

JUSTICE

Renewing Struggles for Social Justice

A Primer for Transformative Leaders

SECOND EDITION, WITH INDEX

By Lance C Buhl
on behalf of the Binational Civil Society Forum
with
contributions from Kathryn Whetten and Rachel Whetten
and
a preface by Ambassador James A Joseph

TERRY
SANFORD INSTITUTE
OF PUBLIC POLICY

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UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

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PREFACE

In both South Africa and the United States, the gap between the wealthy and the poor continues to widen. We, the members of the Binational Civil Society Forum, are taking the extraordinary step of extending to a larger public the conversation we have had among ourselves about renewing the struggles for social justice. We do so because of our strong concern about the collapse of consensus regarding what needs to be done, and the apathy that prevails in high places.

We speak from the platform of civil society, but many of us have had experience in business and government as well. We celebrate the role our sector has played in helping bring about change – the fall of the Berlin Wall, the dismantling of apartheid and the triumphs of the civil rights movement in the United States. But we have learned, sometimes painfully, that we must also address the policy environment in which we work and the role of the global economy in releasing or constraining the potential we see.

This monograph had its genesis on South African soil shortly before Nelson Mandela was released from 27 years of incarceration. Eric Molobi, who had been one of the political prisoners on Robben Island, was determined to strengthen the non-governmental sector that had kept the fires burning while many of its leaders went into prison or exile. In 1990, he invited me to join him as co-chair of a binational gathering of civil society leaders from South Africa and the United States. Later in the decade, we shifted the venue from South Africa to the United States and met again at Airlie House in the state of Maryland with Mamphela Ramphele, who was at the time Vice Chancellor of the University of Cape Town, and Franklin Thomas, then President of the Ford Foundation, as forum co-chairs.

The Airlie House participants called for regular meetings between civil society leaders in our two countries. But it was not until 2002 that we convened the first meeting of what became annual gatherings of the new Binational Civil Society Forum, established as a programme of the Centres for Leadership and Public Values at Duke University, United States, and the University of Cape Town. At this first meeting of the new millennium, the Reverend Mvume Dandala, then Bishop of the Methodist Church (South Africa) and now General Secretary of the All Africa Conference of Churches, and I served as co-chairs. The group decided that our primary focus should be on the role of civil society in promoting justice, combating HIV/AIDS, and supporting community philanthropy and self-help in low-wealth communities.

By our next meeting we had concluded that justice was the overarching imperative and that the issues implicit in the focus on the other two areas had their genesis in inequality, poverty and race. After five years of conversations and collaborative efforts to address the issues that both disturbed and motivated us, we decided that it was time to share our concerns, conclusions and examples of effective leadership in the struggle for justice with leaders in all three sectors of our respective democracies.

We have no illusion that writing a monograph or developing initiatives within the institutions of civil society alone can revive and recommit our two peoples to establishing justice and actualising the values stated so eloquently in our two constitutions. We do believe, however, that we have allies in business and government who understand the relationship between reconciliation and poverty reduction, and between equity and sustainable economic development.

All of us share the conclusion that something must be done and that we know what to do, but we cannot seem to develop a national will to do it. We believe, however, that the winds of change are blowing...that the time to make the case for forming the more perfect union of which our founders dreamed is now.

Can we get anyone to listen or, even more importantly, to act? In calling for a recommitment to justice, we are addressing not simply the civic imperatives that we affirm in our public documents but the national self-interest of our leaders and individual citizens. We will not have healthy business corporations for long unless they operate in healthy communities. Nor will we have effective governments without an increased commitment to fairness, openness and opportunity.

South Africa's new democracy, launched in 1994 with a strong commitment to social justice, is still very young. Americans have been working through the institutions of government, business and civil society, while debating the appropriate role of each sector, for a much longer time. But neither of our nations is fixed or final. Our people, at their best, have the potential to remake our societies. However we must persuade our fellow citizens that the pillars of prosperity, the engines that drive our economic well-being, will soon lose their potential if we do not tackle – with greater intensity and urgency – the debilitating and destabilising issues of race, gender and poverty.

The members of the Binational Civil Society Forum join me in expressing our appreciation to Dr Lance Buhl, Deputy Director of the Duke Center and a former academic and corporate giving executive, for the extraordinary work he has done in pulling together our collective thoughts for this volume. We extend special thanks, too, to Kate and Rachel Whetten for their informed writing of Chapter 5 and to Carol Robbins for the excellent work she did in editing the entire monograph – it is the better for it. We are also grateful to Ceri Oliver Evans, Director of the Southern Africa–United States Center for Leadership and Public Values, for hosting our Cape Town meetings and contributing so ably to the work of the Forum, and to Michelle Newman, without whose tireless support our Forums would have been far less productive.

Of course, neither the Forum nor this book would have been possible but for the generosity of the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation and the Ford Foundation, respectively. We owe both our sincere appreciation and profound regard.

Finally, I want to express my personal gratitude to the members of the Forum who came from throughout South Africa and the United States to grapple with the many challenges

and opportunities our two nations share in common, and especially to my South African co-chairs, Bishop Dandala, Lionel Louw, Wilmot James and Bishop Ivan Abrahams.

We call on leaders at all levels and in all sectors of our two democracies to help end poverty; to promote equity and inclusion; to clarify the distinction between philanthropy and charity; and to help re-introduce the language of social justice into our national discourse about the future well-being of our two countries. We realise that the concerns of our two people are presently about public leadership, but we believe that this is also a good time to reinvigorate civil society and to call on our political leaders to help facilitate collaboration between the public, private and non-governmental sectors of our democracies.

James A Joseph

Former United States Ambassador to South Africa

Founder, United States–Southern Africa Center for Leadership and Public Values (Duke University) and the Binational Civil Society Forum

February 2008

AUTHOR'S NOTE:

ABOUT THE BINATIONAL CIVIL SOCIETY FORUM

It is hard to add much to Ambassador Joseph's Preface. But that won't stop me. *Renewing Struggles for Social Justice: A Primer for Transformative Leaders* is, in many ways, a tribute to Jim. It is not just that he has served his country – indeed, the world – in many capacities, as you'll shortly see. What is more important is that his true calling is 'citizen', born of a tireless, far-seeing and always eloquent passion for social justice, whatever the formal position he has filled. It is out of his dedication as citizen that the Binational Civil Society Forum was born.

Jim has long held that:

- Civil society, that space between the governmental and non-governmental sectors where citizenship is expressed, and civil society organisations are critical to the health of democratic societies across the globe.
- Civil society institutions and active citizenship itself very often are under some threat by governments sceptical of their utility and even their legitimacy.
- Citizens must work together to magnify the sector's claims and demonstrate its effectiveness in confronting injustices that undermine the common good.

Not surprisingly, then, in 1993 Jim co-founded CIVICUS, an organisation that promotes civil society and citizen participation worldwide. As Ambassador to South Africa (1996–2000), he tried, unsuccessfully, to convince the American and South African governments to include a civil society section in the late 1990s Gore–Mbeki Binational Commission to foster collaborative linkages between the private (for-profit) and governmental sectors in both nations. When he founded the two Centers for Leadership and Public Values at Duke University and the University of Cape Town in 2001, he determined that one of their joint missions was to fill the gap left by the Commission...hence the Forum.

Our membership over its five annual meetings (2002 and 2003 in the United States; 2004, 2005 and 2006 in South Africa) built a camaraderie that spurred creativity and clarified thinking about serious types of social injustice endangering the health of civil society in our two nations. Individually, we defined a broad spectrum of experiences and perspectives relevant to these matters. For example, Jim Joseph, born and raised in highly segregated Louisiana, served as: an officer in the US army; a civil rights leader in the early 1960s in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, national headquarters of the Ku Klux Klan; chaplain of the Claremont Colleges; head of a private family foundation; Vice President of the Cummins Engine Company; Under Secretary of the US Department of the Interior (1977–81); CEO of the national Council on Foundations; and a host of volunteer positions before and after being appointed US Ambassador to South Africa in 1996.

Molefe Tsele, a member of the Civil Society Forum from South Africa, is emblematic of countless people who rose against and above apartheid rules and definitions of who matters. Born in 1956 in the poor black township of Daveyton, Molefe initially took up studies in the law, became an activist in the struggle against the regime, and then decided to pursue a career of service as a member of the cloth, completing his Bachelor of Theology (with honours) at the University of South Africa (UNISA). He served as a Lutheran pastor of parishes in Kasigo and Soweto townships; his continuing stand against injustice led him to help draft the Kairos Document (1985), an influential theological challenge to both passivity toward and acceptance of apartheid by many South African churches. After being detained by the South African government (1986 to 1988), Molefe earned his Masters and Doctoral degrees in theology and political ethics at the Lutheran School of Theology (Chicago). Returning to South Africa in 1995, Dr Tsele became Executive Director, economic affairs, for the South African Council of Churches; then, in 2001, the Council's General Secretary. Currently, he serves as Managing Trustee of the Batho Batho Trust and Political Advisor to the Premier, Northwest Province.

Similarly, other members have served the common good in many ways. Our number included two presiding Bishops of the Methodist Church (SA); the Secretary General of the Council of South African Trade Unions (Western Cape) and a leading voice on behalf of unemployed and low-income workers in the African National Congress (ANC); a senior programme officer of the Ford Foundation whose grant-making has brought both focus and resources to bear on social injustices in America's South; the director of a leading Massachusetts community-based development organisation; a former head of British Petroleum America's corporate contributions programme in which community-based development was a leading focus; the founding Director of the South African Grantmakers' Association; a leading voice for socially responsible family philanthropy; a young professional who has committed his life to working with and expressing the hopes and frustrations of youth living in South Africa's poorest townships; three internationally respected American academic experts on the HIV/AIDS pandemic; a man who has sparked the 'giving circles' movement at the community level across the American South; a woman who heads South Africa's largest 'community chest' organisation; and an executive of the faith-based organisation, Sojourners/Call to Renewal. You can get a fuller sense of our diverse backgrounds and commitments in Appendix 1.

Along with concern for the issues the Forum explored, several things have kept us together as a group. In various areas and different ways, each of us carries responsibilities as a leader. We accept the moral consequences of that calling and consider ourselves citizen activists. We learn and gain courage from one another. We prize our differences as well as what commonly fuels our sense of outrage at injustice. And we have dedicated ourselves to addressing social and economic inequities where we find them.

Donna Chavis, a member of the Civil Society Forum from the United States, is living testimony to the encompassing nature of a commitment to social justice.

She has long played a leading role in service to her community and to the people of North Carolina as a whole. A Native American, born to the Lumbee people, Donna co-founded in 1980 the Center for Community Action, a multi-racial organisation in Robeson County dedicated to addressing the causes of poverty and empowering individuals, families and communities for advancing their quality of life. She served as the Center's Chief Operating Officer until 2007. Her interest in social change, inclusionary practices and justice widely defined has involved her in numerous statewide and national causes. She served as a commissioner of the national Commission for Racial Justice of the United Church of Christ (USA) and on other philanthropic and civic boards, including the North Carolina Indian Cultural Center. In November 2006, Donna accepted appointment as Executive Director of NCGives, a donor-advised gift fund of the North Carolina Community Foundation. NCGives works to grow giving within communities of colour, women and youth.

You might well wonder where we fit in on the continuum of political philosophy. While Forum members have not had a full-fledged discussion, much less reached any collective agreement on the matter, it is probably correct to say that our orientation is from centre to left. We hope that will not stop you from considering the relevance for yourself in what moves us to action.

For us, the following statement is the compelling amalgam of underlying ideas and values that animated our discussions and this book: We believe in the inherent dignity and equality of all human beings, and indeed, in the capacity for leadership in all of us. We attest to the universal validity and applicability of the 'Golden Rule' (doing to others what we'd have them do unto us) and the concomitant necessity to place oneself in the shoes of others before deciding on policies and actions.

We are deeply troubled by our societies' and governments' failures to address, and thus to perpetuate, a host of issues that relegate huge numbers of our fellow citizens, their children and their communities to lives of want. We are convinced that each person has an inherent sense of what fairness is. We believe in and are committed to strengthening and making ever more inclusive the common good this sense of fairness underwrites. We also believe in our people's collective capacities to negotiate the economic, social and political rules accordingly, and the need to rally citizen leaders (whatever their individual capacities) as participants in such negotiations. In all, we believe that social justice is necessary, desirable and attainable, if only by increments – but, more hopefully, by leaps and bounds.

And so we asked one another what we might do collectively to enlist others to the causes of social justice? This monograph is a fulfillment of that question – what we hope

will be a legacy that inspires action in our readers on behalf of more equitable, caring and inclusive social orders.

Lance C Buhl

Deputy Director, United States–Southern Africa Center for Leadership and Public Values (Duke University)

February 2008

About the author

Lance C Buhl earned his doctorate in history from Harvard University, thereafter pursuing an eleven year career in higher education. From 1981–92 he served as a programme officer, then director, of corporate contributions, British Petroleum America. In the intervening years, he has consulted with foundations, corporations and non-profit organisations on programme development and evaluation, since 2001 with the Center for Leadership and Public Values at Duke University.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND APPROACH

Background

Renewing Struggles for Social Justice is an extended letter to you, as a citizen leader... whether in the nonprofit, for-profit or public sector. While we hope your counterparts in other countries also might be moved by the message, we address this volume to American and South African leaders because we are troubled that so very few men and women in leadership positions have committed themselves to doing something tangible and long term about obvious and deeply corrosive instances of social injustice.

As members of the Civil Society Forum (see the Preface and the Author's note), we spoke to one another often in terms of 'struggles' because our concerns about the present are inspired and informed by the freedom and civil rights struggles in the last half-century in our two nations. Many of our members, in fact, participated in those earlier struggles for justice. Though they take pride in helping to overturn legalised racial discrimination in America and replace apartheid with democracy in South Africa, they and we are deeply troubled that their victories have not translated into social and economic equality for many people of colour.

The Forum's attention and passion focuses on three telling contemporary patterns of social injustice in South Africa and the United States:

- The unfinished business of restorative and transformative justice, particularly the need for racial reconciliation.
- The HIV/AIDS epidemic.
- The abysmal conditions of poor communities and lack of adequate support for self-help movements to create and restore community efficacy.

We believe these three issues tap into fundamental sources of all injustice. We are acutely aware that many other forms of social injustice – from wars to maldistribution of basic necessities – hobble humankind and cry out for redress. However, in focusing more narrowly in the Civil Society Forum and in this volume, we recognise that channeling energy is often necessary to advance important agendas...and that nearly all injustices and movements to overcome them are interconnected and mutually reinforcing.

Approaching this work

We encourage you to view *Renewing Struggles for Social Justice* as a primer rather than a completed work. We do not intend it to be a final, authoritative statement on any of the topics presented. The volume – and each chapter – is brief, uncomplicated by long argumentation and myriad research citations. That is not to say we ignore what scholars have to say (see chapter references and the list of relevant studies in Appendix 2). Indeed, an underlying theme throughout is the necessary and equal partnership between evidence-based thinking and a passion for justice.

Our logic in developing and organising the monograph begins with this introductory chapter, then moves, in Chapter 2, to a ‘call to action’ and overview of the dynamic between leadership and social justice.

In Chapters 3 and 4, we discuss the persistence of the injustices of special concern to us. We identify the problem at large (Chapter 3) as the diminishing definition and appreciation of the common good, focusing on the distributive rules of our economies. In Chapter 4, we examine who is included and who is excluded – i.e. who is helped and who is put at risk – by these rules. Inevitably, this leads to consideration of white privilege and the still dominant influence of racism, affecting all people of colour but especially black citizens in both South Africa and the United States.

Chapter 5 demonstrates how HIV/AIDS is one of the most telling consequences of these prominent features of our two societies. It helps enable the reader to put faces to the pandemic – this child over here, that mourner there, this mother, that father, that young girl, this gay man – as we contemplate its devastating consequences.

In Chapter 6 we discuss how we might effectively renegotiate our societies’ rules about inclusion and exclusion. We examine how to meld the innate sense of ‘fairness’ each of us possesses into broader, more expansive definitions of the common good. The chapter also looks at why centreing those conversations in civil society – rather than in the formal political processes or corporate sector – is necessary. And we discuss the sort of transformative leadership required for promoting social justice – a set of leadership

attitudes and practices regarding the use of power that each citizen can realise in her- or himself and promote in others.

We consider in Chapter 7 how together we might go about bending the moral arc of history towards justice with respect to racial reconciliation – a matter involving justice that is *restorative* (reaffirms the humanity of each of us) and *transformative* (initiates processes that can reconstruct our social and economic orders).

Chapter 8 suggests that supporting the self-help efforts of citizens in low-income communities can be a powerful way to test and advance our commitment to the principles and spirit of restorative justice. We examine what gets in the way of, and what facilitates, self-help initiatives.

And, lastly, in Chapter 9 we define different ways in which *you* can apply your unique leadership skills to promote social justice, whether the cause you choose is one of ours or another you find more compelling and engaging.

Throughout *Renewing Struggles for Social Justice*, we offer examples of how citizens are acting to create fundamental changes in the way our societies respond to injustice; as often as possible, these come from Civil Society Forum members' experiences. And, we suggest how you might get involved – with us and with other groups and organisations – to bring about justice.

In the end you must test whether what we have to say merits your assent. We suggest that you ask of our ideas: 'Are the visions of society and the principles that underlie them valid?' 'Who stands to benefit should the ideas gain hold – and if they fail?' 'Wouldn't our societies and world be better and fairer for our children and grandchildren if citizens were to renegotiate the social contracts that bind us in accord with the set of ideas we propound?' And, if you are persuaded, then ask: 'How can I *not* act?' 'In what way or ways can I add my voice and gifts to struggles for social justice?'

CHAPTER 2

LEADERSHIP AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

Justice in search of leaders

Do you wonder about such issues as: the decline in our common obligations to one another...the persistence of racial and economic inequality that diminishes the life prospects for millions of fellow citizens and untold numbers in future generations... the failure to respond adequately to the HIV/AIDS pandemic in South Africa and the growing new epidemic of that disease in the rural South and among poor women in urban areas of the United States...the relentless poverty that defines many inner-city and rural communities in America and townships, both urban and rural, in South Africa?

If you are moved to consider what your moral obligations are as a leader – in your social circle, your vocation, your organisation, your family – in response to these urgent matters, then our objective in preparing this volume will be met. If you decide to move from amazement and outrage to action, then the monograph will have achieved its penultimate goal.

And, if you find and act in concert with others who are troubled and want to change the social, economic and political rules that spawn injustice, every resource spent on the Civil Society Forum's work and this monograph will be accounted as well spent. For it is through collective action that injustices can be meaningfully addressed, and true democracy can triumph over the diluted forms that it may pass for these days.

At a more fundamental level, we ask you to:

- Consider the consequences of what we plan and do today on the lives of others, not just in the short term, but up to the fourth generation, that of our great-grandchildren.
- Work to understand and acknowledge injustices.
- Worry constructively about reforming patently unjust systems.
- Help agitate for and fashion changes that promise better outcomes for succeeding generations (if not our own).

