power, even if this costs them their political careers. For example, a good leader should be willing to face up to the causes and consequences of HIV and AIDS, however poorly the government is addressing this pandemic.                  How do you rate your leader against this quality?</p>	

<p><b>15. Transparency</b>                  To be transparent means to be honest and to be easily understood. It also means the duty to account to those with a legitimate interest, for instance the electorate who are affected by your leadership. Being transparent implies that a leader is open about his or her take on women’s empowerment in society.                  How do you rate your leader against this quality?</p>	
<p><b>16. Accountability</b>                  Accountability is the obligation to demonstrate and take responsibility for performance in light of agreed expectations. While responsibility is the obligation to act; accountability is the obligation to answer for an action. Good leaders for instance should be answerable when by 2015 we do not have 50 percent representation of women in cabinet, parliament and local government.                  How do you rate your leader against this quality?</p>	
<p><b>17. Responsiveness</b>                  Responsive leadership means taking responsibility for quality outcomes and being responsive to the needs of women and men. Such a leader shows profound awareness of existing problems and anticipates problems that are still emerging. To this end, a good leader should be responsive to the needs of women who are still oppressed and can barely access economic resources to bail them out of poverty. A good leader gives women the hope that their situation is not permanent.                  How do you rate your leader against this quality?</p>	
<p><b>18. Innovativeness</b>                  Innovative leadership is about finding new ways of doing things and being open to new ideas. When there is fatigue around issues of gender equality, a good leader should find and promote new ways of attaining this ideal.                  How do you rate your leader against this quality?</p>	
<p><b>19. Pragmatism</b>                  A pragmatic person is one who is sensible and is guided by experience and observation rather than theory; who believes that "experience is the best teacher." A pragmatic leader would not, for example, pass a law decreeing that there should be an equal number of women chiefs, knowing that this would cause a rebellion, but rather look at where and how female chieftaincies have succeeded, and how this can be replicated.                  How do you rate your leader against this quality?</p>	
<p><b>20. Responsibility</b>                  Being responsible means being answerable for an act performed or for its consequences whether good or bad; intended or unintended. A good leader owns up to making mistakes and is willing to bear the consequences, even if this means losing his or her job. One of the most critical tests of leadership is knowing when to step down or step aside because even though you have tried your best, your presence (for whatever reason) is causing more harm than good. Good leaders are those who are able to go forward by every now and again stepping back; reflecting and even stepping down when the situation requires.                  How do you rate your leader against this quality?</p>	
<p><b>TOTAL</b></p>	

Please add up your total score out of 100:

TOTAL =  %

## MAKING A DIFFERENCE

Read the case study below of the former mayor of Walvis Bay in Namibia, taken from “Ringing up the Changes: Gender in Southern African Politics.” Discuss the following:

- 1) What were Samaria’s aspirations as a young woman and how did these change?
- 2) How did she “use her space” as a mayor?
- 3) What does this case study tell us about leadership, women’s leadership and transformative leadership?
- 4) How are these lessons applicable to our own situation?



### Case study: Opening the gateway to the west - Namibia’s Theresa Samaria

When Theresa Samaria was growing up in apartheid Namibia, she dreamed of becoming a housewife, having children and a beautiful home. “Even if I had wanted to be the women I read about in books, I knew I couldn’t, because I grew up in a system of segregated schools, no universities for Blacks and my family had limited financial resources. Being a housewife and having a family was the most achievable dream for me,” Samaria said.

Samaria achieved her first dream and much more. She says she was “forced to become an activist”, because of the apartheid system. In 1994, she was among the first black councilors to take up their posts in her hometown Walvis Bay. In 1999, she became the first Black and woman mayor.

In the focus group with civil society groups in Namibia, many spoke disparagingly about women councilors who take up posts and fail to implement feminist agendas. They gave examples of women mayors who nominate men to important posts. But almost all of them cited Samaria as a model of a woman who got into a senior post and did not forget the gender struggle: “She was dynamic. She fought the fight that has made changes. She is an example of a strong woman, a woman with vision, strong enough to pull the pillars down.”

“The Mayor of Walvis Bay (now a leading regional port and gateway to the west) is an example of the potential impact of women in local government,” added the director of the Association of Local Government authorities Lister Chaka.

Samaria is now Namibia’s ambassador to Botswana, where the researchers pinned her down for an interview. She is the first person in Namibia to have been appointed as an ambassador from local government.

The high commissioner recalls that she did not set out to be mayor, but from the time she became a councilor and chairperson of the Management Committee, the operational arm of the Council, she applied the principle that has guided her throughout her life: “to apply myself and do the best I can not for myself or for personal attainment, but for the people whose interests I am put there to serve”.



Buoyed by a strong faith, a belief that women are equal to men and an ethic that one must work hard to achieve, Samaria says the policy environment in Namibia and the ruling party's commitment to women at the highest levels made it possible for her to make a difference.

"Article 10 on the Constitution which prohibits discrimination on the basis of one's sex, race or creed and the important affirmative action clause in the 1992 Local Authorities Act, opened the doors for women to enter local government. Swapo (the ruling party) also developed a Zebra List to get more women into governance structures and the commitment to more women in office was pushed from the top by the President and the then Minister of Local Government, who were men," she continued.