The fact that you are reading this volume now reflects an inquiry into your personal responsibilities as a leader. We believe leaders of whatever station or circumstance, high or low, wide or circumscribed, formal or informal, should grapple with this issue: how might I use the influence and power my position as a leader confers on me to address pressing social issues...to serve others by helping to empower them?

Defining social justice

Harvard University Professor John Rawls, one of the most prominent political theorists of the second half of the 20th century, defined ‘social justice’ simply as the collective, negotiated embodiment of the basic human understanding of ‘fairness’.¹ We can look more closely at what that might mean through the eyes of Civil Society Forum member Russel Ally. As Program Officer of the Ford Foundation, former head of the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation’s Southern Africa office and before that Human Rights Project Manager for the United Nations High Commission on Human Rights, Coordinator for the South African National Action Plan for Human Rights, and a member of the Human Rights Violations Committee of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission – he is extremely well-qualified to comment on the topic. At our November 2006 meeting, Ally noted that it is ‘interesting and not accidental that we’ve added “social” to the concept of justice because unmodified justice has become too closely associated with the law – a legal judicial process. But what does this even mean when the very legal process is easily compromised? As Karl Marx once asked, “Who judges the judges?”’

Ally elaborates:

Social justice ensures that the concept is put in the realm where it has the potential to mean something real, something tangible, something meaningful. Social justice, I want to suggest, is the bedrock of democracy. It’s about *how* we organise our politics, our economy and our society. It’s about around whose interests we organise our politics, economics, and society. As such it is *never* neutral – unlike the illusion which those in power try to create around the concept of the rule of law. Social justice is class justice; social justice is racial justice. Social justice is economic justice. It’s about citizens fully participating in and fully partaking of what our society has to offer in its entirety. It’s about an end to poverty, marginalization, discrimination and exclusion.

We need social justice, he contends, ‘because without it, we cannot have real democracies. Without it, we deny – most often – the majority of people their humanity: their inherent right to a quality of life characterised by dignity, respect and human rights. And as long as we do that, we continue to sow the seeds of division, conflict, violence and strife. So there is both a moral (a values-based) reason and a pragmatic one as well.’ He concludes with the thought that social justice is achieved ‘with difficulty and always with struggle. Remember, I said that social justice is not neutral. As much as there are vested interests in trying to achieve it, there are vested interests in preventing it – because social justice challenges the *status quo*. It represents a threat to those in power. It chips away at class privilege and racial superiority. So the questions of mobilisation, leadership, advocacy, social investment become paramount. Social justice is about us – and therefore can only be brought about by us.’

Most people, we are convinced, possess an instinctive sense of fairness. We know injustice when we see it; it occurs especially where power and privilege put ‘the other’ at risk. It happens when, for example, children die for lack of what is abundant but withheld (food, water, medical attention, capable communities); when persons of colour are treated differently than white people in or at the bar of law; when working women and men are paid wages too low to provide their families with proper nutrition, shelter, education and health; and when women are subject to abuse, often systematically, without recourse to the law and those who enforce it.

The relationship between HIV/AIDS, restorative justice and self-help

At first, this may seem an odd juxtaposition of social concerns. They became part of the Civil Society Forum agenda from the outset because its founder, Jim Joseph, saw them as defining issues with which the new South African society and its government had to come to terms. The HIV/AIDS epidemic was already having a devastating effect. The deplorable conditions of townships across the nation were a scandal. Three centuries of virtual, then legalised, apartheid had created a legacy of deep-seated racial and economic divides; the needed reconciliation and reconstruction were, at best, in their very early stages, notwithstanding the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. For economic reconstruction to serve the democratic values of the nation, it had to involve and be built upon the initiative and will of the people, community by community. Joseph understood that Americans, too, have yet to fully come to terms with a parallel set of social and economic injustices.

Similarly, the challenges of HIV/AIDS, of an unmet need for racial reconciliation and for the economic reconstruction of low-income communities, were also relevant across and up and down the American landscape.

Thus, these three issues offered opportunities for discussion and mutual learning among South African and American members of the Forum. The issues have the added value of serving as accurate lenses for magnifying the unfinished business of social justice that Americans, as well as their South African brothers and sisters, face.

Finally, each of the three themes of injustice or justice unrealised were – and still are – urgent examples of broader, underlying realities in our (and many other) nations: the corrosive roles that race, sex and class identification play in decisions about how our political and economic systems are organised and operate in allocating resources. Indeed, HIV/AIDS, restorative justice and community self-help are often interconnected. Consider, for example, that in our countries, the people and communities most often affected by HIV and AIDS (and a host of other diseases), the want of restorative justice and support for self-help are people of colour: primarily black South Africans and African-Americans.*

Endnotes

- 1 John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, Harvard University Press, 1971 and *Political Liberalism*, Columbia University Press, 1993.

* In describing non-whites, we use five designations. The first three are more or less official South African racial definitions: 1) 'black', referring either to black or pre-colonial South Africans, sometimes simply designated as 'Africans'; 2) 'colored' or 'coloured', referring to those with 'mixed-race' backgrounds, particularly those in the Western Cape where a distinctive culture and identity have developed over the past two centuries, although apartheid laws identified coloured as any people of mixed race; 3) 'Asian' referring to South Africans who trace their descent to colonial or contemporary India. We use 4) 'African-American' to refer to people of colour who, most typically though not exclusively, are descendents of African slaves, and 5) 'other peoples of colour' to refer to non-white, non-African Americans generally (Native Americans and others whose ancestry is of indigenous North, Central or South American origin; Asian Americans, Chinese, Japanese, Korean chief among them; and more recent, immigrant groups of less than three generations, typically from Africa, Southeast Asia, the Pacific Islands and the Middle East).

CHAPTER 3

CRISIS OF THE COMMON GOOD:

The problem in general

Preambles as prelude

We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Preamble to the Constitution of the United States of America (1788)

We, the people of South Africa,
Recognise the injustices of our past;
Honour those who suffered for justice and freedom in our land;
Respect those who have worked to build and develop our country; and
Believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity.
We therefore...adopt this Constitution...so as to
 Heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights;
 Lay the foundations for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by law;

Improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person; and

Build a united and democratic South Africa able to take its rightful place as a sovereign state in the family of nations.

Preamble to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996)

The common good as a central concern

Members of the Civil Society Forum are committed to the principle that our nations must be caring and just communities. We fear that the concept of a good society – a benevolent community – is threatened and in urgent need of attention. In appealing to you to help tackle the three intertwined and emblematic challenges we have identified, we must convince you that 1) the idea of the common good in the US and South Africa is important, 2) it is endangered, and 3) eliminating inequalities is essential for saving the common good and therefore a matter of national self-interest.

We know that both nations, in differing degrees, have highly productive private sectors and that the standard of living continues to rise. But these aggregate statistics hide, and often are used politically to mask, a more troubling and corrosive reality: the persistence of inequality and poverty. Those problems, falling most heavily on African-Americans and on black South Africans, are deepening. The places these fellow citizens live are those most affected by HIV/AIDS, most removed from the healing possibilities of reconciliation and inclusion in the broader community, most in need of assistance to build upon their proven capacities for and will to self-help.

In this and the following chapter, we ponder why seeking the simplest forms of social justice with the required commitment, persistence and on the required scale, seems beyond the abilities of our relatively wealthy nations. We examine how it is that we seem to have lost our sense of community, how America has become the most unequal of the so-called developed countries and how the values implicit in the notion of the commons are more likely to be applied to neighbourhoods than the nation. We argue the necessity of restoring substance to these critical values in both countries, for without them to talk of our nations as ‘communities’ rings hollow. And, at a very practical level, we point out that the burden of the increasingly high costs of inequality and poverty weighs on us all, though most heavily on our most vulnerable citizens.

What is the common good?

The idea of the common good has deep roots in Judaism and Christianity, reinforced (especially in South Africa) by Islam. In fact, all major world religions make central the ‘Golden Rule’ – ‘do unto others what you would have them do unto you’. Thus, there are shared traditions of serving the poor, tithing and philanthropy; Christ’s teachings, the more modern Protestant Social Gospel and Catholic social teachings all provide solid evidence of and grist for our understanding of the common good.

At least since the Western Age of Enlightenment such teachings and practices – associated with what some call ‘the beloved community’ – have been translated into our secular, constitutional traditions. The preambles of both the US Constitution (1788) and the new South African Constitution (1996) specifically use language extolling the common good. The latter is particularly significant – not only because it is based in large measure on the struggle movement’s Freedom Charter (1955), but because it represents the will and aspirations of the overwhelming majority of all South Africa’s people in the aftermath of apartheid.

In short, the founders of the Republic of South Africa and of the United States of America – as well as many other nations – understood that to be successful in the long run, continuing majorities of their citizens are not only entitled to a fair portion of society’s wealth but must be willing to share some measure of what each citizen regards as her or his ‘own’ for the welfare – the common good – of the greater community, the congregant ‘us’. That is the nature of the constitutional bargain.

To fully appreciate the complexity of the idea of the common good in South African public life, it is necessary to understand the concept of ‘Ubuntu’, and how this inclusive and communitarian vision of black Africans exists in tension with a more exclusive and individualistic white notion of community, one that continues to be more fully reflected in critical public decisions about how South African society’s benefits are shared. Ubuntu is a way of being; an ethic deeply embedded in African culture and social philosophy. It has been described as the ‘rootedness of the self in community’ – the capacity to express compassion, reciprocity, dignity, harmony and humanity in the interests of eliminating inequities and establishing and sustaining justice. Many South Africans caution that Ubuntu is not a concept easily distilled into a methodological procedure. Rather, it is the bedrock of a specific lifestyle or culture that seeks to honour human relationships as primary in any social, communal or corporate activity.

Barbara Nussbaum, who has investigated whether the Ubuntu tradition continues to reside in the contemporary institutions and communal life of South Africa, argues that Ubuntu, applied to business and other forms of economic activity, would ultimately be about sharing wealth and making (at the very least) basic services such as food, housing and access to health and education accessible to all members of the community. In its earliest expression, according to Nussbaum, Ubuntu acknowledged among other things, ‘Your pain is my pain. My wealth is your wealth. Your salvation is my salvation.’ In her research she has found elements of Ubuntu in various aspects of southern African life, especially ‘the short memory of hate’, but also in the workplace, the arts and rural village life.¹

Ubuntu stands in stark contrast to the American traditions of ‘rugged individualism’ and ‘self-reliance’, which continue to find powerful expression in the nation’s political arenas. These tend to exalt the individual over the community, and self-absorptive over communitarian interests. Still, Ubuntu’s celebration of collective responsibility to one another does have parallels in the United States, most particularly in the folkways of many Native American communities. Whatever their source, these notions are well worth attending to in times like these, when the very idea of the common good is under serious attack.

'I have always known that deep down in every human heart, there is mercy and generosity. No one is born hating another person because of the colour of his skin or his background or his religion. People must learn to hate, and if they can learn to hate, they can be taught to love, for love comes more naturally to the human heart than its opposite. Even at the grimmest time in prison, when my comrades and I were pushed to our limits, I would see a glimmer of humanity in one of the guards, perhaps just for a second, but it was enough to reassure me and keep me going. Man's goodness is a flame that can be hidden but never extinguished.' Nelson Mandela, *The Long Road to Freedom*, Abacus, 1995, p. 749.

Erosion of regard for the common good and Ubuntu

Contemporary students of the common good differ about how best to balance the claims of individuals and groups for redress against a nation's legitimate interests in preserving the integrity and productivity of the whole. Some, looking at ancient and still-existing preindustrial societies, find examples of voluntary, noncoerced solutions, based on property rights. Others pay more attention to the huge variety of tools modern societies have developed to realise the common good – such as public lands, land use and building codes, water rights, public safety rules and agencies, water and sewage, public health and retirement, transportation, public housing and public education systems, and, of course, defence forces. These scholars believe that government must be the vehicle through which the solutions about individual and collective interests are worked out, through political and constitutional processes.

However conflicting claims are resolved in a society, nearly all of us instinctively understand that the common good *does* exist. Indeed, social justice is unattainable without a durable agreement about that – for, out of that understanding of mutual commitment and solidarity, each citizen gains her or his claim to justice. Yet the strength of such claims has eroded in recent decades in the United States and, despite the victory against apartheid, has had difficulty gaining ascendancy in South Africa. In both nations we come to discover that the reigning definitions of our political economics are undermining – or at least severely curtailing – our collective abilities to build the common good.

'...lower income families tend to pay more for the exact same consumer product than families with higher incomes...4.2 million lower income homeowners [earning] less than \$30,000 a year pay higher than average prices for their mortgages. About 4.5 million...pay higher than average prices for auto loans. At least 1.6 [million]...pay excessive fees for furniture, appliances, and electronics. And, countless pay higher prices for other necessities, such as basic financial services, groceries, and insurance.' Matt Fellowes, *From Poverty, Opportunity: Putting the Market to Work for Lower Income Families*, Brookings Institution, July 2006. Also see author's introduction and executive summary at <http://www.brookings.edu>. Fellowes' findings are similar to those of the Annie E Casey Foundation in its *Strengthening Rural Families: The High Cost of Being Poor*, 2004. <<http://www.eacf.org>>

In the United States, proponents of ‘free market’ economics over the past half century have successfully mounted an intellectual and political assault on the idea that, in law and in politics, claims of ‘community’ have standing over and above individual private rights. Consider this partial litany of consequences: successive waves of tax reductions and restrictions, thus dangerously ballooning the national debt; the continuing growth of the gun culture, killing more than a million civilians in the last 30 years; serious under-spending for public education, water systems, parks, roads and bridges, and other infrastructure; diluting zoning regulations that protect the general good but restrict personal ownership claims; intensification of ‘the high costs of being poor’ (see boxed Fellowes quote on p. 14) which include being charged more for necessities, living in environmentally dangerous homes and neighbourhoods, and higher levels of poor health; the growth of ‘corporatism’, abetted by the longstanding constitutional precedent that the for-profit corporation has the same standing in law as the human citizen; the ‘privatisation’ movement, whereby delivery of public goods and services is being transferred from government agencies to private-sector institutions, often at higher prices and with diminished accountability, allowing the government to wage an unjust war into its sixth year to the chief benefit of private contractors; and income and wealth differential among citizens that rivals that of the pre-Depression 1920s.

In South Africa, compromises made in the early 1990s to guarantee a peaceful transition from apartheid to a fully democratic nation included preserving, without restrictions, the economic order. In essence, the new government was handicapped even before it was established. The adoption in 1994 of a bold Reconstruction and Development Programme, aimed at boosting social spending, was jettisoned two years later in favor of a Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy that satisfied Washington Consensus standards in fiscal and economic policies. Free market rules would not be altered.² The practical effect has been the postponement of substantive justice. Until just recently, the public sector has had inadequate revenues to properly address the burdens of centuries-old poverty – in housing, healthcare, education, wages – that have been further complicated by the massive challenges of HIV/AIDS.

Despite the recent collapse of the home mortgage and related credit markets, it is still the case that by most conventional standards both nations have strong economies with positive growth. That our citizens live with such contradictions has become typical of what economists Robert Frank and Philip Cook call ‘winner-take-all’ societies.³

Economist John Kenneth Galbraith accurately defined the nature and dilemmas of these kinds of neo-liberal economic orders some 50 years ago in *The Affluent Society*.⁴ ‘Developed’ nations, he said, had essentially overcome the historic economic challenges associated with maintaining productivity, especially when facing depressions. Thus, since 1945, their economies have become reliable engines for producing, making affordable and creating consumer desire (through advertising), and selling and providing debt services to purchase all manner of things.

Galbraith also defined the toll such economies take. They drive nations to engage in ‘an implacable tendency to provide an opulent supply of some things and a niggardly yield of others’, the latter being the ‘supply of public services’. We’ve failed, he concluded, to achieve the ‘social balance’ necessary for resolving the two final economic barriers to social justice and harmony – inequality and poverty. ‘This disparity carries to the point where it is a cause of social discomfort and social unhealth. The line which divides our area of wealth from our area of poverty is roughly that which divides privately produced and marketed goods and services from publicly rendered services. Our wealth in the first is not only in startling contrast with the meagerness of the latter, but our wealth in privately produced goods is, to a marked degree, the cause of crisis in the supply of public services.’⁵

‘The issues of economic inequality and racial inequality in South Africa are so closely intertwined as to become virtually impossible to separate...[A situation that threatens] to plunge our world backwards into an epoch of social disintegration and the destruction of nations on a scale of which matches the degradation of primitive colonialism over the last two millennia... Globalisation...is deepening these racial and economic inequalities within nations and between rich and poor nation.’ Coleman N (2000) *Beyond Racism: Embracing an Interdependent Future: Volume 2: In Their Own Voices*, The Southern Education Foundation, pp. 24–5. (Coleman headed the parliamentary office of COSATU when he wrote this.)

This neo-liberal set of rules has global reach today. Nobel Laureate economist Joseph Stiglitz argues in *Globalization and Its Discontents*⁶ that the Washington Consensus by which the World Bank, the World Trade Organization and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) operate, means in practice that these entities cannot really help developing nations to come anywhere close to achieving economic health and full employment. For instance, by insisting that client nations, as a condition for receiving loans, tighten and balance budgets, open up trade to other countries and attract foreign investors (regardless of their differing economic circumstances), the IMF virtually ensures that those loans will not reduce poverty or create stronger economies. The legitimate interests of debtor nations are thus sacrificed to those of the funding nations and their financial institutions. As noted above, the wide sway of the Washington Consensus explains the intense international pressure on African National Congress negotiators in the early 1990s to give up their demands for immediate economic and social redress as the price for the peaceful transition to a democratically elected government.

We could go on about macro-economic dynamics. And we haven’t even begun to mine the implications of Thomas Malthus’ warning in 1826 (long discounted by most economists) about exponential population growth overwhelming the earth’s carrying capacity. That is becoming our own reality in this age of global warming. Modern economies, spurred by mounting population pressures, make unparalleled demands on the earth’s resources to fuel our productive machinery. This machinery, scientists have confirmed, creates gases and effluvia that are rapidly destroying the atmosphere’s ability to fend off the sun’s more

harmful rays, thus imperiling life itself. Surely, there is no greater example of the modern penchant for discounting the common and the greater good than should we fail to insure the earth's health not just for our generation, but for many to come.

In considering the implications of these matters, it is all too easy to cast our failures to attend to the common welfare as functions of inevitable forces like 'the natural order of things', the economy and decisions only 'major players' make. Worse, we can fall into the intellectual trap of believing that government itself is bad and cannot provide services. To the contrary, the democratic order we claim to prize calls on us always to accept and act on personal responsibility for the shape and rules of our societies and for the actions of governments. As inheritors of the democratic tradition, we must reject arguments that those with superior wisdom or power must, by right, decide these matters, or that government is essentially unaccountable to its citizens.

Robert Reich, hardly alone among contemporary economists, reminds us that terms of the market are variable; they are renegotiated all the time. 'The idea of a free market somehow separate from law is a fantasy,' he says. Rather, the market '...was not created by God on any of the first six days...nor is it apparently maintained by divine will. It is a human artifact, the shifting sum of a set of judgements about individual rights and responsibilities. What is mine? What is yours? What is ours?...The answers depend on the values a society professes, the weight it places on solidarity, prosperity, tradition, and so on... [T]he government is the principal agency by which the culture deliberates, defines, and enforces the norms that structure the market.'