"Most positions in the local authorities were occupied by strong, healthy men who were not ready to leave. The legal framework made it possible to get women like me in. To get someone in, someone must go out and in a young democracy, it was difficult just to push someone out for the sake of it," said Samaria who was a sales representative for an insurance company before entering local government.

Under South African occupation, all transport routes in Namibia led to South Africa, effectively cutting the port off from its other neighbours. Walvis Bay was only handed over to the Namibian government four years after independence in 1990 following the first democratic elections in South Africa.

The port- a natural gateway to the west coast for Zambia, Botswana, Zimbabwe and South Africa has since been making up for lost time. Walvis Bay is keenly aware of its key strategic advantage: most external trade by African countries is conducted with countries across the Atlantic (like Europe and the US) rather than across the Indian Ocean. Namibia's dream is to turn this once parochial port into a hub for Southern Africa.

The Trans Kalahari Highway, completed in 1998, links Namibia with Botswana, and through Botswana to South Africa's industrial heartland province of Gauteng. In the north, the Trans Caprivi Highway provides an all weather road link between the Atlantic coast and Namibia's eastern neighbours, Zambia and Zimbabwe, as well as northern Botswana.

Transport officials say that these countries can save up to five days on cargo destined for western markets as compared to using South African or Mozambican ports on the east coast (even where these are closer). Frequent congestion at these ports means the time saving is probably higher. Walvis Bay has a strict rule, so far adhered to, that no cargo stays at the port for more than three days.

The port works closely with the Walvis Bay Export Processing Zone, an initiative driven by Samaria when she was mayor and 30 local companies to provide a supporting framework for the EPZ. "I believe that if you can read, write and make a point and people trust you, you can be successful in governance," Samaria said. "When one goes through the school of life you pick up experiences and common sense. Qualifications don't always equal good performance."

However, she adds: “I am aware that women in any public positions are scrutinized more by the people and their colleagues than men. Men can have a laid-back attitude, while women have to work twice, if not thrice as hard, to prove themselves. It’s very unfair. I was under scrutiny as a councilor and when I became mayor, because I am a woman.”

As the first Black mayor, she inherited a white, male Chief Executive Officer who had “never seen a Black township” and who did not have the same ideas and working methods as she. “I believe in a consultative government because I’ve been in a system where I was told for too long what was good for me. I decided on an approach to consult and analyse the needs of the people. “I didn’t get rid of him. I laid out my expectations of the job, what we wanted to achieve as councillors and asked him what he needed in the way of training to do his job. After a year, we couldn’t achieve what I wanted and I realized that without a Chief Executive Officer who was in sync with my idea and the council’s of serving the interests of the people, I would be taking decisions that would not be implemented and I would not make a difference.”

She discussed her dilemma with the Minister and made her problem clear to the Chief Executive officer who resigned. She says her next Chief Executive Officer, a black male who had served as deputy to the previous officer, was “worth gold”. “I always say that the achievements I made during my time as mayor in Walvis Bay were due to this Chief Executive Officer and the team. I believe in giving credit where it is due, and I achieved because of the support of my officials and because of my support system at home.”

Samaria said that while she believes that respect is earned and does not automatically come with a position, she found differences between the white and black cultures in her region. “In white culture they respect the position while you hold it, but the minute you are out, they no longer respect you. With blacks, I found that if you are senior to your colleagues by age and if you are respectable and give respect to others, then you will receive respect.”

“I played it by the rules and made no exceptions. I didn’t expect anything as a woman. I worked hard to know my Act (the law governing the work of the local authorities) and what to do. I forgot my sex and remembered the purpose I was put there for as mayor,” Samaria said. At the same time, as a woman in leadership, she felt an acute responsibility to other women. “I believe that women in leadership must speak on and advocate for gender equality. If I am where I am because of the support of women, then I must be a mouthpiece for those who cannot speak. I must be a role model to young women and I must encourage other women. We must support and acknowledge each other.”

She said that women have been at the forefront of pushing for new laws and for changing those which discriminate against women citing as examples the 1996 Marriage Persons Equality Act; the 1992 Local Authorities Act; the Combatting Violence and Rape Act (2000), among others. Most of her policies for senior citizens, children living with disabilities, for example, benefited women who were the majority of the senior citizens and the ones taking care of the children, although Samaria said she did not have one sex or the other in mind when she took policy decisions.

It would often be a phone call from a woman whom she did not know, urging her not to give up, that gave her the strength to carry on when she faced many baptisms by fire for some of her decisions, Samaria said. “Yes, there is the ‘pull-her-down syndrome’ among women, but there are those who give you a call of encouragement and support.”

Women in leadership, she said, must quickly learn that being effective is not about pleasing everyone. “A leader cannot only take popular decisions. Sometimes you have to take unpopular decisions for the interests of all. There are 55,000 residents in Walvis Bay and when I would look out of my window and see 1000 people standing outside protesting against me, I would try and not lose sight of the bigger picture by remembering that more than 49,000 people were not among the demonstrators.”