Calling on those who see a necessity to revisit or at least nudge the rules towards justice to act together with solidarity, Reich reminds us that renegotiating the economic rules requires clear thinking. For example, we must see the neo-liberal narrative about the so-called free market for what it is – a myth. Governments, perhaps especially the American government, intervene in the market nearly every day. They do so not just to protect consumers, labour or the average citizen but also (likely more often) to maintain the well-being of US businesses. The Washington Consensus is, after all, intended to project an American view of how international markets should work, a scenario that specifically benefits American financial and industrial corporations and, as a byproduct, businesses in other nations.

'...[South Africa's] past has been shaped by social and environmental injustice...Our future viability as a nation depends largely on meeting the basic needs of millions of poor people, while simultaneously safeguarding our country's scarce water resources [and our] astoundingly rich heritage of biodiversity.' ...the Oikos Journey makes clear that the church has a vision to counter the neo-liberal version of globalisation. We need to strip our economic system of its idolatry rooted in beliefs such as an 'unseen hand which guides the market' – as though economics were value-free, and could be left to external forces'. The Diakonia Council of Churches, Durban, South Africa, *The Oikos Journey: A Theological Reflection on the Economic Crisis in South Africa*, 2006, pp. 16 and 34. <<http://www.diakonia.org.za>>

More to the point, we have examples of nations that are modifying the economic rules of engagement so the common good is more clearly and broadly served. Canada, Japan, the UK and most members of the European Union have struck balances (albeit not always perfectly) between individual and corporate demands on the one hand and the interests of citizens in general – the common good – on the other. One telling example is these nations’ more equitable healthcare systems. And so it is that, among countries with ‘developed’ economies, the United States stands at or near the bottom of every important health index, including infant mortality. The US spends more on healthcare per person than any other nation, but ends up with a system in which more than 40 million citizens have no health coverage at all, another 50 million or so have inadequate insurance, the documented health outcomes are suboptimal and businesses are burdened with healthcare costs far in excess of foreign competitors.

Regarding the economic order internationally, Stiglitz and economist Jeffrey Sachs would agree that what Galbraith dubbed the ‘conventional wisdom’ about capitalist economics ought to be challenged. Capitalism needs to be reformed. In arguing for a different approach to world poverty, for example, Sachs decries the ‘magical thinking’ of free-market ideologues when determining remedies for the problems of the poorest nations. In opposition, he proposes that concerted international programmes, working within the commitments of the Millennium Development Goals to reduce world poverty, be liberated from Washington Consensus thinking in order to restructure aid to fit the specific diagnostics of each nation. He estimates the total costs for such an initiative to be \$70 to \$80 billion per year, from all donor nations. Such contributions, he projects, would substantially reduce poverty worldwide. Considering US yearly expenditures for the Iraqi War are well in excess of \$100 billion, the price seems like a real bargain.⁸

Our case

While the challenges set out by economists to reject winner-take-all rules must be addressed collectively, the necessary will to do so begins with you and me as individuals. Galbraith’s analysis of the social balance suggests the essential personal moral equation involved: the more individuals – leaders and followers – focus on the personal acquisition of ‘things’, the less attention, energy and interest we have for advancing the common good. The more we extol private consumption, privilege and comfort, the less willing we are to underwrite the common good via taxation (what the eminent American jurist Oliver Wendell Holmes called ‘the price we pay for civilised society’), and to place curbs on corporate and individual profit-making. The more we sacrifice the common good to personal standing, the poorer we make our communities, and the less binding we render those constitutional agreements and visions ‘to form a more perfect union’.

We believe that the fundamental moral challenge facing each of us in this day and age is deciding whether and how to strive for a more humane balance in this equation.

Consider the consequences of *not* taking up this call to responsible citizenship. The denigration of the common good promotes and sustains social injustice. By tacitly

accepting or enabling private production and consumption as our nations' 'virtuous' activities, we endorse the failure to invest in public goods and services. By begging the common welfare – the supply of those goods and services – we endorse social injustice and condemn those trapped in it to the consequences of inadequate incomes. We collude in hurting those already made most vulnerable by the skewed distribution of goods and services of all kinds, both public and private, across the world and within our own nations and communities. Ironically, by our collusion we deprive ourselves of the means to redress the injustices produced by the imbalance we accept, if not condone.

We have choices as citizens, as leaders, about the economic rules that define the extent to which the common good is achievable. We can choose to fashion a fairer balance between our private and public needs and obligations. Collectively, such decisions can restore the common good – and ameliorate, even overcome the social injustices its denigration has created. But such 'we' decisions are only possible if and when our personal decisions serve justice.

Endnotes

- 1 Barbara Nussbaum, 'Ubuntu, Reflections of a South African on Our Common Humanity', *Reflections, the Society of Organizational Learning Journal*, Vol. 4, No. 4, 2003, pp. 21–26. <<http://www.barbaranussbaum.com>>
- 2 Tony Avirgan, L Josh Bivens & Sarah Gammage, eds, *Good Jobs, Bad Jobs, No Jobs: Labor Markets and Informal Work in Egypt, El Salvador, India, Russia, and South Africa*, Economic Policy Institute, 2005, pp. 370–71.
- 3 Robert H Frank & Philip J Cook, *The Winner-Take-All Society: Why the Few at the Top Get So Much More Than the Rest of Us*, Penguin, 1995.
- 4 John K Galbraith, *The Affluent Society*, Mariner, 1998.
- 5 *Ibid.* p. 186.
- 6 Joseph Stiglitz *Globalization and its Discontents*. W W Norton, 2003.
- 7 Robert B Reich, *Tales of a New America: The Anxious Liberal's Guide to the Future*, Vintage, 1987, p. 223.
- 8 Jeffrey Sachs, *The End of Poverty: Economic Possibilities for Our Time*, Penguin, 2005, pp. 74–89.

CHAPTER 4

CRISIS OF THE COMMON GOOD:

Inclusion and exclusion by race

The tradition of racism

The relative health of the common good can be measured by who is and who is not allowed to enjoy society's benefits. The plain facts are these: most white citizens of both South Africa and the United States are safely included in and rewarded by the reigning definitions of the common good. Most citizens of colour, primarily blacks, are not.

It is true that the formal rules by which we live – encapsulated in South African 'transformation' efforts and American civil rights legislation and 'affirmative action' compacts – favour inclusiveness. But our informal, habitual patterns support exclusion. They work, and always have worked, on behalf of white privilege and black disadvantage. No discussion of the common good in either nation can avoid examining how the collective abilities to realise our innate sense of fairness – social justice – always run aground on the shoals of race. The truth we must face is the persistence of racism: deeply ingrained individual and institutional habits of differential racial preference.

An American sociologist once observed that the most significant barrier to the development of community is our instinctive tendency to make premature judgements about others: who she, he, they are; the content of their character; what they aspire to; what they have achieved or are capable of accomplishing; the nature of their culture; and their circumstances.

Making such judgements is a historic and still pervasive custom in both South Africa and the United States. People continue to discount, and withhold the full protection of laws from, women; to dismiss the possibilities that youth or the very old have much to contribute to political dialogue; to doubt that the physically or mentally disabled can and do learn. And many white people habitually doubt the capabilities and full humanity of black people.

‘Every one of us could write a book about race. The text is already imprinted in our minds and evokes our moral character. Dividing people into races started as convenient categories. However, those divisions have taken on lives of their own, dominating our culture and consciousness, coloring passions and opinions, contorting facts and fantasies.’ Andrew Hacker, *Two Nations: Black and White, Separate, Hostile, Unequal*, Scribner, 2003, p. vii.

Patterns of racial prejudice, preference and exclusion have different contours in South Africa, where black Africans are the overwhelming majority (80 per cent), than in the US, where African-Americans comprise just 12 per cent of the population. But the patterns in both nations go far in explaining why modern economies cannot solve what Galbraith identified as the remaining puzzle facing them: how to eliminate poverty and inequality. Class, while often associated with racial preferences, offers nowhere near the explanatory power of racism. Unless reform-minded South Africans and Americans come to terms with white preference, protected by the culturally ingrained divides between people of colour and whites, social justice will remain elusive.*

Evidence of exclusion

Separation and inequality can be measured in time, power and economics. From the arrival of white colonists in the early 17th century in what is now Virginia and, at the end of that century, in southern Africa, up to our collective present, whites have used their armaments and legislative and financial monopolies to conquer, enslave, indenture, segregate and otherwise exclude people of colour from the rights of citizenship. White labour, too, was shamelessly abused by the whites who owned most resources necessary for building the economic might of both nations. But the ability of those elites to dictate the terms of work and compensation have fallen particularly hard on blacks, whether they toiled as slaves, as indentured servants or, more recently, as legally free persons. Black Americans and South Africans have been systematically deprived of anything like a fair portion of the wealth their work helped create for others. Calcified white privilege continues to ensure that people of colour occupy the lower positions and to constrain their entry into the middle and upper classes.

* We focus here on race as black versus white. Clearly, racial history and issues of both South Africa and the United States are more complex, racism ensnaring the fates of almost all peoples of colour. But the climb from racism to true and full equality must begin at the foundation: white-based prejudice and practices of discrimination against blacks.

In the previous chapter, we talked about the contemporary world economic order as a general threat to the common good. What concerns us here is how that order plays out in both South Africa and the United States. Despite very real differences in temperament and stated aspirations between the two national governments, the economic rules that both observe place black citizens in both countries at a deep – and often deepening – disadvantage.

The excluded are not just ‘a few’. The US 2000 Census enumerated some 35 million African-Americans, and the South African Census of 2001 counted nearly 36 million black Africans – in all, more than 70 million people. Add in other populations of colour, especially those ‘at risk’ in both nations (Native Americans, Hispanics and others in the United States; coloureds in South Africa), and we are talking about some 100 million people out of a combined population for both countries of approximately 335 million.

‘Anyone who truly understands the systematic character of these [South African socio-economic] problems, and is prepared to acknowledge the social injustices inherent in them, will not be inclined to complain when they are characterised as largely the unresolved remnants of white domination and apartheid.’ Sampie Terreblanche, *A History of Inequality in South Africa, 1652–2002*, University of Natal Press and KMM Review Publishing Co., 2002, p 5.

In his highly regarded study (see boxed text above), Terreblanche makes two fundamental arguments about his nation’s economic history. First, socioeconomic development during the initial ‘five racist-oriented systemic’ economic periods (1652–1994) was ‘extremely unequal, uneven, and unjust’ for all but a few of the black majority population. Second, since 1994, the South African version of ‘democratic capitalism’ has been unable to redress ‘the dismal legacy of inequalities, imbalances, and injustices’ that marks the earlier periods. Terreblanche characterises the whole sweep of inequality as one moving from ‘systemic exploitation to systemic exclusion’.¹

Despite his eminence as a historian, Terreblanche’s membership in the South African Communist Party and his outspoken critiques of the post-apartheid government make him a controversial figure. So, let’s look to the findings of others to test his depictions of continuing inequality. One highly respected study was undertaken at the University of Cape Town by Murray Leibbrandt, Laura Poswell, Pranushka Naidoo, Matthew Welch and Ingrid Woolard.²

Leibbrandt *et al.* find ‘significant improvement’ in access by all and especially the poorest South Africans to better housing, water, energy for lighting and cooking, sanitation and refuse removal, and that within racial group, inequality had increased (for example, a slight growth of the black middle class). However, they conclude that data on income and poverty ‘unambiguously’ demonstrate that inequalities between groups worsened from 1996 to 2001, and that blacks and coloureds continue to fare worse by far than whites. They observe the lack of growth in the share of income by blacks ‘is striking when taking into account the growth of the total share of blacks in the population’, while

the white share of national income, already huge, grew slightly despite a decline in the white population. White per capita income was nine times higher than black income in 1996 and 11 times higher in 2001. Further, ‘at any poverty line [the international \$2 per day per person, or the Statistics South Africa R250 per person per month], Africans are very much poorer than Coloureds, who are very much poorer than Indians/Asians, who are poorer than Whites’. The ‘yawning differences between the groups’ in income levels ‘show that measured poverty increased for Africans, Coloureds and Indians/Asians’, while white poverty (a very small percentage of overall poverty) ‘appears to be unchanged’. Corroborating evidence is found in employment research conducted by South African economists Geeta Kingdon and John Knight, reported by the Centre for the Study of South African Economics at Oxford.³ They demonstrate that between 1995 and 2003, unemployment rose 12 per cent to 41 per cent, with blacks forming by far the largest segment in those ranks.

The research cited here does not include relative ‘asset’ accumulations – savings, investments, home-owning, etc. – nor health indicators such as the recently reported fact that some 1 000 South Africans are dying each month as a result of HIV/AIDS. Overwhelmingly the economic and social ‘losers’ in these categories are black South Africans.

Whether these trends have continued or ameliorated awaits 2011 Census data. We can hope that growth in the South African economy together with the government’s recent determination to increase ‘social’ spending will make significant positive differences for those long denied the country’s benefits. The point is not to doubt the commitment to ‘transformation’ that will lift up blacks, coloureds and Asians to equal standing with whites, but to underscore the overwhelming, resistant weight of deeply rooted patterns of racial preference and exclusion.

Regarding African-Americans, Andrew Hacker, professor of political science at Queens College, in New York City, undertook parallel research for his *Two Nations, Black & White*.⁴ Hacker sees his work as an extension of Gunnar Myrdal’s classic *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*.⁵ Myrdal concluded that race in America is essentially a caste condition whereby black people never really escape their birth. Hacker asserts that ‘black Americans are Americans, yet they still subsist as aliens in the only land they know’. America is, he observes, ‘inherently a “white” country: in character, in structure, in culture’.⁶

Evidence of this reality comes from 2000 US Census figures that reveal an absolute inversion of family incomes for white and black households. For example, 33.8 per cent of white families earned more than \$75 000, but only 15.6 per cent of black families did. Earning \$50 000–\$75 000 were 22.8 per cent of white families and 16.7 per cent of black families; \$35 000–\$50 000, 15.6 per cent of white and 16.8 per cent of black;

‘There’s an old saying that if America has a cold, we [African-Americans] have pneumonia.’ Barack Obama, *Washington Post*, May 3, 2007.

\$25 000–\$35 000, 11.3 per cent of white and 14.1 per cent of black. Where annual earnings were below \$25 000, the statistics revealed 16.5 per cent of white households and 36.8 per cent of blacks.*

The consequences of intergenerational poverty and the parallel under-funding of critical institutions like schools and social services in America most clearly affect people of colour. Black and Hispanic students' academic performance consistently falls far behind that of whites and Asians. Unemployment rates follow suite: 8.1 per cent of black adults are unemployed, compared to 3.4 per cent of white adults. Black and Hispanic occupational representation is highly skewed – overrepresented in jobs that are low-wage, close to parity in some middle-income jobs, and underrepresented in high-skill, high-compensation jobs. Crime and imprisonment statistics are also telling. Black incarceration rates – often seen as indicative of racism – are particularly stunning: in 1930, whites made up almost 77 per cent of prison inmates in the country, and blacks just under 23 per cent; by 2000, whites comprised 36 per cent and blacks more than 46 per cent (with the largest majority of the rest being non-black Hispanics).

In the previous chapter, we mentioned the high costs associated with being poor in America, as documented by two recent studies. These costs are indicators of much deeper and specific problems for blacks in America, irrespective of class. Melvin Oliver, former head of the Ford Foundation's Asset Building and Community Development unit, points out that, as a result of various discriminatory practices favouring white over black Americans, the latter have a median net worth (that is, accumulated assets or wealth) of *eight cents* for *every dollar* of net worth that whites own. The author concludes that America is a two-track 'welfare system', one enabling whites to accumulate (often intergenerational) wealth and the second keeping blacks from doing so.⁷

The costs of being poor surely have echoes for the large majority of black South African society, as Terreblanche's figures and arguments suggest. To the list – transportation costs, hidden taxation and high-cost private sector services, from grocery stores to banks – any full accounting of the costs to blacks and to society at large would have to include the miserable state of the public education system, high rates of crime, high rates of incarceration among blacks, the high incidence of poor health among blacks (HIV/AIDS being only the most obvious) and their overall inability to build wealth.

What does exclusion feel like?

To come to terms with our personal racism and that of our societies, we must rediscover and actively affirm the humanity of people of colour. The way forward is first to listen –

* It is customary to use \$20 000 per year as the US poverty threshold for a family of four, and about \$14 000 for a single mother living with two children. These levels, if there are no health problems or other exigencies, provide for little more than food and shelter. We include the statistic on single female heads of household because this is a growing condition across the world. In the US in 2000, for example, single women headed 53.5 per cent of black households, compared to 19.1 per cent of white households. We need also to point out, by way of comparison, that the international standard for extreme poverty is \$2 per day per person and the South African is R250 per person per month.

and truly hear – what they have to say...why they suffer. Then we can imagine we're in their shoes and answer the question, 'How would I feel?' And, if we cannot identify with those feelings, you and I might wonder whatever happened to our collective capacity for outrage at manifest injustice.

There are striking parallels between African-Americans and black South Africans. They share common roots of origin and backgrounds of repression and dispossession, grounded in white preference, power and racism. They have scored similar and sometimes intersecting victories against repressive systems. As social groups, both continue to occupy the bottom of their respective economic ladders, which provides compelling evidence of the degree to which social injustice remains significant.

But two fundamentally different and telling histories make for asymmetrical senses of self. African-Americans continue to bear the stigma of slavery and were deprived of any connection to their African history, culture and nurturing tribal identities. African-Americans have always been a minority of the American population – accounting largely for persistent political ineffectiveness, regardless of a spate of successes since the mid-1950s.

On the other hand, most black South Africans do not bear slavery's legacy. While it is true that following the abolition of both serfdom (the condition of most blacks) and slavery in the early 19th century they remained dispossessed, mistreated and exploited by whites, black South Africans never lost touch with their sense of cultural, linguistic and tribal identities. They have also always constituted a huge majority of the country's population. Having defeated apartheid, South African blacks now freely elect the political parties that control the federal and most of the provincial governments.

As we listen to voices – a small representation – from the two countries, keep those differences in mind. Do not be surprised if African-Americans sound more notes of indignation, frustration and despair than black South Africans. There is, after all, something more secure, more at home, more grounded in ancient heritage and in skin colour in Africa. Blacks in both nations look to the past and find injury, pain and loss, as well as the need for redress. African-Americans tend to look forward with uncertainty and trepidation; South Africans tend to see the future with great anticipation and some confidence.

- **WEB DuBois**, the legendary late 19th and early 20th century American historian and social critic, lamented his 'two-ness'. A black person, he said, 'is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world...It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity.' It is always having 'two thoughts, two unrecognizable stirrings, two warring ideals in one black body'.⁸
- A century later, the esteemed South African educator and writer **Njabulo S Ndebele**, wondered with resentment and frustration why 'the depravity of

apartheid's assassins, [w]hite Afrikaner men, [should] absorb my intellect at this most formative moment in the history of my country?' He lamented that 'the victims of the immediate past remain preoccupied with the lives of their erstwhile rulers, who as subjects of contemplation, continue to shape the discourse that informs social conscience' when they should by right be focused on realising 'the African Renaissance' – 'the centring of the majority experience in the national life of South Africa'.⁹

- **Randall Robinson**, founder and president of TransAfrica, traces African-American alienation, in strong measure, to the use of educational textbooks that exclude any reference to the African experience and its history. He argues that, unlike other Americans, the modern black self 'has lost sight of the trail of his long story...lines to the *before* I require, that I crave...'. The contributions of most black American forbears – slaves – in building the nation has been neglected, even forgotten. His conclusion: slavery has 'kept from us all – black, brown, white – the chance to begin again as co-owners of a national democratic idea. It blinded us all to our past and, with the same stroke, to any common future'.¹⁰
- **Cornel West**, Professor of Religion and African-American Studies at Princeton University, recounts having to endure the unwillingness of New York City taxis to stop for him, while they picked up whites. On another occasion, 'while driving from New York to teach at Williams College, I was stopped on the fake charges of trafficking in cocaine. When I told the police officer I was a professor of religion, he replied, "Yeh, and I'm the Flying Nun. Let's go, nigger!"' West was stopped three times in his first ten days in Princeton 'for driving too slowly on a residential street...(And my son, Clifton, already has similar memories at the tender age of fifteen.)'.¹¹
- **Dr Frene Ginwala**, first Speaker of the new South African National Assembly and longtime ANC official (in exile and in the post-apartheid era), has observed, 'Blacks resent repeated assertions that apartheid is dead and are increasingly frustrated by the failure of their fellow citizens to understand its racial legacy. They are horrified and angered at the many incidents of racism in schools, in the police, defence force and other institutions and by the insensitivity of [w]hite politicians and opinion makers. Increasingly one hears criticisms that [b]lack leaders have gone too far in tolerating racism in the attempt to foster reconciliation'.¹²
- Perhaps the assertion many years ago by American novelist, folklorist and anthropologist **Zora Neal Hurston** is still valid. She contended what made her and others 'black' was the informal but ironclad white way of reckoning: just one drop of black blood. This 'one drop' rule continues to play out.¹³

- **Lani Guinier**, professor of law at Harvard with a white father and black mother, is an eloquent black spokesperson. She recounts answering her eight-year-old son's query about racial abuse by asking him to walk past her, each pretending to be strangers: 'Just as I passed Niko, I looked him straight in the eyes and almost spit out, "You ugly nigger!" He jumped backward, afraid. "You just called me the 'N' word, Mom"... "Yes, I did. That's racial abuse." He...almost whispered, "Mom, will someone ever call me that?"...Reluctantly, I said, "I'm afraid that is possible." Niko whimpered, "Mom, you just made me wish I was white!" "Why?" I asked. "Because if I was white, no one would call me nigger."'”¹⁴
- **Fellows at the Centres for Leadership and Public Values** know how deeply the word 'nigger' continues to resonate. Recently, in a meeting of Fellows, the word was used carelessly, causing the sort of consternation little Niko felt, not only for American Fellows (mostly black), but for southern African Fellows (mostly black and coloured) as well. The latter instantly translated 'nigger' into 'kaffir,' the racial slur used typically by whites to denigrate African blacks or dark-skinned persons in general. As you might have imagined, the resulting hurt and despair significantly altered the day's curricular activities.

Thousands more anecdotes and observations could join these examples, illustrating the alienation, frustration and hurt caused by racism. Regarding the United States, Professor Hacker concludes:

All white Americans, regardless of their political persuasions, are well aware of how black people have suffered due to inequities imposed upon them...Yet white people who disavow any responsibility deny an everyday reality: that to be black is to be consigned to the margins of American life. *It is because of this that no white American, including those who insist that opportunities exist for persons of every race, would change places with even the most successful black American.* [Italics added] All white Americans realize that their skin comprises an inestimable asset. It opens doors and facilitates freedom of movement. It serves as a shield from insult and harassment. Indeed, having been born white can be taken as a sign: your preferment is both ordained and deserved. Its value persists not because a white appearance automatically brings success and status, since there are no such guarantees. What it does insure is that you will not be regarded as *black*, a security that is worth so much that no one who has it has ever given it away.¹⁵

The same conclusion may be made about South Africans. Would any white South African willingly change places with even the most successful black, coloured or Asian South African? Would she or he be any more likely than white Americans to abandon the freedoms, the protections, the signs of preferment, the security of not being regarded as the 'other'?

Does this mean all whites are racist, or that only a few can overcome ingrained prejudices and habits? No. There are many white Americans and South Africans who have devoted their lives and fortunes to the cause of equality; there are many who reject distinctions based solely on colour and embrace the inclusive, loving community. But the reality of Hacker's conclusion is hard to deny. It cannot be said that a clear majority of whites in either nation have rejected politics and preference built on explicit rejection of racial discrimination against blacks.

In all, preference according to skin colour is deeply embedded in our ways of thinking. Hacker's thesis also implies (and he goes on to argue) that racism is built into the fabric of most of the institutions we work in and depend upon for material and social goods. The histories, rules, informal norms, expectations and decisions of most organisations, despite our denials and/or best efforts to make it otherwise, reflect ingrained white preference. In tandem with this is a subtle but pervasive doubt that the 'other' is up to the task (whatever it is) and to the value demanded to achieve it, especially these days if the 'other' is black.

What makes Hacker's truth so difficult for whites – and problematic for achieving reconciliation – is that so few are conscious of their own racism, of the privilege of being white, of how firmly they are attached to its benefits. If confronted with assertions that their institutions and life are pervasively racist, most whites will deny they themselves are racist or that racial preference is a reality in society. Some will argue that the end of slavery, the dismantling of apartheid, the extension of civil rights to persons of colour, the 'preferences' granted blacks through affirmative action or transformation programmes, the examples of blacks who have 'made it' (in politics, business, sports, entertainment, academia) have eliminated or sufficiently countered racism. Of course, there are many whites who understand that racism is still a serious problem and are committed to social justice agendas; but often they, too, stand at the psychological margins of what passes today as conventional wisdom about race.

Arguably no recent event more clearly demonstrates our contention about a deeply degraded sense of the common good and Hacker's thesis about white privilege than the fate of New Orleans, Louisiana, since Hurricane Katrina in September 2005. What a perfect storm of public indifference (once the worst of the emergency had abated and the TV cameras left town) and a political tradition in which race matters greatly! Picture, if you will, the ineptitude of the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), disabled by political cronyism fed in large part by an ideology that said government is not the answer. Think of the set of political decisions, certainly at the state and federal levels, that resulted in denying timely remedies to the city (still devastated over two years later) and its largely black population (still today largely dispersed). Then ask yourself, as many have, this question: If Hurricanes Katrina and Rita had devastated Houston, Texas – predominantly white – wouldn't Herculean efforts have been initiated quickly and persisted to this day and beyond to restore that city and its citizens? That 'no' is all but unutterable is fair measure of our need to renew the struggles for social justice.

Endnotes

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CHAPTER 5

HIV/AIDS: SOCIAL JUSTICE DENIED

HIV as a matter of social justice

In this chapter,* we explore the detractions to social justice by disparities of income and health, as well as remarkable instances of collective power and action, through examination of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. By understanding the epidemic as an issue of social justice, individuals, communities, states and countries can address the disease not alone, but as a part of a larger problem – a problem of inequality that divides and weakens. Indeed, HIV/AIDS is a part of the tragedy of global injustice; without understanding the disease as such, we will not be able to stop its spread or epidemics that disproportionately affect the disenfranchised.

In our view, social justice means that all community members have an *equal chance* to attain a similar quality of life, measured in terms of physical and mental/emotional well-being. In a socially just setting, everyone has equal access to the resources necessary for this quality of life, regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, class, socioeconomic status, etc. Social justice does not necessarily translate into all community members being wealthy, highly educated, happy or even healthy; rather it means that the ability to access resources and thus attain these ‘conditions’ are equal across community members.

* This chapter was written by Forum members Kathryn Whetten and Rachel Whetten, both of whom are HIV/AIDS authorities at Duke University.

HIV/AIDS is like a canary in a coalmine when it comes to locating human inequities and shortfalls in social justice. Where one finds HIV, one undoubtedly finds disparities such as poverty, racial and economic oppression, and poor access to healthcare.

Despite lifesaving interventions developed in the last decade, relatively few people worldwide have access to treatment. Even fewer have the ability to live the life necessary for adherence to the complex regimens that antiretroviral (ARV) therapies demand: economic means to purchase the drugs, safe water, proper drug storage, timely access to medication and freedom from diseases that decrease the efficacy of the medications. In areas of less wealthy countries where ARVs are being distributed, non-adherence rates are 30 per cent; experts expect these rates to increase even as the therapies become more widely available.¹ This is true the world over, and certainly no less in South Africa or the United States.

In the HIV epidemics in South Africa and the US, we find similar trends, such as exponential growth in disenfranchised populations, higher density of cases in poorer areas, and greater obstacles to prevention and treatment. We have chosen to examine a particular region of America, the 'Deep South' – the states of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina and South Carolina – because it resembles South Africa in historical and demographic makeup.

In both the Deep South and South Africa, accompanying high rates of HIV/AIDS we find a confluence of racism, gender discrimination, poverty and a host of other factors that serve to elevate certain parts of society while limiting others in attaining an equal quality of life. We also see, in the absence of social justice, significant differences in personal and population lifestyle and health that allow infectious diseases to run rampant and make the epidemics difficult to control.

America's neglected epidemic

In the US, the incidence and prevalence of HIV/AIDS are increasing most rapidly in the Deep South. The HIV-positive population there, both African-American and not, is disproportionately low income.² This at least partially reflects a legacy of injustice, institutionalised racism and classism carried over from the era of slavery. It is similar to the plight of black South Africans who have come out of political apartheid but remain disadvantaged by the white-biased economic and social structures still in place.

The six Deep South states, which were primary cotton and tobacco producers, most actively promoted slavery. They are mostly poor, with half or more of their citizens receiving public assistance for medical care. The Deep South has the country's highest rates of low birth-weight babies and infant mortality; lower life expectancy as a result of higher age-adjusted deaths from most chronic diseases, including cancer, stroke and heart disease; the highest rates of homicides; and the highest rates of sexually transmitted diseases, including syphilis, gonorrhoea, chlamydia and HIV/AIDS.³

Many assume that the large, poor African-American population in these states accounts for the higher rates of disease burden. However, examining disease rates by race

indicates that African-Americans who live in this region have higher rates of disease and early death than African-Americans in other regions, and that European-Americans there also have higher morbidity and mortality rates than European-Americans elsewhere. In other words, factors that extend beyond race are at work in creating negative health outcomes.

Taking a close look at the class structure in the Deep South, we find divisions at multiple levels. There is the obvious segregation by race, but also divisions within races as well, such as by gender and socioeconomic status, among other characteristics. Poor whites were not historically accepted by elite white Southerners, and the class divide persists to this day. The social structure is reminiscent of the caste system in India, in that it is entrenched, divisive and unequal; it also bears resemblance to apartheid in South Africa, particularly with regard to health data favouring the social and white elite.

Compared to other regions and to the nation, the Deep South is witnessing a more rapid spread of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. According to the Centers for Disease Control, from 2000 to 2003 the number of new reported AIDS cases increased more than 35 per cent in the Deep South, while growing by 4 per cent in other Southern states. Incidence of AIDS increased 5.2 per cent nationally, excluding the Deep South; cases decreased 0.4 per cent in the Northeast, increased 1.7 per cent in the Midwest and grew 19.3 per cent in the West.⁴

AIDS incidence, rather than HIV incidence, is a more practicable comparison statistic, as states have been mandated to report AIDS cases, while HIV reporting has been voluntary. However, HIV incidence trends also suggest that the Deep South is disproportionately affected. Five of the six states are ranked in the top 20 states in HIV infection cases reported in 2003; as these states are not among the 20 most populous states, the data suggest aggressive continued spread of HIV in the region.⁵

The South African tragedy

South Africa is a diverse land, with 11 national languages and many more ethnic groups. The country's history is long and difficult, with multiple colonisations, wars and strife, but focusing on just the last 30 years provides a comprehensive way to begin to understand the challenges that people face around social justice and HIV/AIDS.

During the 1980s, the laws that segregated blacks and whites and kept the white minority in power were openly being challenged by legal means as well as through rioting and protest. It was at this time that HIV arrived furtively on the scene and began its ascent through the population. Observers point out that little attention was paid to the growing disease because of the political and social transition and turbulence, allowing HIV/AIDS to gain a strong foothold.

Beginning in 1994, Nelson Mandela led the newly reconstituted South Africa and the monumental task of rebuilding the country. That entailed providing the most basic services – housing, water, sanitation, healthcare, education, job development, etc. – to hundreds of thousands of citizens who had lived in abject poverty. However, as a

provision of the changeover, elite economic control was upheld in exchange for political gains by the African National Congress and Mandela. Concurrently, the new government had to prove itself in the international economic arena, so new World Bank-sponsored programmes were instituted that further reduced the much-needed social services. Thus, as the necessity for services was recognised and increased, the capacity to provide those services decreased.

During this time, HIV prevalence in South Africa was growing at a phenomenal pace in studies of antenatal care; from 4.3 of the population per cent infected in 1993 to 12.2 per cent in 1996.⁶ Though governmental task forces and partnerships were formed, these were widely considered ineffective and often issued misinformation. The government of Mandela's successor, Thabo Mbeki, has been internationally criticised for its weak stance on HIV/AIDS and lax efforts in prevention. By 2003, the rate of HIV was 21.5 per cent.⁷

Today, various statistics confirm South Africa's devastation by the HIV/AIDS epidemic; according to 2007 UNAIDS figures, it is the 'country with the largest number of HIV infections in the world'.⁸ These recent UNAIDS statistics estimate prevalence rates at 30 per cent (2005) to 29 per cent (2006), both as reported by the Department of Health in South Africa.⁹ ARVs are theoretically available to all South Africans, but dispersion of the drugs is hampered by a mediocre medical system and infrastructure, and the government's continued passive response to both the epidemic and treatment logistics.

Impact and implications

Today, of the world's estimated 33.2 million people infected with HIV/AIDS, 22.5 million live in Sub-Saharan Africa. In this region, for every two men infected with HIV, there are three women infected. There are 12 million Sub-Saharan African children now orphaned by the disease.¹⁰ Faced with these numbers, the simplistic approaches of teaching prevention or supplying medicines to the infected – principles at the core of the fight against HIV – must be re-examined.

We need to ask why millions of people are unwilling or unable to change their behaviour in such seemingly straightforward ways to prevent their own illness and death, and orphaning their children. The easiest answer, and one often heard, is that people in less wealthy nations have a different cultural view, in which death is simply a continuation of life and therefore not as tragic as for those in Western cultures; this can lead to the conclusion that attempts to stem the tide of death are ill-advised, perhaps wasted energy. The experience of many others, however, is that this is not the case. Each life lost is mourned; death is regarded as tragedy, regardless of the frequency experienced. With the assumption that people around the world *do* want to stay alive, we ask again: Why has teaching about prevention of HIV/AIDS through behaviour changes been such a failure among some populations? And, the larger question: Why aren't we reaching people?

A frequent tag-line of education interventions was 'HIV/AIDS doesn't discriminate' – meaning the virus doesn't care if you are rich or poor, white or black. But, when we

actually look at the disease around the world, we find it disproportionately affecting the poor, minorities, women, and others generally discriminated against. It should be no surprise that this particular prevention message fell on deaf ears; its failure illustrates how intricately the epidemic is woven in the web of injustice. This virus thrives on another set of deaf ears: the global mechanisms of authority that ignore those who do not have the power to make their voices heard. From a biological standpoint, viruses are considered one of the most 'intelligent' life forms, with an ability to transform and mutate innumerable times for survival. It seems HIV now has capitalised on some unfortunate aspects of the human condition and the inequity of our social ordering, and it is making itself very comfortable while people and power structures remain passive to its advances.

The relationship between social justice and inequality is complex, especially examined through health perspectives. Income and wealth are undisputedly related to factors that directly promote health, such as food, shelter and the ability to obtain care. However, when we look globally, the most common measures of income and wealth – gross domestic or net product – are not always directly associated with basic health measures, such as infant mortality, maternal mortality, life expectancy and self-reported healthiness. The measure of disparities becomes crucial to the calculation. Remarkably, countries with the greatest poverty and disparity indices are often those most affected by HIV. There is growing evidence that income and asset disparities within a region are often more important than absolute wealth or income when predicting health outcomes or quality of life for the poorest. Greater inequality is linked to lower life expectancy in international comparisons, higher mortality rates and worse self-rated health.

A few examples help illustrate this point. The per capita gross domestic product (GDP) for South Africa is \$11 000; life expectancy is 43 years, and the infant mortality rate is 61 per 1 000 live births.¹¹ Contrast this with China, where the GDP is \$5 300, life expectancy is 73 and infant mortality is 22 per 1 000.¹² This potentially could be due to the extremely high HIV/AIDS rates in South Africa, with the disease affecting life expectancy and the ability for a relatively large proportion of the population to work. Yet, South Africa's GDP is still higher than almost all less wealthy nations that do not have oil-based economies. Brazil was one of the countries worst hit by HIV/AIDS, with initial predications that an entire generation would be lost. Yet Brazil's GDP is \$9 700 per capita, life expectancy is 72 and infant mortality is 28 per 1 000.¹³ The correlation may not be between poverty and health, but *relative* poverty and health in communities and nations where there are large wealth distribution gaps.

As disparities in income and wealth increase, the ability of the poorest to maintain an even standard of living becomes more difficult, as they are expected to negotiate for the same resource pool as the rich. What was once free – such as water, land, housing, even education in some cases – must be paid for by users in many globally sponsored privatisation initiatives. Moreover, expectations for the whole population are created based on the higher standards. For example, it may be expected that a person will call in to work to say that she will be late, yet there is little or no telephone access. In countries

where standards are based on the norms of the wealthy and powerful, expectations can become disadvantages to the poor, making life even more difficult.

The growth of national economies and the emergence of middle and upper classes does not necessarily mean nationwide well-being (as measured by the health and well-being of its people) improves. Without deliberate policies to improve the welfare of entire groups of people, financial advancement in the global economies can result in making more desperate living conditions of the poor.

The apparent paradox of hunger in rich countries or in those with rapidly advancing economies is not as difficult to understand when we shift from using *income* to measure well-being, to using capabilities of various types. One major capacity-building tool is education, which is essential to increasing individual ability to live a healthier, higher-quality life. In most areas of the world today, parents want their children to go to school; this contrasts with a half-century ago, when many families, particularly in agrarian parts of the less wealthy world, did not value academic learning because their children were going to follow in their tradition and could learn what they needed by working alongside their parents. By national participation in global economics over the past few decades, this type of self-sustaining lifestyle has become largely unviable; education is viewed by a majority of parents and children as a way to gain access to resources in an increasingly interconnected world.