Samaria recalled a decision she made to upgrade and improve the informal settlements of the people in Walvis Bay who were renting from landlords. The settlements had no electricity, toilets or other basic services, and the council began to put these services in place by giving tenders for building facilities to Blacks in the area, and in the process began to bring down the cost dwellers were paying to the landlords for renting the space for their dwellings.

“The landlords began to instigate violent protests against the whole exercise. I was accused of taking Council money, of owning one of the businesses a tender was given to, and the Defence Force even had to be called in to protect me. I was almost killed at one meeting that turned violent. “Because of the bad media coverage of me, the Minister of Local Government and even the President became concerned and travelled to Walvis Bay to find out what was going on. My family wanted me to consider quitting because my life was threatened. I went through three months of hell, but I decided that the violence, the demonstrations against me as mayor (she said the demonstrations were not targeted at the Council only at her), and the slander were instigated to force me out of office. I wasn’t going to be forced out and continued with the consultations and work to improve the informal settlements.”

Her perseverance paid off. The rehabilitation of the informal settlements in Walvis Bay won an award at the UN Habitat best practices conference in Dubai. The Council received 300,000 Namibian dollars as part of the award. The scheme is acknowledged nationally and internationally as a showcase of how not to resettle people without basic services in place.

Another lesson Samaria said she has learned as a woman in leadership is to “be myself” and not compare herself to others. “My predecessor was a businessman, an eloquent speaker. I built on what he had started, but I did not compare myself to him. I did not try to be him. I had to be myself. I regard myself as equal to anyone. I work equally well with men and with women. I don’t want to be someone else,” she said.

“I consult, but I am able to take a decision and to stand-up for what I believe in. But when I take a decision, I sometimes want it done yesterday, because I believe why should you postpone until tomorrow when you can do something and complete it today. This makes me impulsive at times, but I am always credible towards others, and when I say I will do something, I don’t like backtracking.” When asked why she decided to enter governance at the local level, rather than aim for a higher office, Samaria said: “I don’t like to say I want this or that position,” adding that she entered in line with the party structures and politics. “I believe that my life plans are in the hands of God. Whatever happens, I give it over to God for guidance.

“Whatever I do, I believe that I am serving my country and that everyone at all levels has a role to play. You have to be proud and satisfied with what you are doing, and you must do your best. I am content with what I have done and with what I am doing now,” said Samaria who has been the recipient of awards from the Performance Management Review of Southern Africa for her work as mayor.

Her family - husband, four daughters, two adopted sons and two grandsons - have supported her every step of the way, Samaria said. “When I entered politics, I had to discuss it with my husband. My family was used to me working and I always take up a challenge when presented with one.

“My husband attended all the meetings with me during the campaign; my daughters have always been supportive and they were active in politics as students. You need family and friends when you are in office, because when you begin to doubt your abilities, they are the first ones to boost you,” she said.

**Gro Harlem Brundtland** is a Norwegian politician, diplomat, and physician, and an international leader in sustainable development and public health. She is a former Prime Minister of Norway, and has served as the Director General of the World Health Organization. She now serves as a Special Envoy on Climate Change for the United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon. In 2008 she became the recipient of the Thomas Jefferson Foundation Medal in Architecture. Born in Oslo, Brundtland was educated as a Medical Doctor (cand. med.) at the University of Oslo in 1963, and Master of Public Health at Harvard University in 1965. From 1966 to 1969, she worked as a physician at the Directorate of Health (Helsedirektoratet), and from 1969 she worked as a doctor in Oslo's public school health service. She was Norwegian Minister for Environmental Affairs from 1974 to 1979, and became Norway's first and to date only female Prime Minister. She served as Prime Minister from February to October in 1981.



Brundtland became Norwegian Prime Minister for two subsequent terms from 9 May 1986 until 16 October 1989 (This cabinet was internationally renowned for its large percentage of female ministers. Eight of the eighteen total were female,) and from 3 November 1990 until 25 October 1996, when she resigned and retired from Norwegian politics, and was succeeded by Thorbjørn Jagland. She resigned as leader of the Norwegian Labour Party in 1992.

Gro Harlem Brundtland is a member of Human-Etisk Forbund, the Norwegian Humanist Association.

### ***International career***

In 1983, Brundtland was invited by then United Nations Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar to establish and chair the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), widely referred to as the Brundtland Commission, developing the broad political concept of sustainable development in the course of extensive public hearings that were distinguished by their inclusiveness and published its report *Our Common Future* in April 1987. The Brundtland Commission provided the momentum for the 1992 Earth Summit/UNCED, that was headed by Maurice Strong, who had been a prominent member of the Brundtland Commission. The Brundtland Commission also provided momentum for Agenda 21.

Brundtland was elected Director-General of the World Health Organization in May 1998. In this capacity, Brundtland adopted a far-reaching approach to public health, establishing a Commission on Macroeconomics and Health, chaired by Jeffrey Sachs, and addressing violence as a major public health issue. Brundtland spearheaded the movement, now worldwide, to achieve the abolition of cigarette smoking by education and persuasion.