We argue that much of the spread of HIV/AIDS is fueled by unequal physical and economic autonomy – in other words, a controlling social injustice, with specific injustices related to gender, race, education and control of economic resources. The ability to make decisions for oneself and one's children that promote good health and quality of life and look towards a promising future is essential for slowing the epidemic and other sexually transmitted diseases. A large proportion of the spread of HIV/AIDS in places such as South Africa and the Deep South is due to an unequal distribution of power or autonomy that results in people having sex when they don't want to in order to obtain basic necessities, or is due to unequal access to resources that promote a healthy quality of life and hope for the future. Power herein is not related to power over others, as it so often is in our global societies, but power over self.

Hopeful responses and leadership

Until now, we have focused mostly on the power of disparities and a seemingly bleak outlook on eliminating, or at least reducing, inequality, and how that relates to the HIV/AIDS epidemic. However, there are many players on this field, including those that *have* gained extraordinary ground – whose goals and drive are rooted in the fundamentals of social justice, specifically with respect to access to medications and care.

In the United States in 1987, when HIV was barely known, the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power, New York (ACT UP/NY) formed. The group mounted an aggressive campaign of direct action, specifically targeted to help bring much needed attention to the growing HIV/AIDS crisis. One of their first successful initiatives was a convergence

on Wall Street to protest the high cost of new HIV medications by a major international drug manufacturer. Days following the protest, the company reduced the price per patient from \$10 000 to \$6 400 – still prohibitively high for many people but a significant victory.¹⁴

Two years later, ACT UP/NY protested at the Federal Food and Drug Administration in Washington over lack of access to an experimental drug; this led to the new ‘compassionate use’ availability, providing the drugs to patients who do not qualify for clinical trials. Shortly thereafter, in a demonstration in Montreal at the Fifth Annual AIDS Conference, protesters demanded new protocols for clinical trial activities with HIV medications, introducing the idea of ‘parallel track’, in which drugs already found to be nontoxic are both placed in clinical trials and released simultaneously to patients not qualifying for the trials. The concept was quickly made operational by Dr Anthony Fauci, then Director of the AIDS programme at the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases, with a public announcement and a new committee to create protocols for parallel tracking.¹⁵

The early successes of ACT UP/NY led to formation of groups throughout the US and the world, carrying the message of equality of treatment and access to care for those with HIV. Bold and revolutionary actions took hold in South Africa as well, most notably with the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) and its call for education and treatment access.

One of TAC’s most publicised actions was led by Zachie Achmat, an individual infected by the virus who had, until recently, refused to take any and all HIV medications until there was guaranteed access to *all* those infected. Achmat is by no means the only leader in TAC, but is an example of the dedication of its many members. Now a decade old, TAC is a vibrant and powerful force in South Africa, known for filing dozens of suits against the government and drug companies, all based on access to care and treatment. The organisation is considered instrumental in the victory against the pharmaceutical industry, in favor of lower-cost HIV medications.¹⁶

Other local and global entities have engaged in similar actions and campaigning for medication access and general HIV/AIDS education and stigma reduction, most notably loveLife in South Africa and, worldwide, the Student Global Action Campaign and Médicines Sans Frontières. The commitment and sustained visibility of these groups are indicative of the response that the Civil Society Forum hopes *others* will emulate. Their victories make us feel more empowered and more hopeful about what we can do to create a world that is more just and more humane.

As global citizens and as leaders, we must keep in mind the context of social justice as we seek to end the HIV/AIDS tragedy. We will not be successful at combating health disparities in chronic and/or behavioural diseases without addressing the issue. Social justice is more than just the absence of inequalities of gender, ethnicity, religion, race, etc., although eliminating these disparities is of paramount importance. *Social justice is a basic and irrevocable right.* It is a positive and active force that creates channels and means – both those that are official and structural and those that are organic and grassroots – for quality of life to improve and thrive. This extends to developing a healthy community as an entirety, measured by accessibility to individual capacity-building by all members.

As we fight HIV/AIDS, we remind people again and again that this is a disease of social injustice. As we work towards social justice, HIV/AIDS is the reminder of what happens when we do not focus on these issues.

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CHAPTER 6

RESTORING THE COMMON GOOD

Bending the arc of the moral universe towards justice

We begin this chapter by reminding ourselves that building and restoring the common good – that is, achieving social justice – is something we *can* do. Indeed, renegotiating the rules of society is always in process. Our challenge is to assert ourselves and the primacy of moral values into these negotiations.

Consider the flowering of constitutional democracy, illustrated in this short list of successful re-negotiations of societal principles and practices:

- The American *Declaration of Independence* (1776), establishing the principle that all men are equal and that a king is no exception.
- England's abolition of the slave trade, on the grounds that it is 'contrary to the principles of justice, humanity and sound policy', as Prime Minister Lord Granville put it (1807).
- President Abraham Lincoln's *Emancipation Proclamation* (1862) and *Gettysburg Address* (1863), extending the idea of equality to African-Americans.

- The adoption of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the *US Constitution*, abolishing slavery and granting citizenship and voting rights to African-Americans (1865–69).
- The founding of the United Nations (1944), recognising that all nations are entitled to a seat in the world’s great deliberative and humanitarian body.
- The success of the nonviolent movement led by Mahatma Gandhi – who began his civil rights career as a citizen of South Africa – to overthrow British colonial rule in India (1916–45).
- The United Nation’s adoption of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1946), establishing the equal political, social and economic rights of all people.
- The adoption by the Congress Alliance of the *South African Freedom Charter* (1955), adapting and broadening the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
- The success of the American Civil Rights struggles in achieving landmark Supreme Court rulings and legislation in the 1950s and 1960s.
- The partial success of the women’s rights movement over the last five decades.
- The adoption of Freedom Charter principles into the new *South African Constitution* (1994).

In each case, the result came about because groups of people – some close at hand, some more distant – got together to build movements that articulated and worked unstintingly to realise an agenda for justice. The obstacles they faced were nearly overwhelming, and success seemingly improbable at the outset. Each was vigorously contended, sometimes through bloody conflict, and altered, renegotiated, defended, improved and seldom completely successful. But, building on the work of their forebears in the struggle, each progressively broadened the definition of the public good, changed the distributive rules of society and included more people from more places within those new terms.

Creating success in reform movements

We introduced political philosopher John Rawls in Chapter 2. He argued that we should be able to negotiate with one another to achieve more fairness in our social order. Without getting deeply into his seminal arguments, let’s use them to imagine how two groups of people might come together to reform society.

The members of both groups agree that things aren’t right and haven’t been for a long time: there is too much social unrest, injustice, poverty, illiteracy, and uncertainty to go on

like this. Members of both groups share a similar level of passion for changing things, to renegotiate the rules under which they and future generations will live together in peace and justice. They want to fashion new rules for distributing society's rights, resources, obligations, claims, benefits, goods and services, income and wealth more fairly.

Each group mirrors the other in terms of race, class, age, gender, public experience, income and wealth, education, geography, connections, education, occupations, politics and access to the levers of power. Each agrees that it will observe rules of civil discourse, though the conversations will be heated. What sets the two groups apart, making for very different outcomes, are the *particulars of the rules of discourse* each observes.

Group A has agreed that its members will negotiate:

1. Out of enlightened self-interest, shaped by their individual backgrounds, social standing, experience, beliefs and material circumstances.
2. As the representatives of others whom each identifies with either by ethnicity, gender, occupation, social standing or some combination of such factors.
3. By taking advantage of members' experience, expertise and access to the levers of power during discussions.
4. According to democratic principles, chiefly as embodied in Robert's Rules of Order.

Group B has agreed that they will negotiate:

1. Out of each member's and the emerging collective sense of 'fairness'.
2. Speaking for each one's own self-interests but also for the greater 'public good'.
3. Assuming that no one's economic, political, social standing or background entitles him/her to special privileges and power during discussions and decision-making.
4. Under the rule that each will suspend current or future claims to privilege for self or descendents and accept the consequences of the distributive rules the group produces.
5. By seeking consensus.

Which group do you think is more likely to produce rules that redeem the common good?

Seemingly well-intentioned and 'democratic', Group A's rules all but ensure that its work will do little beyond maintaining the status quo. Members of such conversations and negotiations – citizens, managers, workers, politicians – tend to interact not as equals but according to traditional hierarchies of power; to think in 'zero sum' terms, perceiving society's resources as quite limited; and to become partisans for their own, their descendents' and their cohort's best interests. The odds are high that its work will protect privilege, maintain the assets of the 'haves', at best retain or even reduce those of the 'have nots', reinforce injustice, produce bitter feelings and increase the sense of hopelessness about ever achieving justice. In all, its rules of engagement discount claims

Rawls is not naïve. He does not expect us to be simply altruistic. Indeed, the idea of justice as fairness demands a particular sense of self-interest that is both private, but also and especially 'public'. Self-interest alone properly makes us vigilant against one another. To create a just social order, however, we must also act out of a 'public' sense of justice for that, alone, makes our 'secure association together' possible. Rawls, *op. cit.*, p. 5. In effect, what Rawls is arguing is that we need to find a middle ground in thinking about our collective future – a middle ground between the positions and perspectives of the privileged and of the dispossessed. The genius of the Civil Rights and the Struggles generations, of King and Mandela, was in finding and working from that conceptual middle ground without ever sacrificing their values. How, then, do we, their inheritors, re-discover that place for the sake of the common good for future generations?

of equality. The Group A approach is more likely to disable members from advancing causes of justice than enable them to discover common moral language and purpose.

Group B's rules run counter to usual group norms. They increase the probability for outcomes that build the common good and promote justice. John Rawls suggests why. He argues that citizens of all stations have an innate sense of fairness that, through truly democratic discussion, leads to social justice, despite everyone beginning at very different positions. But that will only happen, Rawls predicts, by following two fundamental negotiating rules. First, members must engage one another as equals with each being assured of being heard and understood, so that all opinions have influence in discussions and in decisions. This approximates what Rawls calls 'the original position of equality'. Second, members must suspend expectations of gain for self or inheritors – what Rawls calls operating 'behind a veil of ignorance' about such interests – so that the group can fashion agreements that serve the greater common good. In effect, this principle means a) adopting a self-denying ordinance with respect to advancing one's own standing at the detriment of that of others; b) accepting the reality that she/he cannot predict what life has in store for her or his children and grandchildren, in any case; and c) so working to ensure a result that is most likely to advantage all.¹ Rawls' two rules discount claims of privilege in setting the rules to realise 'fairness'. Thus, Group B's approach is more likely to enable members to exercise their individual and collective moral imaginations on behalf of social justice.

Think back to the justice movements whose achievements opened this chapter. The participants in each tended to discount personal interests for the sake of speaking for others previously excluded from and disadvantaged by earlier rules-setting debates and agreements. They consciously worked for political principles of fairness that advantaged everyone.

Martin Luther King, Jr, and his colleagues, for example, used religious symbols to rally their supporters; they may have privately hoped that all Americans would become more spiritual, but they did not seek preference for a single group, a religion or the religious. Rather, they called on Americans to live up to the principles of freedom embedded in the Declaration of Independence and Constitution. Similarly, Nelson Mandela and his

comrades – like Gandhi and his colleagues, first in South Africa and then in India – insisted that all people of their nations must be made equals in the new, post-apartheid, post-colonial orders, the resources of which must be shared more evenly.

The participants in these struggles over the last two-and-a-half centuries clearly bent the arc of the moral universe increasingly towards justice; they understood ‘fairness’ in its broadest sense. Successful reform movements must exemplify key principles of democratic action. They must be consciously organised that way. Their members must act on the principles of equality and without regard for personal advantage in working towards just ends. The movements should minimise hierarchy and discourage formality, without sacrificing the ability to make and carry out decisions. They should value inclusivity and insist that the seemingly counterintuitive instincts for reconciliation, forgiveness and acceptance outweigh the urge for retribution, retaliation and hatred. Their compass always must point towards the greater public purpose.

Types of leaders needed for promoting the common good

History’s successful reform and ‘struggle’ movements each built a broad cadre of leaders. No better illustration can be found than in the emphasis that Nelson Mandela and other senior members of the Freedom Struggle imprisoned on Robben Island placed on the maxim, ‘each one, teach one’. This was a living principle (also practiced in Gandhi’s and the American Civil Rights movements); it transformed that awful prison into a virtual university. Indeed, some leaders – the Mandelas, the Kings – became visible standard bearers for their causes. But, these movements reveal the truth of Mandela’s and King’s insistence that they could not succeed but for the collaborative leadership of many others.

While we must acknowledge the centrality of leadership in achieving social justice, we must take a very different tack in defining the kind of leaders who are uniquely capable of doing so effectively. Our message is this: what this world needs is ‘servant’ or ‘transformative’ leaders. These are the women, men, youth, senior citizens whose mix of talents and leadership activities will ensure a movement’s success. In this mix resides effective leadership. ‘These people’ are us – you, me and each of the others who join the circle. The *only* entry requirement is sincere commitment to the cause. The rest is all leadership development.

Let’s define some terms. First, the critical test of the servant leader is her or his consistent behavioral preference for using and sharing power to serve and empower others. Robert Greenleaf, the first contemporary author to codify ‘servant leadership’, says that ‘[i]t begins with the natural feeling that one wants to serve, to serve *first*. Then conscious choice brings one to aspire to lead. That person is sharply different from one who is *leader* first, perhaps because of the need to assuage an unusual power drive or to acquire material possessions.’²

Second, it follows that effective leaders are moral leaders, consciously choosing to act in light of universally accepted moral and ethical principles – such as the

'The difference [between the two types of leaders] manifests itself in the care taken by the servant – first to make sure that other people's highest priority needs are being served. The best test, and difficult to administer, is: Do those served grow as persons? Do they, *while being served*, become healthier, wiser, freer, more autonomous, more likely themselves to become servants? *And*, what is the effect on the least privileged in society; will they benefit, or, at least, not be further deprived?' Greenleaf, *op. cit.* pp. 13–14.

Golden Rule, reciprocity, mutuality on the one hand; honesty, loyalty, helpfulness, transparency on the other. Thus, servant leaders prefer to use 'soft' power (persuasion, joint decision-making and diplomacy) and only reluctantly and as necessary 'hard' power options (coercion, 'executive' decision-making and military action). They move beyond the standards of efficiency (getting things done and done right) towards those of effectiveness (achieving the right things). Political scientist and pathmaking leadership scholar, James McGregor Burns, argues that such leaders essentially engage those they lead in a set of moral conversations, each raising the consciousness of the others in seeking public purposes.³

Third, the central recruitment and development challenge for reform movements (in fact, for any organisation or initiative) is not to discover the next 'great' leader, but to recognise, encourage and tap the leadership potential in all of us, whatever our position and unique gifts.

Servant leaders cultivate what sociologist Robert Bellah calls positive 'habits of the heart'.⁴ These include developing a set of inner skills related to 'emotional intelligence', defined by the psychologist Daniel Goleman as self-awareness, self-regulation, motivation, empathy and social skills to complement the skills of sheer intellect.⁵

These learnable attributes of emotional intelligence allow us to suppress those deep-seated personal 'delusions of adequacy' arising out of 'ego inflation' – beliefs that I am so fully competent as to do without the aid of others to understand, train, advise, formulate policy, make the right decision, implement, monitor and lead everyone else to truth, profit and a better life. Emotional intelligence also helps us to avoid the tendency most likely to derail common action: making premature judgements about another's character, capacities, experience and potential. Instead, the servant leader is open to discovering who the other person really is and, friend or foe, affirming her or his humanity. She or he cultivates the ability to listen actively to the other and, while listening, to suspend judgement.

Achieving social justice is arduous. Servant leaders need to develop the discipline of regular reflective renewal – intellectual, spiritual, emotional and physical. They must develop supportive networks, regularly seeking the council of colleagues, elders, friends, family and mentors. The servant leader learns to focus her or his attention and energies on the cause's ultimate vision.

'Margaret Wheatley, a prescient student of contemporary organisational life, asked the principal of a very successful 800-student junior high school why it was so successful. He cited the three rules the school holds out to its students: 1) Take care of yourself; 2) Take care of one another; 3) Take care of this place. Can you think of a more succinct and transformational credo for building caring and effective organisations?' Margaret J Wheatley and Myron Kellner-Rogers, 'Bringing Life to Organizational Change', *Journal for Strategic Performance Measurement*, April/May 1998. <<http://www.margaretwheatley.com/articles>>

While we have focused on the 'transformational' nature of effective leadership, it is also essential that servant leaders understand that they must also tend to business, get their job done and do it right. They have to master 'transactional' skills, too. They must know how to plan and accomplish the essential and mundane as well as the more exciting tasks required in any organisation or movement; negotiate purposefully and effectively with colleagues and adversaries (sometimes mediating between them); build or join coalitions and alliances; know when and how to reach decisions (such as promising less than optimal results but keeping things in motion on the transformative track); and decide whether, when and how to use hard power if soft power falls short in critical circumstances. The great transformative leaders – Eleanor Roosevelt in fashioning and gaining the United Nations' adoption of the Universal Declaration of Rights, Nelson Mandela in ending apartheid rule militarily and through negotiations, to cite two examples – were often superb in transacting business, which made it possible to achieve transformational goals.

Venues for promoting the common good

Where are we most likely to engage each other meaningfully – over time and across racial, ethnic and class divides – in dealing with the persistence of inequality and its deep-seated economic, social and political dislocations? Where can we most effectively build coalitions and movements to bend the moral arc of the universe towards justice?

We have three choices. The most obvious is the public arena of politics and government. There is no doubt of the importance of public laws, regulations, adjudication and enforcement. Each reform movement, of necessity, seeks to influence how the state – the formal political processes – defines society's rules for apportioning its benefits. Each freedom struggle we have noted was frankly political. Seeking the support of politicians is an essential tactic.

Perhaps less immediately obvious is the arena of the marketplace – of businesses, big and small. Those who run enterprises have a very large voice in influencing how society's rules are defined and play out. It's not surprising, then, that reform groups have often considered strategies to engage, seek allies among, or oppose corporations.

Some businesses have, in fact, been allies in social justice causes through their charitable activities and through ‘transformation’ or ‘affirmative action’ policies.

But, if those who seek social justice must attend to the formal political and marketplace arenas, they cannot rely on those venues to nurture the reform movements they must build. For one thing, the respective purposes of the two arenas tend to discourage reform.

Formal politics is about gaining and holding power. Even in democracies, politicians and government agencies tend to resist or greatly compromise that which tends to disrupt agreements that control fine balances of power. For example, while the South African government heeded the call for and supported the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, it virtually ignored those sections of TRC’s final report that recommended a large commitment of public dollars to the economic reconstruction that would be necessary to achieve anything like restorative justice for apartheid’s victims.

For its part, the marketplace is about maximising profits. This is legitimate. But inevitably that interest means that those in business are cautious and self-limiting in aligning with reform movements that raise fundamental questions about who benefits and why the institutions and persons who benefit most are not contributing more to the public good through taxation or regulation.

Finally, both governments and businesses tend to be organised as hierarchical bureaucracies, where decision-making power and perquisites are concentrated towards the top (despite current management theory calling for fewer and more diffused operational layers). Definitions of leadership are more traditional and formal, making the arenas of politics and the marketplace less than conducive to the flowering of informal reform movements in which all members have leadership roles.

Reformers must look instead to the civil society arena for defining uncompromised vision and building agile and effective movements. Civil society is, at bottom, about exercising citizenship; it is the natural place for free citizens to fully exercise their rights to expression and action.

Of course, civil society has an institutional as well as an individual aspect. The most obvious is institutional. Collectively, its members offer services spanning the full horizon of human need, from healthcare to education to recreation to advocacy. The organisations range in size and scope from small community-based, self-help groups (such as stokvels, burial societies and neighbourhood clubs); to small and medium-sized and usually incorporated not-for-gain organisations (like community development corporations, small museums and policy think-tanks), to large and sometimes vast, incorporated not-for-profits (hospitals, universities and big foundations). The larger these entities, the likelier they are to look and feel like government and for-profit bureaucracies. Nonetheless, their mandates remain to give organisational expression to free citizen – or ‘voluntary’ and self-governing – action.

In the United States and increasingly in South Africa, institutional civil society forms an important segment of the economy. American ‘tax-exempt’ nonprofit organisations comprise 28 categories, from unions to farmers’ cooperatives to social welfare and

religious organisations. Recent studies indicate that this fast-growing sector takes in more than \$700 billion a year and employs 8 to 10 per cent of the workforce, who earn some \$300 billion a year. Similar studies of the South African economy also describe a rapidly expanding not-for-gain sector, which by 1998 already included more than 100 000 organisations, took in more than R14 billion yearly, accounted for 1.3 per cent of the nation's GDP and employed 645 000 people, more than any other officially identified industry.

What keeps these American and South African 'industries' safely in the civil society sector? First, their organisations do not generate profits for 'owners' – because there are no owners, only informal or formal boards of unpaid or minimally paid citizen directors. Second, they enlist the services of a vast number of volunteers.

Still, it is the other aspect of civil society that commands our attention here: the place for citizen action. This is the venue where the community at large (including citizens and institutions) comes together 'to protect and nurture the individual and where the individual operates to provide those same protections and liberating opportunities for others', as the founding CEO of Independent Sector, Brian O'Connell, puts it. It is that civic 'space' that both expresses and animates the democratic impulse most purely and with greatest effect. It is where people of all walks (governmental, business/corporate or nonprofit), ages and conditions volunteer to serve causes that express, support and build community.⁶

Civil society, in this sense, is the natural and nurturing venue for those who want to advance social justice. It is where we can most easily develop our potential as leaders. It is where we can safely centre our conversations, our organising and networking efforts to restore the common good...through fighting HIV/AIDS, promoting racial reconciliation, and supporting the self-help traditions and initiatives of low-income people. There is no need to rely on the venues of political and market institutions to create public will for social justice. The 'free space' offered by civil society provides inducements and intrinsic rewards for giving voice and taking action – for exercising our moral imaginations in the service of others.

Endnotes

- 1 John Rawls, *Theory of Justice*, pp. 11–13 and 137, and *Political Liberalism*, Lectures IV and VI.
- 2 Robert K Greenleaf, *Servant Leadership: A Journey into the Nature of Legitimate Power and Greatness*, Paulist Press, 1977, p. 13.
- 3 James M Burns, *Leadership*, Harper and Row, 1978.
- 4 Robert Bellah *et al.*, *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life*, University of California Press, 1985.
- 5 Daniel Goleman, *Emotional Intelligence: Why It Can Matter More Than I.Q.*, Bantam Books, 1995.
- 6 Brian O'Connell, *Civil Society: The Underpinnings of American Democracy*, University Press of New England, 1999, p. 14.

CHAPTER 7

THE PATH TO RESTORATIVE AND TRANSFORMATIONAL JUSTICE

Restorative and transformational action

In Chapter 4's discussion of racial inclusion and exclusion, two themes set the stage. One is the pain and frustration citizens of colour have about white racism, both individual and institutional, that accounts for continuing patterns of poverty and impediments to accumulating assets. The other is the tendency of white citizens to deny that these patterns exist, or assign responsibility for their persistence to the victims' behaviour.

Here we dwell on that chapter's third theme. It is that we – as individuals, institutions and nations – must make substantial progress in reconciling the racial divide between whites and persons of colour (black, coloured, brown, Native American and Asian) in order to realise our hopes for widening the common good and achieving greater measures of social justice. Such reconciliation requires both 'restorative' and 'transformative' action.

'No nation can enslave a race of people for hundreds of years, set them free bedraggled and penniless, pit them, without assistance in a hostile environment, against privileged victimizers, and then reasonably expect the gap between the two groups to narrow. Lines, begun parallel and left alone, can never touch.' Randall Robinson, *op. cit.* p. 74.

In her brilliant review of the sway of racism in South African history, Frene Ginwala points the way towards restorative justice. ‘Ironically,’ she says, ‘to “deracialise”, we have to focus on race. Together with the racially based inequalities we inherited, we find that the very instruments we must use to manage society and to overcome the legacy are themselves shaped by racism and designed to perpetuate unequal relations.’¹

Focusing constructively on race requires that whites in particular acknowledge that they are mainly responsible for erecting racial barriers. Their ancestors initially translated categories of difference (colour, geographic origin and the like) into explanations of superiority and inferiority to rationalise slavery, subjugation and discrimination. Continuing, habitual reliance on these categories and explanations keeps us from coming to terms with the fact that race and racial differences have no basis other than as convenient justifications of white privilege.

The most corrosive effect of racism is that it deprives both people of colour and white people of the fullness of their own humanity. True reconciliation is ‘restorative’ because it gets us to reaffirm and respect one another’s essential dignity, equality, proneness to error and to hurtful acts, and rights to inclusion.

But restorative action is only the first step. Citizens must also commit to transformative action. We must work together across racial lines to get our governments to devise and fulfil substantive agendas for righting persistent economic and social wrongs: to rebuild systems (education, health, justice, social services and the like), to change the economic and distributive rules, to give priority to peace rather than war and, in all, to alter the balance between private and social spending in favour of the latter...for the common good.

Different approaches to achieving justice

Many experts over the years have worked in the field of establishing justice; we are indebted to them and can learn from them. For the purposes of this monograph, we examine three distinct approaches: reparations, discussion and formal reconciliation processes.

The **reparations** approach is based on the nearly 80-year-old principle in international law that any group of people has a right to seek reparation against governments whose ‘illegal acts’ worked provable harm to its members. The latter half of the 20th century offers many examples of reparations payments, including: \$222 million from the Federal Republic of Germany to Israel for resettling Jews from formerly Nazi-occupied countries, and \$1.2 billion by the US government to Japanese-Americans whose families were interned and whose property was expropriated during World War II.

In the United States over the past 30 years, a number of prominent African-Americans have advanced the idea of reparations. The premise, stated by Randall Robinson, is clear: ‘If African Americans will not be compensated for the massive wrongs and social injuries inflicted upon them...then there is *no* chance that America can solve its racial problems...’² Advocates of reparations argue that America’s debt to black citizens can be calculated in terms of lost income and wealth as a result of 250 years of slavery and

another 100 years of legal segregation. Specific reparations figures depend on various calculations of spans of years, white wages and wealth accumulation. Each is, on its face, plausible. The resulting figures, however calculated, begin at a *trillion* dollars. And, though the United States can pursue a trillion-dollar war of highly dubious justification, it has no political will for pursuing restorative justice that costs anywhere near that much.

In South Africa, the case for reparations was stated clearly in Constitutional Court Judge Ismail Mahomed's 1996 decision upholding the amnesty provisions of the law establishing the South African Truth and Reconciliation process. Mohamed said that the new Constitution permitted Parliament to favour 'the reconstruction of society' involving in the process a wider concept of 'reparation', entailing a regard for the 'untold suffering' of individuals and families whose fundamental rights had been violated under apartheid.³ In practice, the call for reparations has tended to be more limited and specific than the ruling seemed to suggest. For instance, the mandate for the TRC, chaired by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, restricted its work on reparations solely to those who could demonstrate injury for specific acts of criminality by officials (police, military, paramilitary and civilian officials).

Actual reparations in both countries have been minimal. In America to date, there has been only one successful instance of direct lineal descendants of African-Americans, whose lives were disrupted by 'race riots,' being compensated – many years later and minimally at that. In South Africa, the TRC recommended in 1996 that the new government pay reparations of \$360 million (roughly R2.2 billion currently) to 19 000 apartheid victims who testified before the Commission. Three years later the government awarded less than a quarter of what was recommended – and rejected the TRC's call for special tax on multinational companies and wealthy individuals, in part, to underwrite the reparations claims in full.

There are advantages and disadvantages of reparations as an approach to restorative and transformational justice. On the positive side, the bills for reparations have the effect of raising awareness that slavery, segregation, near servitude and exclusion cost something – a lot in fact – to those oppressed. And, where tied to specific wrongs to real people, reparations have the legitimacy of international law and precedent.

On the negative side, however, reparations raise serious barriers. When not related to specific wrongs to specific individuals, the case for them finds few adherents, even in black communities. Who should receive reparations? If it is the whole 'people', is the figure too little? Which causes will be funded? Who will decide? How will the funds be administered and accounted for? Moreover, the size of the American bill almost precludes healing cross-racial discussions, thus throwing into doubt how far it really advances reconciliation as restorative justice.

The second approach calls for **discussion or debates** among whites and people of colour about race and racism. Such discussions in America are, from time to time, hosted by civic organisations, churches and governmental agencies and espoused by some politicians, such as former Senator John Edwards in his 2004 vice-presidential campaign and his 2007 bid for the presidency. Here, a look at President Bill Clinton's

'Reconciliation begins by agreeing to sit under the same tree with your enemy, to find a way of addressing the causes of the conflict.' A Dinka elder, reflecting on the Sudanese conflict, quoted by Dr Charles Villa-Vincencio in 'Learning to Sit Under the Same Tree', A pamphlet of the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, Cape Town.

Advisory Board on Race, 1997–98, illustrates the strengths and weaknesses of such an approach.

The Board was charged with advising the President on matters involving race, racial reconciliation, and how his office might promote 'a constructive national dialogue to confront and work through challenging issues that surround race'.⁴ Clinton appointed a distinguished group of Americans, chaired by John Hope Franklin, Professor Emeritus of History at Duke University, whose scholarship over some 65 years changed the direction of the study, understanding and evaluation of the role of African-Americans in US history.

The Board conducted its work over 14 months, holding hearings and dialogues in 39 states that involved some 17 000 citizens. Its report indicates the Board's work with serious issues and its understanding of the depth of the racial divide, with recommendations that might have led to progress towards racial understanding and stronger social and economic policy. But, more than eight years later, the group's efforts have amounted essentially to nothing. Despite best intentions, the process itself and its results were flawed and contested. Dr Franklin later noted privately that, in his judgement, the American people really didn't want to talk much about race and were not committed to addressing the realities and issues.

The Board's fate is an oft-repeated story. On the positive side, such an approach often does engage people earnestly. They tell their stories, make their cases – pro and con. Their consciences are raised, at least for a while. The approach also signals that governments and other important institutions consider race a matter of serious concern. Interestingly, several state legislatures in recent years have adopted or are considering formal apologies for their respective state's complicity in slavery.

On the negative side, typical terms of engagement for such discussions are limiting. For example, the Advisory Board's rules prompted testimony and debate, the usual approach (and similarly a deficit of formal political processes). Discussion rules in venues provided in the civil and political sectors seldom allow for genuine, evolving dialogue – engagement that increases participants' knowledge of and often respect for one another, and encourages challenging and testing each other's assumptions about racism, inequality, privilege and reconciliation. The rules inhibit participants from reaching higher levels of discernment about their common humanity. Nor are such conversations likely to persist much beyond the moment, unless the convening group provides ongoing opportunities for subsequent interchange. In short, the approach is not likely to contribute significantly to restoration and transformation.

'Harmony, friendliness, community are great goals. Social harmony for us is the *summon bonum* – the greatest good. Anything that subverts, that undermines this sought-after good, is to be avoided like the plague. Anger, resentment, lust for revenge, even success through aggressive competitiveness, are corrosive of this good. To forgive is not just to be altruistic. It is the best form of self-interest. What dehumanises you inexorably dehumanises me. It gives people resilience, enabling them to survive and emerge still human despite all efforts to dehumanize them.' Desmond Tutu, *No Future Without Forgiveness*, Doubleday, 1999, p. 31.

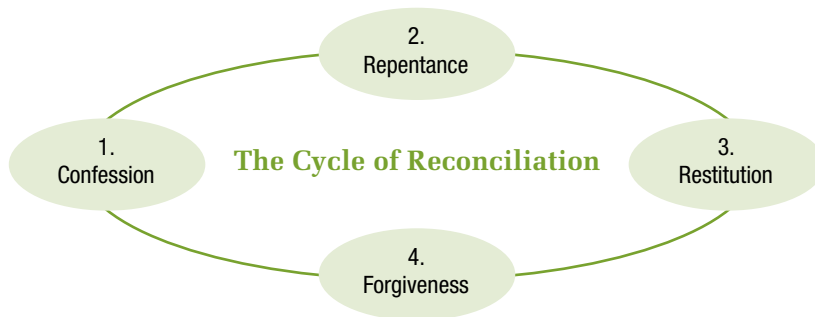
The third approach entails **formal reconciliation processes**. This is best illustrated by South Africa's TRC. Its comprehensive commitment to reconciliation, its scope and terms of engagement, its leadership (Archbishop Tutu, most notably) and full staffing produced enduring consequences. Its hearings dug deep to uncover truths about the evils of apartheid, evoking heart-rending testimony of victims and eliciting some remarkable admissions of wrongdoing from perpetrators of violence. The whole TRC process offered hopeful ideas and examples of how the offended and offenders might come to honest reconciliation (despite persistent doubts about how much 'truth' was told or revealed).

Indeed, a strong case can be made that TRC members and staff thought more profoundly and consistently than any public body ever about what reconciliation means in moral and in political contexts, where it leads, how to achieve it and what can stop it. They were very clear that reconciliation requires honouring both the victim's and the perpetrator's common humanity, based on the premises that no one is without sin and all are redeemable. That sensibility went far in ensuring that the Commission would bring a measure of healing to the nation; it continues to serve as an inspirational model that other communities and nations in the world can adapt.

Equally important, the TRC linked the specific process of reconciliation hearings aimed at restorative justice to a larger and longer-term process of reconciliation aimed at transformative justice. It insisted that national reconciliation could not succeed without economic reconstruction. Its report called on the government to fashion and implement more just policies regarding revenues and budgets. Government must work to eliminate poverty and its associated dislocations by moving the economy towards full and fair employment; it must devote much more tax dollars into building public services across the board for all citizens.

The particular strengths of the TRC's reconciliation efforts lie in its members' willingness to go beyond its formal organising mandate. Archbishop Tutu, for example, transformed the hearings into virtual public 'confessionals'. He and staff thus engaged witnesses in ways unforeseen – a distinct alternative to general amnesty and the Nuremberg trials for Nazi leaders at the end of the World War II. In effect, they adapted largely 20th-century Protestant Christian redemption theology, worked out in response to such evils as Nazism, and deepened by their own Ubuntu humanism, to the TRC's secular purposes. Most notably, again calling on Christian theology, they defined a virtuous two-party cycle

of confession, repentance (by the perpetrator), restitution (if possible) and forgiveness (by the aggrieved) as both the personal and the national path to reconciliation.⁵



Finally, in this and in other ways, the TRC consciously sought to fit its work into history's narrative frame, not just backward but forward, and they articulated this with a sense of urgency. That is not surprising, since many of the Commission's leading figures were Protestant clergy who had been outspoken opponents of apartheid, believed earnestly in the freedom struggle's vision of a just society and, on theological grounds, called to task religious institutions that equivocated about condemning apartheid and embracing the struggle.

On the negative side, the TRC's story is also a cautionary tale. As productive as it was, the Commission was an instrument of the state, limited by political considerations. For example, the treacherous dynamics between the ruling African National Congress and its former enemy but now governmental partner, the Inkatha Freedom Party, meant that the TRC was blocked from getting testimony about highly contested issues of black-on-black violence before and after 1994. The TRC charters also limited its discretion and authority regarding amnesty. Many known perpetrators did not complete the virtuous reconciliation cycle or did so disingenuously. And, its charter gave the Commission a short life. It could not become the ongoing reconciliation centre; its closing created a void. It was unable to rally, much less build, the public will necessary to move the reconciliation process along towards quicker, more complete transformative realisation by means of the economic reconstruction it called for. Thus it is that many black South Africans complain that the TRC produced more reconciliation than justice.⁶

Which path to take

Details on the path to follow are presented in the final chapter of this monograph. Here we simply note that we can take much from the three alternatives, though most from the last. Proponents of all three approaches share outrage that justice should so long be denied – and denied still – to the victims of white privilege in its many historical guises. They actively search for ways to right the wrongs: repayment, engagement and reconstruction. They want to stir the consciences of their fellow citizens in ways that lead to acknowledgment and to corrective action.

What the TRC experience tells us, in particular, is the value of including both restorative and transformative approaches to justice. We must work first outside the

suffocating parameters of formal politics to move forward effectively and acknowledge common humanity. We must take paths that lead to systemic remedies – those which hold promise of offering substance as well as hope – to that which we know to be as remediable as it is inexcusable.

To do that, we must take a step beyond which the TRC pursued. We must join existing justice movements or work with others to create new ones that will be the engines of transformation, bending the arc of the moral universe more closely to justice. In essence, we need to search for paths that advance the unique justice narratives each of our nations has fashioned for that work.

Arguably South Africa's narrative is more advanced. The liberation struggle and transition to a democratic society remain palpable historic realities, achievements memorialised nearly daily. Events in institutional, if not yet fully national, settings suggest that transformation is still very much alive. As well, there is not just one, greying generation of struggle veterans who remind the nation that much work is still to be done. There are cadres of active middle-aged and young adults who proclaim the message. Finally, the overwhelming majority of its citizens have a direct and pressing self-interest in moving forward.

In contrast, for Americans the narrative is less alive. The Civil Rights Movement peaked nearly 40 years ago, and its veterans are in their 60s, 70s and 80s, with few replacements in younger generations to deal with the unfinished business they pioneered. It is not that Americans lack civil society organisations dedicated to promoting the common good; there are many across the land. But, their voices and work have been drowned out by a strong, antithetical narrative about what America is and means. Still ascendant, its adherents dismiss the idea that citizens owe much of anything to the common good, unless it is cast as national defence or is otherwise supportive of the established economic order.

In addition, the dominant religious narrative in the United States these days essentially ignores and sometimes explicitly rejects the 'public theology of reconciliation' that still propels the South African narrative. Indeed, the prophetic voice of religion so instrumental in both the Civil Rights and the anti-apartheid movements has been dulled by theologies that emphasise personal salvation over the work of fashioning just social orders on earth. The fundamentalist Christian eschatology does not appear to be about reconciliation in this world but rather is an ethic of victory for the chosen and punishment for all others. The 'loving community', so inclusive and expansive in the social justice narrative, is very exclusive and narrow in the end-of-time narrative.

The metrics for knowing we're bending the arc

We offer a reminder that, we believe, you – we all – have an internal moral compass that points reliably to what political philosopher John Rawls calls 'fairness'. If we consult that compass regularly, we know injustice when we see it. Our first moral task is to find the courage to call it out. The second is to act accordingly.