Under her leadership, the World Health Organization was one of the first major employers to require freedom from tobacco addiction as a condition of employment. Brundtland was recognized in 2003 by *Scientific American* as their Policy Leader of the Year for coordinating a rapid worldwide response to stem outbreaks of SARS. Brundtland was succeeded on 21 July 2003 by Jong-Wook Lee. In 1994, Brundtland was awarded the Charlemagne Prize of the city of Aachen. In 2004 the British newspaper *The Financial Times* listed Brundtland the 4th most influential European over the last 25 years, behind Pope John Paul II, Mikhail Gorbachev and Margaret Thatcher.

In 2006 Brundtland was a member of the Panel of Eminent Persons who reviewed the work of UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.) In May 2007, the UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon named Brundtland, as well as Ricardo Lagos (the former president of Chile), and Han Seung-soo (the former foreign minister of South Korea), to serve as UN Special Envoys for Climate Change.

Brundtland's hallmark political activities have been chronicled by her husband, Arne Olav Brundtland, in his two bestsellers, *Married to Gro* (ISBN 82-516-1647-6) and the sequel, *Still married to Gro* (ISBN 82-05-30726-1).

### **The Council of women leaders**

Gro Harlem Brundtland is a member of the Council of Women World Leaders, an International network of current and former women presidents and prime ministers whose mission is to mobilize the highest-level women leaders globally for collective action on issues of critical importance to women and equitable development. The Council of Women World Leaders is a network of current and former women presidents and prime ministers. The Council currently has 37 Members.

The Council and its Ministerial Initiative, a global Network of Women Ministers grouped into their specific portfolios create a collective voice for women at the highest levels of government.

### **The Elders**

On 18 July 2007 in Johannesburg, South Africa, Nelson Mandela, Graça Machel, and Desmond Tutu convened a group of world leaders to contribute their wisdom, independent leadership and integrity to tackle some of the world's toughest problems. Nelson Mandela announced the formation of this new group, The Elders, in a speech he delivered on the occasion of his 89th birthday.

Archbishop Tutu will serve as the Chair of The Elders. The founding members of this group include Brundtland, Graça Machel, Kofi Annan, Ela Bhatt, Jimmy Carter, Li Zhaoxing, Mary Robinson and Muhammad Yunus.

“This group can speak freely and boldly, working both publicly and behind the scenes on whatever actions need to be taken,” Mandela commented. “Together we will work to support courage where there is fear, foster agreement where there is conflict, and inspire hope where there is despair.” The Elders will be independently funded by a group of Founders, including Richard Branson, Peter Gabriel, Ray Chambers; Michael Chambers; Bridgeway Foundation; Pam Omidyar, Humanity United; Amy Robbins; Shashi Ruia, Dick Tarlow; and The United Nations Foundation. Gro Harlem Brundtland has attended the Bilderberg meetings, and she is a member of the Club of Madrid.

### **Biography**

She married Arne Olav Brundtland on 9 December 1960. A Humanist family, they have four children. They own a house in the south of France. Brundtland has claimed to suffer from electrical sensitivity.

### **Controversy over cancer treatment payments**

Brundtland received an operation for uterine cancer in 2002 at Ullevål University Hospital. In 2008 it became known that during 2007 she had received two treatments at Ullevål, paid for by Norwegian public expenditures. Since she had previously notified the Norwegian authorities that she had changed residence to France, she was no longer entitled to benefits of Norwegian social security. Following intense media attention surrounding the matter, Brundtland decided to change residence once more, back to Norway, and she also announced that she would be paying for the treatments herself.

### **Questions**

1. Would you regard Gro Harlem Brundtland as a transformative leader? Why or why not?

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2. Think of examples from your region or sub regions of women you would regard as transformative leaders. Why would you put them in this category?

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3. List the key characteristics of transformative leadership.

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## Case study: Obama brings new hope: Mandela

*Business Day :21 January 2009*

Former South African president Nelson Mandela has congratulated Barack Obama on his inauguration as president of the United States, saying: "We believe that we are witnessing something truly historic not only in the political annals of your great nation, the United States of America, but of the world."

In a letter handed to Obama before his inauguration in Washington on Tuesday, Mandela said Obama's election as America's first black president had "inspired people as few other events in recent times have done.

"Amidst all of the human progress made over the last century, the world in which we live remains one of great divisions, conflict, inequality, poverty and injustice," Mandela said. "Amongst many around the world a sense of hopelessness had set in as so many problems remain unresolved and seemingly incapable of being resolved.

"You, Mister President, have brought a new voice of hope that these problems can be addressed and that we can in fact change the world and make of it a better place."

### **Reminded of South Africa's transition**

Mandela said the widespread excitement and enthusiasm generated by Obama's inauguration reminded him of South Africa at the time of its transition from apartheid to democracy in 1994. "People, not only in our country but around the world, were inspired to believe that through common human effort injustice can be overcome and that together a better life for all can be achieved," Mandela said.

Business Day correspondent Tim Cohen drew the same comparison, saying that South Africans who witnessed Mandela's inauguration as South Africa's first black president in 1994 "would have instantly recognised the atmosphere" in Washington on Tuesday.

"The powerful sense of history in the making, the intoxicating tingle of anticipation and expectation, all underpinned by a feeling of relief, almost as though one could breathe out at last after having held one's breath for what had seemed like an eternity."

### **'Special excitement' in Africa**

Mandela said Obama's presidency brought hope of "new beginnings in the relations between nations, that the challenges we all face, be they economic, the environment, or in combating poverty or the search for peace, will be addressed with a new spirit of openness and accommodation."

He added that there was "special excitement" in Africa on Tuesday "in the knowledge that you have such strong personal ties with Africa." Obama is the son of a black Kenyan father and a white mother from Kansas.

Mandela said he was aware that expectations of Obama were high, and that the demands on him would be great. "We therefore once more wish you and your family strength and fortitude in the challenging days and years that lie ahead.

"You will always be in our affection as a young man who dared to dream and to pursue that dream. We wish you well."

**Discussion**

1. How do you rate Barack Obama as a leader?

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2. What special qualities does he bring to the global political landscape?

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3. Do you think Barack has lived up to global expectations of what a good leader should be?

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4. Are there any common characteristics between Nelson Mandela and Barack Obama?

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5. How do you rate Obama vs Nelson Mandela's gender sensitivity?

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## Do women bring different qualities to leadership?



### Case study: Excerpts from “*Ringing up the Changes: Gender in Southern African Politics*”

#### Values and leadership style

A pragmatic view of including women in decision-making is that it makes good economic sense. A study on women in politics in eleven Commonwealth countries concluded that: “nations that exclude women from decision-making, or rest content with low levels of participation by women, are surely depriving themselves of a rich reservoir of talent, experience and wisdom. They are also missing out on the qualitatively different approach that women seem to bring to the decisionmaking process”.<sup>1</sup>

A number of men in the study reflected this efficiency argument. For example, Frelimo MP Manuel Tome, said: “It’s not a favour that we get women to participate, they are a necessary resource.” The ANC’s Mpetjane Kgaogelo Lekgoro added: “The essence of democracy is to free the potential of all individuals in that society. We realise it is good to release the potential that has been sidelined. This can only make democracy richer.”

A more complex set of arguments centres on whether women bring different values and qualities to leadership that enhance democracy and good governance.

Globally, there is a growing body of literature in business, management and leadership studies that shows that women do have a different way of going about things that is an asset in a world where relationships and diversity are becoming more important for success than raw power. The research revealed strong perceptions that women in politics on Southern Africa bring different styles and values to leadership.

#### Service orientation

Many of the women politicians in the study spoke of their strong sense of commitment to community and society.

In South Africa, the DA’s Sheila Camerer notes: “The general approach is that women are there because they want to do good for the community rather than to gain power for its own sake. I think if you look at the history, women have a different approach.”

South Africa’s Minister of Communications Ivy Matsepe Cassaburi says: “I never thought of myself as being in power. I saw it as an opportunity to better lives.”<sup>2</sup>

Namibia’s High Commissioner to Botswana Theresa Samaria recalls that she did not set out to be mayor, but from the time she became a councillor and Chairperson of the Management Committee, the operational arm of the Council, she applied the principle that has guided her throughout her life: “to apply myself and do the best I can not for myself or for personal attainment, but for the people whose interests I am put there to serve”.

<sup>1</sup> Commonwealth Secretariat 1999: “Women in Politics: Voices from the Commonwealth.”

<sup>3</sup> Commission on Gender Equality (1998) “Redefining Politics.” CGE: p84

Writing on her political career in Zambia, Inonge Mbikusita-Lewanika (now Zambia's ambassador to the Washington) reflected: "My greatest joy is to serve people and put back what society has invested in me. I love politics, and whether I am in parliament or not, I will remain a politician. After all, politics is my heritage."<sup>3</sup>

### **Intuition**

Asked if there are particular feminine qualities that assist her in her work, Seychelles' Noellie Alexander said: "Women have an intuition. In my district I know everyone. I have never felt at a disadvantage because I am a woman. On the contrary, I think it stands me in good stead."

Her compatriot Simone de Commarmond added: "As a woman I am blessed with a sixth sense. I am able to look at things differently. I have a mother trait. I am a good listener. I am more patient, I am more understanding. It does help. It enables me to manoeuvre better than men. I am open to ideas, and ideas are what tourism is all about. In tourism, you have to be a people person. I am that. It helps me to do a better job."

Seychelles MP Regina Alcindor believes that the fact that women express emotions makes them better politicians: "Women have gut feelings. They are the guardian of moral values and their voices must count."

### **Consensus building**

Filipa Costa of FRELIMO, a widow of over 50 years who is studying law at the university at night, argues that women "are calm in resolving problems. They analyse. Before deciding on things, like wars, for example, they will think of their children and their family."

Zambia's Inonge Wina added: "Women are good at reconciliatory moves in Parliament; women come in to quench the fires especially in a multi-party format. Women bring a more humane approach to things. The men wonder how we sit together in the Women's Parliamentary Forum to discuss without punching each other."