We often hear, however, that it's hard to know whether the moral arc is really bending towards justice. In truth, it's not all that mysterious or difficult to assess, though it may demand diligence and patience. Both our nations – indeed, almost all nations – have developed highly calibrated social and economic monitoring systems at local, regional and national levels. We can measure the relative states of justice and injustice. If we want to know whether we are making progress in combating HIV/AIDS, social researchers can tell us pretty accurately whether more and which people are seeking and getting appropriate treatments, whether infection rates are declining, at what rates and where, and so on. If we're concerned about promoting justice through supporting community self-help, researchers can determine a low-income community's combined 'assets', its collective efficacy in combating negative factors and promoting positive ones, in changing mixes of income, to name but a few measures.

If we focus on racial reconciliation – restorative justice – we can get readings over time of incidences of racially motivated crime, of growth/decline in mixed-race neighbourhoods, of school populations by ethnicity. If we want to know whether our efforts to promote transformative justice are working, we can look to studies of changes in income levels and poverty rates; employment and unemployment; incarceration rates; public spending on all manner of 'social goods' like schools, parks and health systems; and the effects of different tax schemes. The list is endless. And we know, instinctively, what the metrics tell us about the moral arc. Causality is always difficult to pinpoint, but that does not mean we cannot define justice and tell whether we are moving towards or away from it.

How long must we tread the path to justice? The answer is: however long it takes to be sure that the arc is bending more securely towards justice for an increasing number of people. Identifying clear directions and enduring patterns in the metrics takes time. The expansion of democratic liberties and protections, as a case in point, has taken more than 200 years – and more needs to be done. Diseases can be eliminated in a decade; communities can become relatively whole again in a few. The journey, truly, *is* as important as getting there.

Endnotes

- 1 Ginwala, *Beyond Racism...In Their Own Voices*, p. 71.
- 2 Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 204.
- 3 Desmond Tutu, *No Future Without Forgiveness*, Doubleday, 1999, p 60.
- 4 Executive Order 13050, June 13, 1997, filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 12:17 p.m.,16 June 1997 <http://clinton5.nara.gov/Initiatives/OneAmerica/america_onrace.html>
- 5 Alex Boraine, *A Country Unmasked: Inside South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 360–61.
- 6 Boraine, *A Country Unmasked*, provides a compelling and fair account of the dynamics and politics of the TRC, from his perspective as its deputy chair. See particularly, pp. 118–21, 346–49 and 376–77. See also John W de Gruchy, *Reconciliation: Restoring Justice*, David Philip Publishers, 2002, on those dynamics and especially chapter 4 on 'Reconciliation and the Household of Abraham' on the parallels and tensions between and among the Christian, Judaic and Muslim faiths regarding 'the public theology of reconciliation'.

CHAPTER 8

WHERE HOPE RESIDES: COMMUNITY SELF-HELP

Low-income people helping one another

The patterns of community-based self-help in South Africa and in the United States are real, deep and enduring. These self-help movements, in fact, contributed to and drew from the civil rights and liberation struggles. The efforts represent collective leadership to maintain and build communities that are under unimaginable stress. The very process of community self-help itself spawns new leaders – young, mature, old, women, men – who are every bit as effective and important as leaders with lives of privilege. And, therein lies hope for a more inclusive and generous commonwealth.

To build on this hope and the possibilities for effective action, one needs to understand self-help patterns and how to offer assistance. Let us look first to southern Africa, where

'It can begin with an idea or an opportunity, a need or a protest. What distinguishes community-based development from other efforts to revive depressed areas is the emphasis on self-help... Regardless of the type of endeavor, community-based development translates into local *ownership* – of strategies, projects and achievement.' The Task Force on Community-Based Development, Lance C Buhl, Chair, *Community-Based Development: Investing in Renewal*, National Congress for Community Economic Development, September, 1987, p. 7.

the most pervasive and characteristic form of community self-help is the way the poor support one another. To describe the nature and importance of these patterns, we highlight the findings of unique and systematic research undertaken recently under the direction of our colleagues Susan Wilkinson-Maposa and Alan Fowler at the Center for Leadership and Public Values at the University of Cape Town. We commend their 2006 book, *The Poor Philanthropist: How and Why the Poor Help Each Other*.¹

Their research teams asked 677 poor people from Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe five questions: What is help? Who do you help and who helps you? What forms of help are used and for what purposes? Why do you help? Has help changed over time? The answers have revolutionised our understanding of what *The Poor Philanthropist* calls 'horizontal philanthropy' or the 'philanthropy of community'. It is 'widespread, deeply embedded, morally grounded and operates as a vital element for both survival and progress' in southern Africa's poor communities. 'Rather than random or disorganised, horizontal philanthropy is part and parcel of the social fabric. It follows proven, unwritten, acculturated rules with associated sanctions for non-compliance.' It is Ubuntu (or *botho* in the Sesotho languages) in action: 'if you have you must give, no matter how little' and you 'give so that you can be given to'.²

Philanthropy of community is related to the shared experience of being poor. Having to do with alleviating a clear need, difficulty, sense of deprivation or lack, it is a regular feature of how things are done and how the poor survive. It is not a matter of free choice but of a deep sense of mutual obligation. It has its own rewards, does not entail stigma and typically brings positive feelings. Family and neighbours are high on the list but are not the only people one should help. Help is given only to the poorer and most vulnerable, those seen as 'deserving'. It is not given to those one cannot trust, who really don't need help, who will not use the help wisely or who will not be grateful.

The forms that help takes among the poor are varied and sophisticated. It might be material in nature (money, goods and productive assets like tools or livestock) or nonmaterial (knowledge, manual support, moral support, or an intervention of some sort). Moreover, those asking and receiving have a very clear understanding of numerous principles governing different types of aid, each depending on the situation and relative circumstances of each party. Like any other social construct, horizontal philanthropy changes as a result of external forces, such as higher unemployment levels, that, on one hand, increase need and so intensify the motivation to help. On the other hand, unemployment can reduce self-esteem, increase the sense of jealousy and depress the interest in helping. The HIV/AIDS pandemic across southern Africa has, as the researchers say, 'caused some people to help more and others to help less'.

'You can fail to give because you don't have anything to offer; you are poor, but when you can't give you feel pained by the fact that you don't have a little something to offer to make you a human being among others.' A southern African informant in *The Poor Philanthropist*, p. 10.

The Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative (DSNI) was formed in 1984 when angry residents came together to revive their community, already devastated by arson, disinvestment, neglect, banking practices that denied credit to residents, and the operations of outside land speculators. DSNI is a nonprofit community-based planning and citizen-organising entity in a culturally diverse area that is one of the poorest in Boston, Massachusetts. The Initiative is comprehensive, seeking to implement resident-driven plans by building partnerships with a broad range of profit, government and nonprofit organisations. It is the only community-based nonprofit in the country granted eminent domain authority over abandoned property – so that it can better ensure that development serves the community’s residents through DSNI’s community land trust. As a result the Dudley Street neighbourhood has the only permanent affordable housing in the City of Boston. See <<http://www.dsni.org>> from which this description was fashioned and where ‘Welcome to Dudley Village’ offers a description of what an urban neighbourhood should and can be when built on principles of justice.

We know that these positive Southern African patterns have parallels in poor communities in America. James Joseph, founder of the Centers for Leadership and Public Values at Duke and University of Cape Town, makes a personal connection. ‘In the bayou country in Louisiana where I was born, compassion ran deep,’ he says. ‘We were poor, but when we were hungry we shared with each other. When we were sick we cared for each other. We did not think of what we gave to others as philanthropy, because sharing was an act of reciprocity in which both the giver and the receiver benefited. We did not think of what we did for others as volunteering, because caring was as much a moral imperative as an act of free will. I have found a remarkable affinity in belief and practice between the African-American poor with whom I grew up and the poor in southern Africa.’³

There are, of course, more formal types of community self-help in both nations. These rise out of a two-staged realisation. The first is that being poor has systemic roots that create cycles of disinvestment, inadequate housing, impaired health, high unemployment, low incomes, high crime rates, degraded public services, ruined families, and erosion of what some researchers have called a community’s ‘collective efficacy’ for responding to threats and taking advantages of opportunities to turn things around. The second stage is the dawning of the idea that, whatever the odds against us, ‘we’ can do something about it. This message may be carried by outside organisers, or it may come from within the community. The key to whether the realisation leads to a self-help movement is the ability to convince enough community members and institutions to work together to make a difference. If that happens, then new community-building organisations are created – block clubs, nonprofit housing companies, giving circles and many other types.⁴

The United States has seen a flowering over the last 40 years of community-based organisations (CBOs). Most are resident-created and resident-controlled. The predominant CBO form across the nation is the community development corporation (CDC). These have so proliferated that they comprise a veritable development ‘industry’ dedicated

to rebuilding the housing and commercial infrastructure of individual low-income communities. CDCs often start small, focusing on creating something of value (a home repair programme, for example), then find funding to hire staff for larger programmes (rehabilitating or building homes); many add other services as well, towards more comprehensive community restoration.

What makes CDCs unique is that they are extensions of their communities' determination to restore or create their health and their collective efficacy. In this sense, the community owns what each CDC does, achieves, returns to the community and even fails at. The ownership is expressed by charter, through their boards of directors, which are comprised mostly of local residents. In this sense, CDCs are one of America's most important laboratories for leadership training and development and, for that reason, are often more open, accountable and responsive to the people they serve than are their local governments.

Noteworthy, too, is that the CBO/CDC movement has shifted from a paradigm of help that emphasised community 'needs' to one that counts and builds on community 'assets'.

The first paradigm, much like uninformed views of poor communities in South Africa, tends to treat low-income people as dependent and without the capacity for self-help. It is true that deeply disinvested communities are plagued by social dislocations – violence, substance abuse, academic underachievement, unemployment and malnutrition. The newer paradigm, while not understating such conditions, identifies the inherent capabilities of these communities and their residents as the basis for reconstruction. It insists that, unless those assets are taken advantage of, rebuilding is either not possible or will work, not in their behalf, but to the advantage of non-community interests. Both paradigms acknowledge that partnerships must be created with other agencies – nonprofit, for-profit and governmental. Only the second defines the locus of control as within the disadvantaged community.

Founded in 1981 Self-Help, a North Carolina nonprofit, operates as a state and regional full-service financial institution. While it is not, technically, a community-based organisation, most of Self-Help's directors are people who serve and speak for low-income people. They adhere to Self-Help's philosophy emphasising 'economic justice – the belief that all people, regardless of race, gender or geography, should have equal access to economic opportunity'. The mission is 'creating ownership and economic opportunity for minorities, women, rural residents and low-wealth families'. Offering a full array of direct banking products and services otherwise unavailable to low-income homebuyers and owners, small business owners and nonprofits serving their communities in seven cities across North Carolina and in Washington, DC, Self-Help has made more than \$4 billion in financing available to some 44 000 borrowers, which the organisation calls 'the heroes' of its work. 'Without their persistence, determination and faith, none of our work would amount to much.' <<http://www.self-help.org>> See 'Spring, 2005 Impact Sheet', p. 1 and particularly the 2005 Annual Report.

It is striking how quickly the movement has grown and how much it has achieved since beginning as a handful of CDCs in the late 1960s. By 1970, there were perhaps 100 CDCs across the country; by 2006, there were 4 600. They had cumulatively produced 1.25 million homes, 126 million square feet of commercial/industrial space and 774 000 jobs. In all, most recent estimates are that the industry's housing and commercial activities account for more than \$6 billion annually. Furthermore, through micro-lending in developing indigenous entrepreneurship, CDCs made 116 000 loans worth \$1.5 billion in 2005 alone. The community self-help industry itself also has become a source of substantial employment: the median CDC now has ten paid staff.

South Africa has not developed a comparable community-based reconstruction system or industry; in part because the roles of nonprofit institutions, and of civil society in general, have not been fully worked out in the post-apartheid era. It seems quite possible that some version of this homegrown system might be adapted to the South African context for building or rebuilding existing poor communities – especially in light of the nation's proud legacy of formal community-based organising in the political arena, of strong union organising, primarily through the Council of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), and of self-help organisations, such as Bush Radio in Cape Town, considered 'the mother of community radio' in all of Africa.

How helping may undermine self-help

Self-help has much to teach. We who are interested in supporting it should learn from its examples with some humility. The danger is that, without paying attention, our 'helping' actions may produce more harm than good.

Focusing on the institutional level, the authors of *The Poor Philanthropist* express concern about this possibility. One of the goals of their study is to promote support for indigenous self-help in poor communities among 'the haves'. But, they warn against what they see as a very unhelpful disconnect between 'philanthropy of community' as practiced by the poor and the 'philanthropy for community' practiced by traditional mainstream institutions such as community foundations, private foundations and corporations. In terms of relationship-building and of the uses of power, philanthropy of community is horizontal – that is, among equals – while philanthropy for community is vertical or a top-down approach among non-equals.

How, *The Poor Philanthropist* asks, might this sub-optimal relationship be healed? One alternative would be for traditional resource providers to translate the philanthropy of poor people into their own practices, admittedly an incremental process. Thus, existing approaches largely would be maintained, but call for modifications that engage and communicate more actively and systematically with the communities they wish to help. The problem is that this approach does little to level normal power differentials between traditional institutions and philanthropy of the poor – differentials that tend strongly to overwhelm and distort the latter.

The authors recommended option is what they call a 'positive blending' of the two

'The Community Chest must now focus on the alleviation of poverty through supporting community growth and development. Strong, vibrant, confident, caring communities are the hope of our people, and this is where our energies must go. To this end the Community Chest of the Western Cape is seeking to be a determined partner in the building of a strong national organisation, Community Chest South Africa (CCSA), so that its voice and its messages and its actions can reverberate throughout our country.' Prof. Brian O'Connell, 'The Chairperson's Report' in the 2006 Annual Report of the Community Chest of the Western Cape, p. 2.

philanthropic traditions. This would involve a fundamental change in how vertical philanthropy goes about the business of helping. It would mean that its leaders promote and develop a giving infrastructure tailored to the context of poverty and that 'respects the needs, challenges and actions of the poor as protagonists in their own development'. Philanthropic leaders must 'visualise a dynamic involvement of the grantee...as a discerning agent'. This will require, the authors note, 'creativity and a shift in the power distribution and dynamics of established convention to finesse a philanthropic investment infrastructure that draws on a broader range of vehicles with poor people as central actors'.⁵ In short, to empower philanthropy of community, traditional philanthropic institutions must learn to share power – to become 'servants first'.

We have focused on help in the South African context. But the principles are no different in the United States. There is still all too often a tendency among those at the 'top' of the funding heap to practice vertical philanthropy with CDCs and other community development organisations. Fortunately, some organisations in the movement are tough enough, resilient enough, and smart enough to have turned relationships with funders into something more horizontal than fully vertical. There are even some philanthropic leaders who have worked to make the interactions more truly 'blended', in which the power dynamic has altered in recognition of the fact that both actors in the equation need one another in about the same degree to be successful. The community development organisation and person surely needs the grant; the philanthropic organisation and its representative surely need the grantee to be successful.

The Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation is working to create a less 'top-down', more collegial relationship with its grantees: 'We believe in the responsibility and power of individuals – including youth and young adults – to improve their own lives and to act collectively to increase opportunity for themselves and their communities. All human beings have the potential to be productive citizens, yet individual responsibility is not enough. Social and economic transformation in low-wealth communities requires changes in historic disinvestment patterns and removal of structural barriers...We value democracy and inclusiveness. We believe in working with people in low-wealth communities to shape their own destiny. We believe that working across differences is essential for sustaining our democracy and for expanding economic opportunity.' <<http://www.mrbf.org/>>

Consider as an example how the CDC industry in the US over the years has forged much more horizontal relations with the very broad range of traditional institutions – financial, philanthropic, governmental and nonprofit ‘intermediary’ organisations – its members depend on to rebuild their communities. This second tier of supporting institutions has developed products and rules for meeting community needs, often as a result of pressure by and hardheaded negotiations with CDCs. The support packages – like the 20-year-old Federal Low Income Housing Tax Credit system that generates billions of dollars a year for low and moderate-income housing – were initially quite unconventional. There are clear limits on the degree to which the relationship can be described as truly horizontal. Still, the members of the two tiers have learned how to interact, even disagree, in mutual respect and on behalf of community, the common good.

Becoming the helping servant leader

This is an appropriate place to emphasise the importance of examining the personal dimension of replacing vertical with horizontal modes of interaction. The injunction to do so applies to us as individuals, whether we represent traditional support organisations or are acting on our own. Each of us must master and practice rules of engagement that build trusting, generative relations. We must accept the equality and humanity of those we want to help. We must respect their wisdom and honour their competence and experience...and consider ourselves their servants.

How can we get to *that* place? In a book on working effectively with others to build equity and diversity in communities, Hedy Nai-Lin Chang, a fellow of the Centers for Leadership and Public Values at Duke University and University of Cape Town, and her colleagues define practical guidelines – and benchmarks for your own helping activities:⁶

- Draw on the assets of diverse people and groups involved.
- Build trust and personal relationships across the boundaries of race, language, culture and class.
- Develop cross-cultural leadership.
- Recognise multiple realities and identify common ground.
- Promote community self-determination.
- Fight exclusion.
- Stand against bias.
- Support ongoing learning and understanding around issues of equity and diversity.
- Take stock – hold yourselves accountable to the differences you encounter and assess how well you are addressing them.

Unless the negotiations for recreating community are built on genuinely horizontal relations – that is, include and involve community representatives as equal partners –

the interest we express in supporting self-help efforts to make the common good more expansive remains hollow. Such professions are mere rhetorical devices, making those of us outside the community feel better about ourselves, but reducing hopes for substantive change in the life circumstances and prospects of low-income residents.

Endnotes

- 1 Susan Wilkinson-Maposa, Alan Fowler, Ceri Oiver-evans and Chao FN Mulenga, *The Poor Philanthropist*, University of Cape Town Graduate School of Business, 2006. <www.gsb.uct.ac.za/gsbwebb/userfiles/Poor_Philanthropist-screen.pdf>
- 2 *Ibid.*, pp. x–xii.
- 3 *Ibid.*, pp. vi–vii.
- 4 Robert J Sampson *et al.*, ‘Neighborhoods and Violent Crime: A Multilevel Study of Collective Efficacy’, *Science*, Vol. 277, August 1977, pp. 918–24.
- 5 Wilkinson-Maposa *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. xii and 123–24.
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CHAPTER 9

LEADING TOWARDS JUSTICE

The urgency in our call to leaders

A key thesis of this monograph is that ‘public life’ provides a larger and more important foundation for democratic action than politics and political processes. There is much reason to believe, in fact, that politics in our two nations have become unhinged from public life, in part because many now doubt that politics is an effective arena for confronting injustices. Only if we can re-engage ourselves and others as citizens will we be able to infuse public life with energy and discernment on critical matters of social justice, and begin to build a solid foundation on which to inform and change our nations’ politics.