Patrick Pillya, Minister of Health in Seychelles believes that: "Men are sometimes ego-driven. This ego is not important for a woman. What is important for her is to get the work done. Women tend to be more sensitive to processes while men are more concerned with result and achievement regardless of the process. Processes are very important. Women are prepared to accept when they are wrong while men will always say 'mo ena raizon' (I am right)."

### **Understanding and using power**

A question that frequently arises is the extent to which women in decision-making apply what are seen as the traditional feminine values of care and concern to challenge the tough, traditional and hierarchical notions of power.

<sup>3</sup> Mbuya, N. and Monde, S. (1998) eds, "Woman power in politics", Zambia Women's Writers Association: p160

A growing body of research and literature shows that contrary to the stereotypes that abound about women bosses, they are in fact perceived by their staff as more sympathetic and caring, and are clear winners in the supposedly “male” skills of planning and teamwork.<sup>4</sup>

Above the desk of Seychelles tourism minister de Commarmond’s desk is a plaque that reads: “you are a leader, not a boss.” She explains that, “there is a difference between being strong and being domineering.” This is the philosophy that has guided her in a career that has seen her climb the ladder from being a secretary to heading the ministry responsible for Seychelles leading economic sector- tourism.

Her colleague Noellie Alexander added that her asset as a leader is that: “I bring heart to my job. I pay attention to detail. I take care of the little things and the big things.”

Zambian gender analyst Sara Longwe notes that moving into positions of power entails women fighting men for power- a prospect that many women do not want to face:

Patriarchy has managed to put a derogatory impression about women who want power. This (getting more women into political structures and gender equality) is seen as a conflict about removing men’s power that is too much for women to take on. Women try to figure out how to diffuse men’s power without someone getting hurt and that is not sustainable. Men, on the other hand, pride themselves on struggle with casualties, i.e. people getting hurt without having to do the mopping up.

(For many women) power entails too much work, so when confronted with the notion of power, there are several actions or postures women take: she either gives up and does not attempt to fight; she can adapt and not rock the boat; she fights tooth and nail on one issue, but if she loses, she gives up; or she launches, with the help of others, into a full power struggle for equal rights and accepts no bits and pieces.

A female member of the Keetmanshoop focus group in Namibia added: “women do not know the power they possess. If you have power and you know where to press the button, you can make a big difference.”

Zambia’s presidential hopeful Gwendoline Konie, who describes herself as “a person who is not easily intimidated”, believes that women must seek power and support other women who do so. There is a schizophrenia among women, because we will not embrace each other. Women say they want power, but when women stand for power, women then begin to say different things. People do not like people who know their mind. We live in a traditional society so men and women are looked at differently. There are different expectations of women than of men, and different values are put on women than on men.

Several women leaders in the study spoke of the fine balancing act that they have had to make between being caring and being firm; as well as taking up the challenges of leadership that are expected of them.

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, Grimwood, C and Popplestone R (1993) “Women, Management and Care.” London, MacMillan.

South Africa's Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka noted: "People bring their personal problems to me. I used to call my office *indaba ze bantu* (the peoples issues). When staff has problems, they prefer to come to me rather than go to the Director-General (DG); they see my office as a more homely environment. It's quite amazing. You find the older white men coming to me with their problems, and then the DG says 'minister why did you do this?' and I'm the one saying, 'ag, shame man.' She concedes: "There was a bit of a contradiction in my own theoretical construct of how do you go into a man's world and mainstream your role. I found that to use my authority optimally, I had to balance my authority with playing that caring role. There is a bit of a gender dynamic but I have not yet felt that I am being short changed."

What is most significant, she says, is not losing sight of her objectives of transforming the mining sector, and of using the power that she has to effect change.

"I was prepared to bring people along, because that is better than to bring people kicking and screaming. But they had to realise that there is no going back. Its good to win people over, but in a position of power you must exercise power."

When she arrived in London to address the financial community there, one newspaper said she had arrived in the lion's den. "I told the journalist: I am a lion myself- I was so convinced that our cause is just."

She gives the example of some companies including gardening in their procurement activities so as to pad up the proportion of black business, a trick quickly picked up by her eagle eye: "I am not the minister of gardening," she tells them. "People should not be excluded from the heart of industry."

South African Minister of Agriculture and Land Affairs Thoko Didiza says she feels she has succeeded in winning the trust and respect of all those in the racially fractured farming community in South Africa, alarmed by land grabbing stories from neighbouring Zimbabwe, through similar careful footwork.

"I know there has been a lot of fear. I have consistently said that will not happen in South Africa. But the real challenge is: how do we as South Africans, especially white South Africans, move beyond the rhetoric? What are we doing to have a stable land redistribution programme? My message is that if we do not swim together across the river, we face the prospect of drowning together along the way."

She sums up her experiences in the ministry as follows: "I came into the sector not knowing everything, willing to learn, but also willing to give political leadership. That is my responsibility: mobilising all South Africans. I don't seek to please or to save face. I have had frank discussions with farmers, through their organisations, and I say when I feel they are not pulling their weight. But the heart of it is that at the end of that we always move on."

## Sticking to your guns

Namibia's Samaria noted that women in leadership must quickly learn that being effective is not about pleasing everyone: "A leader cannot only take popular decisions. Sometimes you have to take unpopular decisions in the interests of all. There are 55,000 residents in Walvis Bay and when I would look out of my window and see 1000 people standing outside protesting against me, I would try and not lose sight of the bigger picture by remembering that more than 49,000 people were not among the demonstrators."

Samaria recalled a decision she made to upgrade and improve the informal settlements of the people in Walvis Bay who were renting from landlords. The settlements had no electricity, toilets or other basic services, and the council began to put these services in place by giving tenders for building facilities to Blacks in the area, and in the process began to bring down the cost dwellers were paying to the landlords for renting the space for their dwellings.

"The landlords began to instigate violent protests against the whole exercise. I was accused of taking Council money, of owning one of the businesses a tender was given to, and the Defence Force even had to be called in to protect me. I was almost killed at one meeting that turned violent. "Because of the bad media coverage of me, the Minister of Local Government and even the President became concerned and travelled to Walvis Bay to find out what was going on. My family wanted me to consider quitting because my life was threatened. I went through three months of hell, but I decided that the violence, the demonstrations against me as mayor (she said the demonstrations were not targeted at the Council only at her), and the slander were instigated to force me out of office. I wasn't going to be forced out and continued with the consultations and work to improve the informal settlements."

Her perseverance paid off. The rehabilitation of the informal settlements in Walvis Bay won an award at the UN Habitat best practices conference in Dubai. The Council received about \$40 000 as part of the award. The scheme is acknowledged nationally and internationally as a showcase of how not to resettle people without basic services in place.

Another lesson Samaria said she has learned as a woman in leadership is to "be myself". "My predecessor was a businessman, an eloquent speaker. I built on what he had started, but I did not compare myself to him. I did not try to be him. I had to be myself. I regard myself as equal to anyone. I work equally well with men and with women. I don't want to be someone else," she said.

"I consult, but I am able to take a decision and to stand-up for what I believe in. But when I take a decision, I sometimes want it done yesterday, because I believe why should you postpone until tomorrow when you can do something and complete it today. This makes me impulsive at times, but I am always credible towards others, and when I say I will do something, I don't like backtracking."

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, Grimwood, C and Popplestone R (1993) "Women, Management and Care." London, MacMillan.

## Holding leaders accountable

### Performance

This section explores whether women decision-makers bring to bear different kinds of skills to men; if the pressure they find themselves under makes them more diligent in their tasks, and if their participation contributes to greater openness and transparency in governance.

### Multi-tasking

UK researcher Julia Ross notes that in the age of globalisation, successful businesses are those that move fast into a networking mode with the centre's role one of co-ordinating the activities of the different satellites; and successful leaders of tomorrow those who are lateral thinkers, used to performing many tasks at the same time and have a supportive, rewarding approach that brings out the best in people. She considers that women have an advantage over men "partly because they have often had to learn those very skills in their child rearing capacity and partly because they do not have to unlearn authoritarian behaviour."<sup>5</sup>

Mozambican Minister of Higher Education Lydia Brito argued that: "Women are usually good at performing many jobs at the same time, and they have a good sense of timing. Men are usually more focused, losing opportunity with their time keeping, but pursuing the time they have to focus on achieving a quality standard. So when you have the interaction you have the best of both of them, because they complement each other."

### Diligence

An issue on which there is strong consensus in the literature and in the research, is that on average they tend to work harder.

A number of studies show that women, perhaps because of a sense of privilege and obligation, put extra effort into their work and in preparing for debates.<sup>6</sup>

This seems to confirm Jain's assertion that once women enter spheres of power they act as "exemplars". She argues that because women they have been denied opportunities to enter such spheres they "over-perform". As they know the hope that other women place on their presence in such powerful positions to change their lives they operate with a vision and mission.<sup>8</sup>

Namibia's Samaria adds:

I am aware that women in any public positions are scrutinised more by the people and their colleagues than men. Men can have a laid-back attitude, while women have to work twice, if not thrice as hard, to prove themselves. It's very unfair. I was under scrutiny as a councillor and when I became mayor, because I am a woman. I played it by the rules and made no exceptions. I didn't expect anything as a woman. I worked hard to know my Act (the law governing the work of the local authorities) and what to do.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, Brill, A. Ed (1995) "A Rising Voice: Women in Politics World Wide." New York, the Feminist Press.

<sup>7</sup> Jain D. (1997) "Minds, Bodies and Exemplars: Reflections at Beijing and Beyond."

Samaria, a recipient of awards from the Performance Management Review of Southern Africa for her work as mayor said that, “whatever I do, I believe that I am serving my country and that everyone at all levels has a role to play. You have to be proud and satisfied with what you are doing, and you must do your best. I am content with what I have done and with what I am doing now.”

Seychelles’ Simone de Commarmond noted: “It is not that women are treated unfairly, but that they are scrutinised more carefully.”

In South Africa, deputy defence minister Madlala-Routledge says, “women tend to put in a lot more work than men and as a result they tend to be more effective, and more favoured as leaders.”

Mtintso quotes the Chief Whip of the ANC as saying that on average, ANC women MPs register an 85 % attendance rate in their committees, public hearings, and constituency work, compared to a 65 % rate for men. He added that when training programmes are set up for women MPs, they attend in greater numbers than men.” He attributed this to the fact that women “do not take power for granted, s men sometimes do. I find it very easy to rely on women both for their attendance and participation in parliamentary activities. This is not to say there are no problems or exceptions.”<sup>8</sup>

In an assessment of women in the Zambian parliament, journalist Monde Sifunison wrote: “I do not deny that there are women who, after delivering their maiden speech, feel their work is done, and sit back comfortably to doze fitfully through their term in parliament. Of course, there are men who fall into that category. But men can afford to have sleeping partners. One hundred of them can go to sleep and those awake will still outnumber the women in the house by one hundred percent!”<sup>9</sup>

“I believe too that women are better leaders because they are committed to their goals. Once a woman commits to something, she gives her all. I, for example, have one single agenda and that is to work for my constituency, to see hospitals and schools in the area,” reflected Zambian Minister of Labour and Social Services, Nalumango Mutale who is an MMD MP. “When women believe in something, we perform. We state our agenda and men do not.”

Victoria Phiri, a councillor in Chilenje Ward, Lusaka added: “There are some women who have not performed while in decision- making positions who have given the rest of us a bad name. But this happens with men also, although in the case of men, people are more willing to overlook their mistakes and treat it as part of learning, while for women, people expect more and judge them harshly when they err. It makes women wary of being decision-makers.”

## Transparency

A relatively new area of study concerns whether the participation of women in decision-making contributes to greater transparency in governance.

<sup>8</sup> Mtintso, T. (1999) “The contribution of Women Parliamentarians to Gender Equality.” A research report submitted for the degree of Master of Management. University of Witwatersrand. (Unpublished).

<sup>9</sup> Nalumango, M. and Sifuniso M., Eds (1998), “Women Power in Politics”: National Women Lobby Group and Zambia Women Writer’s Association: p218.

An example is the debate sparked off by Dollar, Fisman and Gatti of the World Bank. The authors point out that over the past few decades, research has established differences in behavioural characteristics across gender, for example the fact that women are more likely to exhibit “helping” behaviour and greater integrity. The study found a high degree of negative correlation between the representation of women in parliaments (using Inter-Parliamentary Union data) and the International Country Risk Guide’s corruption index (CORRUPT).

The authors concluded:

Increasing the presence of women in government may be valued for its own sake, for reasons of gender equality. However, our results suggest that there may be extremely important spin-offs stemming from increasing female representation: if women are less likely than men to behave opportunistically, then bringing more women into government may have significant benefits for society in general.<sup>10</sup>

Although generalisations in this complex area are dangerous, there is logic to the argument that any system of governance that is more responsive to all interest groups in society should also be more transparent.

In the IPU study, 80 percent of respondents said that women change politics and restore public confidence and that their presence increases transparency.<sup>11</sup>

In Uganda, one of the few other African countries outside Southern Africa that has achieved the thirty percent target of women in parliament through a quota, President Yoweri Museveni is quoted as saying: “Women have stabilised politics in a way because they tend not to be opportunistic. They tend to go after the interests of stability. They are not so reckless like men.”<sup>12</sup>

In South Africa DA MP Sheila Camerer, who has served as an MP both before and after the new democratic dispensation, noted that parliamentary committees, which used to be rubber stamp legislation in the past, now perform a serious oversight role. She attributed this greater openness and seriousness to all the new forms of diversity in the South African parliament including gender.

As demonstrated in the chapter that includes a discussion on gender-responsive budgeting, it is when women legislators begin to ask tough questions about resource allocations that resistance begins to set in. Gender budgeting is thus not just about the allocation of resources for advancing the status of women but also about bringing greater transparency to governance.

<sup>10</sup> Dollar, D., Fisman, R. and Gatti, R. (1999), “Are Women Really the Fairer Sex? Corruption and Women in Government.” Policy Research Report on Gender and Development. Working Paper Series No.4. Washington, World Bank.

<sup>11</sup> Inter-Parliamentary Union (2000), “Politics: Women’s Insight.” IPU: p4 and p45.

<sup>12</sup> Los Angeles Times, 23 February 2000.



The fact that women in high office feel themselves to be under greater scrutiny than men may also be a contributory factor. As South Africa's Mlambo-Ngcuka notes:

I am very self-conscious. I know that I am under the spotlight. I have to guard my integrity with everything. In this kind of job the assumption is that all politicians are corrupt until proven otherwise. My strength in the changes I want to make will depend on how trustworthy I can be. I am vicious about my integrity.

Zambian Forum for Democracy and Development (FDD) MP Charles Banda expressed the conviction that a stronger presence of women in his country would help to change the corrupt nature of Zambian politics. "Our system is rotten and the culprits are men. To move forward we need to actively involve women." But for women to be effective, Banda says they must first overcome the perception by the people that they too are "crooks" since they made it through the dirty game of politics.