Your own resources are essential for reinvigorating the public arena. To use them demands a personal sense of urgency, a ‘calling’, if you will, to action. Former US Vice President Al Gore is a contemporary example of someone who is heeding such a calling: warning the world of the disasters of global warming. He forthrightly calls the issue a moral and not just a practical one. To fail to respond, he argues, would be ‘deeply unethical’.

Gore’s work has important lessons for those who seek to bend the arc towards justice in other ways. First, it underscores the reality that social justice casts a very broad net and reinforces the need to reach out widely, to organise our messages so that they make clear the interrelations, and to understand that we have to be single-minded in seeking to right wrongs. Second, Gore’s crusade is a powerful reminder that the causes outlined

in this primer are similarly compelling and worth going the distance to advance. Third, we must not forget that the issues we have laid out are moral, and to ignore them would be ‘deeply unethical’.

Finally, we would be wise to recall Martin Luther King, Jr’s search, not necessarily for a majority of citizens, but for ‘the creative maladjustments of a nonconforming minority’.¹ It is unlikely that either the fight against global warming or those for other social justice causes would win the support of a majority of voters in the United States, though they might in South Africa. What is important, however, before testing the political processes, is working to infuse and elevate the national conversations on these matters with moral and ethical meaning, so that politics makes them central to its processes. Historically, that has always been the role of nonconforming minorities. That is the route that Gore and many of his allies in the environmental movement are taking.

Admittedly, the present nature of our national politics makes hope a long-shot. Still, we live in democratic societies, where elections with huge import regularly recur. So, can you think of another alternative to surrender? If it can be reliably justified as anything other than a variant of tyranny, then name it and run with it.

Ask yourself what you conclude about the urgency of our calls for social justice. Ask from several perspectives – viewing these things as, for example, an observant and fair-minded visitor from another planet, or as a parent concerned about the fate and life chances of your children and those of your neighbours, or simply as a citizen and leader whose own sense of fairness is pretty strong and reliable. Do you have reason to worry about the fate of the common good and cruelly persisting injustices? Do you feel a call to do something about them? Before answering, it would be well to remember how the African-American writer, James Baldwin, put the matter about urgency in his 1963 novel, *The Fire Next Time*:

And here we are, at the center of the arc, trapped in the gaudiest, most valuable, and most improbable water wheel the world has ever seen. Everything now, we must assume, is in our hands; we have no right to assume otherwise. If we – and now I mean the relatively conscious whites and the relatively conscious blacks, who must, like lovers, insist on, or create the consciousness of the others – do not falter in our duty now, we may be able, handful that we are, to end the racial nightmare, and achieve our country, and change the history of the world. If we do not now dare everything, the fulfillment of that prophecy, recreated in the Bible in song by a slave, is upon us: GOD GAVE NOAH THE RAINBOW SIGN, NO MORE WATER, THE FIRE NEXT TIME.²

Choices for engaging effectively

Helping to bend the arc of the moral universe towards justice can take many forms. We examine five possibilities, starting with the basic and moving to increasingly complex engagement: commit, witness, give, volunteer and change professions.

'To observe transformational capability, we cannot observe normal people doing normal things. We must observe people who are living by principle. To develop transformational capability, we cannot be normal people doing normal things. We must stand outside the norm. To do that we need to go inside ourselves and ask who we are, what we stand for, and what impact we really want to have. Within ourselves we find principle, purpose, and courage. There we find the capacity not only to withstand the pressures of the external system but also actually to transform the external system. We change the world by changing ourselves.' Robert E Quinn, *Change the World: How Ordinary People Can Accomplish Extraordinary Results*, Jossey-Bass, 2000, p. 19.

Commit – to changing yourself

This is an intensely personal journey for each of us, worked out between your heart and mind to alter habits of perceiving people and events. It's serious attitude adjustment. In essence, you go to a place of choice to examine prejudices – often fixed prejudgements about other people and even yourself – and decide whether or not to change them.

Commitment requires that you actively and persistently rethink how you regard the 'different other', especially if that person or that category is black, brown, poor, Asian, Native American, female, ex-convict, gay, disabled or of any other denigrated group. Instead of taking the comfortable route of premature judgements, you opt for the uncomfortable by suspending judgement, listening to and hearing, seeing the other as an equal, adopting the Golden Rule, seeking out the good in him or her. This does not mean disregarding real evidence in coming to an assessment; indeed, it requires getting as much evidence as possible *and* giving it the weight it deserves. But it does mean giving and accepting the benefit of the doubt as the starting point for deconstructing old and constructing new habits of the heart.

To get to that point, almost inevitably you have to recalibrate how you see yourself: instead of superior, equal; instead of more than adequate, needing others almost always to succeed; instead of morally more worthy, as prone to temptation, erroneous thinking and bad action as anyone else. Without acceptance of these realities, reconciled thinking is not possible.

Beyond person-to-person reconsiderations, one must try to look for alternative sources of information about matters of social injustice. Rather than rely on pop media and headline news in reporting or commenting on poverty, racism, HIV/AIDS and community self-help – most of which are scarcely covered at all – actively search out serious social and economic research journals, and look to full, balanced news coverage and carefully considered, evidence-based analysis. Read critically; ask tough questions; probe for truth. Seek in yourself something that seems to be missing these days: moral outrage at manifest patterns of unfairness.

To commit in this way is the first step towards servant – that is, transformative – leadership. While we'd urge you to consider other forms of engagement (defined below), if you do nothing more than make this commitment, you will have begun to bend the arc

in the right direction. As University of Michigan Professor Robert E Quinn reminds us, ‘We change the world by changing ourselves.’

The injunction to commit works both ways. People of colour in South Africa and the United States need also to interrogate themselves if they’ve made prejudicial judgements about white people. In truth, however, the burden of the injunction falls most heavily on whites, both for historical and contemporary complicity in racism.

Witness

Assuming you have made the sort of commitments just described, we would also ask to you enlist as a witness to injustice and a voice for justice. That is, speak truth to power. Speak up for the marginalised, name patent injustice for what it is, call for more just rules and resource allocations – no matter with whom you are talking. This may take courage. Telling truth to family, acquaintances or colleagues is often more difficult and discomfiting than telling it to those in formal positions of authority. We dislike breaking the social rules of ‘polite company’.

It’s all too easy to keep silent while those we know speak untruths make prejudiced remarks, ridicule the less fortunate. But, if you’ve made the commitment to social justice and have done your homework about racism, privilege, poverty, inclusion and exclusion, HIV/AIDS and community self-help, then take the next step. Break the silence. Mark your objection. Appeal to the inherent sense of fairness of those speaking and listening. Point out how such remarks ignore the risks of unchallenged assumptions about others, about the costs of poverty to all (the poor especially), and about the fact that the poor can and do work to hold their communities together.

We must remind ourselves that while personal witness is powerful in its own right, often with consequences we cannot predict, it is *organised* witnessing that leads most directly to the political changes without which social justice cannot be attained or ensured. Collective witnessing, joined around clear values associated with the public good (encapsulated in notions of Ubuntu, for example), builds the public will necessary to hold governments and corporations accountable for the welfare of all citizens, especially those dispossessed and disenfranchised.

So, become an advocate. Write letters or emails or calls to your political representatives spelling out your views and pressing for action. Join advocacy groups. Develop a blog. Write to editors. Sign petitions. By truth-telling, you contribute significantly to raising

‘My own assessment is that many churches that participated in the struggle against apartheid have not made the transition from a “theology of resistance” to a “theology of reconstruction”. Many churches have not come to terms with what it means to strategically engage a legitimately elected government and participate fully in the public discourse...’ Ivan Abrahams, Presiding Bishop of the South African Methodist Church and a Co-Chair of the Forum, presentation to the Forum, Cape Town, October 2005.

The Kairos Document is a sterling example of collective 'witness' on behalf of social justice. Broadcast to all churches in South Africa in 1985, it was fashioned and signed by 156 South African clergy representing more than 20 religious denominations. The Document, they said, 'is a Christian, biblical and theological comment on the political crisis in South Africa...an attempt... to reflect on the situation of death in our country...[and] develop...an alternative biblical and theological model that will...make a real difference to the future of our country'. They noted that the crisis 'was intensifying...as more and more people were killed, maimed and imprisoned, as one black township after another revolted against the apartheid regime, as the people refused to be oppressed or to co-operate with oppressors...' It was 'the Kairos, the moment of grace and opportunity, the favourable time in which God issues a challenge to decisive action....a dangerous time because, if this opportunity is missed, and allowed to pass by, the loss for the Church, for the Gospel and for all the people of South Africa will be immeasurable'. The way forward was to reject both the ascendant 'State Theology' and the reigning 'Church Theology'. Kairos called on churches to engage in a more accurate social analysis of 'the conflict between two irreconcilable causes...in which the one is just and the other is unjust'; to develop and deliver a 'message of hope' to the oppressed that 'God is with them'; to encourage Christians 'to participate in the struggle for liberation and for a just society'; to ensure that all church activities are 'reappropriated to serve the real religious needs of all the people, and to further the liberating mission of God and the Church in the world'; to not only refuse to collaborate but to mobilise members of every parish to work 'for a change of government in South Africa', that is, to engage in civil disobedience; and to provide moral guidance in all its work. The Document has inspired others to develop statements of conscience, including the Oikos Document. <<http://www.bethel.edu/~letnie/AfricanChristianity/SAKairos>>

consciousness about conditions of injustice in others. Ideas do matter. 'Just' ideas also bend the arc of the moral universe.

Give

Another way to help bend the arc of the moral universe is to make monetary gifts to not-for-profit organisations playing important roles in social justice causes. Here we're addressing particularly those who have means at their disposal beyond those available to the poor – in both nations. This exists, despite differing historic patterns and rules regarding the relative importance of government and civil society in contributing to the common good. (The United States expects less of government and more of private giving than does South Africa and has provided more in the way of tax incentives for private donations.) Also, the significant differences in class, income and wealth composition between the two nations has fed a comparatively more robust tradition of private giving in the US. These facts, however, do not support the conclusion that individual Americans are more likely to give 'social' donations than South Africans. According to recent research, more than half of South Africans (54 per cent) gave money; almost a third (31 per cent) gave goods to charities or other causes; and 17 per cent volunteered

Darryl Lester, a member of the Civil Society Forum and president of HindSight Consulting, became intrigued by the idea of 'giving circles' and created the Community Investment Network (CIN). The giving of African-Americans like himself, Lester felt, was being ignored because it was thought that they had nothing to give. 'Institutions of philanthropy have not spent much time talking to folks who look like me,' he said. 'For many years, they have sought out only those of high wealth. But research shows that it's generally not the wealthy who give; it's those who aren't.' What he wanted to do, and is doing, is flip the paradigm. 'I wanted to talk to ALL people who had a desire and a will to give back. Unfortunately some of the traditional institutions engaged in philanthropy have established very high hurdles for the average person to participate; it takes a certain amount of money to establish certain types of funds. The giving circles provide them with another option. It's about giving people all of the necessary information and letting them decide what they think is best for them.' Community Investment Network Newsletter, Vol. 1, Fall 2007. <<http://www.hindsightconsulting.org>>

time. In addition, 45 per cent reported giving money and/or goods directly to the poor (street children, people begging, etc.).

As the boxed text above on Darryl Lester's work illustrates, we must not ignore here that low-income people give generously to help one another, in both our countries. For example, without their financial contributions, the majority of churches and mosques, especially in low-income urban and rural areas in both nations, could not exist, much less support the critical services they offer those in need. (American research consistently tells us that more than three-quarters of all individual donations are directed to religious organisations and faith-based causes; this seems to be the pattern among South Africans, too.)

Whether you are rich, comfortable or of little means, you probably want some assurance that your donations will achieve your purposes. This concern challenges us to examine our own conscience when looking at pocketbook issues. What do I care about? What can I afford to give? Can I give until it hurts? Do I want to? For some, this gets resolved by simply deciding to 'tithe', that is, give a certain percentage of personal annual income or of total wealth every year. For others, giving is something done when emergencies arise. However decided, honest examination from time to time of your own resources and your reasons for giving is essential.

In deciding which causes, people and organisation(s) to give to, three guiding rules are useful. The **first rule** is to *decide clearly what and whom you will say 'yes' and 'no' to*. Let's assume you do want to support mainly one or another of the social justice causes we espouse – combating HIV/AIDS, promoting restorative and transformative justice, or supporting low-income community self-help. That means ruling out a host of other worthy causes. Learn to live with that and say 'no' to them. Typically this is easier for those with relatively little to give, as the research in *The Poor Philanthropist* suggests. But, it is critical for making and marking the differences you want to achieve.

Once you've narrowed the possibilities, you are still left with many options. *The second rule comes into play: develop a reliable set of 'screens'.* You might decide to support only local, direct service-providing organisations, whose work you know and can see; or only people in obvious distress. Alternatively, you could decide to donate primarily to regional or national organisations whose work has sufficient scale and is high profile, to advance the cause significantly. You might decide that the best way to give with impact is to 'pool' your giving with others of like mind, so that what you give has leverage value – encouraging others to give, learning from and with them about giving and the cause, and providing more to organisations you believe worthy. You might construct your philanthropy using several screens. The keys are to devise screens that serve your intentions and to use them consistently.

Last, you are likely to think about how to 'qualify' or certify that the people, causes and organisation(s) you want to support will spend your dollars or rands responsibly. The *third rule is to verify before and after you give.* In *The Poor Philanthropist*, the authors detail how Southern Africans in poverty follow this rule; you would do well to study their discipline. You might decide to rely on 'word of mouth' from others you trust or, especially in the United States, from national organisations and research services that keep track of charitable organisations like GuideStar.³ It might also be useful to read former President Bill Clinton's *Giving: How Each of Us Can Change the World*;⁴ concern for social justice is very much in evidence throughout this example-filled primer on the myriad possibilities and forms of personal philanthropy.

There is no perfect answer to any of the challenges for instrumental giving, but being thoughtful, clear and disciplined in defining the philosophy and mechanics of your own philanthropy is the essential starting point.

Volunteer

This is another form of giving. Most 'cause' organisations, formal and informal, depend heavily on the unpaid work that committed citizens do. Recent studies on volunteering in America and South Africa confirm this. As of 2001 an estimated 84 million American adults (44 per cent of the population) volunteered, 70 per cent of them in nonprofit

One of the simplest but often very effective ways of volunteering – and also witnessing – is helping to organise or marching on behalf of a cause. The Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) was founded in 1998 in Cape Town to ensure that people with AIDS get treatment and to reduce new HIV infections. The TAC's programmes are many and include demonstrations like the one it organised in November 2007 with the AIDS and Rights Alliance of Southern Africa, in which 5 000 people marched through the streets of Cape Town at the onset of the 38th Annual Union World Conference on Lung Health to demand better TB education, prevention, treatments and cures. <<http://www.tac.org.za>>.

organisations. That represents the full-time equivalent of more than 6.3 million employees at a value of \$167.3 billion, accounting for approximately one-third of the entire nonprofit workforce. Comparable, even more striking, figures for South Africa as of 1999 show that volunteers accounted for almost 317 000 full-time employees or 49 per cent of the entire nonprofit full-time workforce. And, the nonprofit sectors of both nations have expanded in more recent years.

The opportunities to put your time, energy and talents to good use are legion. Think of the human resource needs of any organisation. It wants people who can greet, answer phones, use computers, train workers, counsel people, manage projects, serve on boards, clean up and maintain facilities, provide a host of direct services, help evaluate work, build and publish its intellectual capital – and scores more responsibilities.

Each organisation's needs are shaped by its mission. A community self-help group may need local organisers – people who are effective in raising citizens' consciousness about their abilities to assist one another and getting them to make that happen. A church with a reconciliation goal might also need help in organising groups, but also for facilitating their interactions, or convincingly expressing need and intent in speech or written word. A hospital or clinic fighting HIV/AIDS may need volunteers willing to serve as nurses, aids or to visit homes to assist victims maintain treatment regimes.

You may discover voids to be filled in the systems created to advance social justice. You could volunteer to create something in response – an informal group, a new organisation, a print or online newsletter, a blog, a website, a radio or television show, a movement – on your own or with others similarly drawn to the cause. Filling service or intellectual voids describes the early history of most nonprofits.

The same rules of thumb for making monetary gifts are also useful in deciding whether and where to donate your time. We would add ***fourth and fifth rules here: find out and honour what human resource assistance the cause or organisation of interest really needs; be clear with yourself and with the organisation about how your energies, talents and time seem best to match up.*** Don't become the round peg trying to fit into the square slot. Engage representatives of the organisation or cause in an honest dialogue and negotiation about how you can best help. As a servant leader, enter the discussion from the perspective of serving first. Listen. Represent yourself candidly. Be sensitive to the nuances. Be an active learner, from initial conversation through your time as volunteer, in whatever position you serve. Take as your metric adding real value to the organisation's ability to carry out its mission. Commit to being as fully professional as a volunteer as you would expect of yourself or your colleagues as paid staff members.

Become a professional

It is not unusual for people to find in a cause they support a new calling – that clear, often unexpected, sense of inner urgency and conviction that you want to devote yourself full-time to the cause. So we mention it as a possibility to consider.

How one ‘gets’ or ‘hears’ such a call is hardly for us to parse. We would suggest only that you work to authenticate the urge if it occurs. Adapt the rules defined under the last two headings as a way to start the process. After that, the decision to heed the call is all a matter of personal (and, perhaps, familial) soundings and negotiation. Most of all, hearing and responding to a new calling are a matter of the heart – passion – more than of the head – logic.

From primer to action

These five options for involvement are by no means mutually exclusive. You can select different methods for different times of your life...or undertake all at once. By getting involved, adding your talent, time and even treasure, you make a hands-on contribution to transformative justice – to altering the circumstances of people’s lives. You can connect solidly with and help reinforce our nations’ narratives of restorative justice, affirming the humanity and capacity of all.

Renewing Struggles for Social Justice has provided, we hope, a starting point and impetus for you to fashion or stretch your unique leadership role on behalf of justice. We encourage you to join the quests that animate us and about which this book revolves.

We hope you’ve been moved, as we are, by this volume’s underlying insistence that ‘the fire’ is **this time** – not some distant future. There is a conflagration, a compound of highly inflammable stakes: the rapid decline of public insistence on the common good; and a set of patently obvious and disquieting injustices – racism, poverty, disease and ill-health standing in stark contrast to privilege and riches and all the access to services one could ever want. The need is urgent today for a new infusion of citizen leadership in both nations – women and men who realise that this is another defining ‘kairos’, a ‘favourable’ time for decisive action but a ‘dangerous’ moment, too, because if we don’t act in the name of social justice, the loss for all humankind will be immeasurable and perhaps irretrievable.

We would remind you that both citizenship and leadership – your own – are what we hope to stimulate. In the last analysis, we trust that this has been an effective primer about the characteristics and possibilities for transformative leadership.

‘...[M]y hunger for the freedom of my own people became a hunger for the freedom of all people, white and black. I knew as well as I knew anything that the oppressor must be liberated just as surely as the oppressed. A man who takes away another man’s freedom is a prisoner of hatred, he is locked behind the bars of prejudice and narrow-mindedness. I am not truly free if I am taking away someone else’s freedom, just as surely as I am not free when my freedom is taken from me. The oppressed and the oppressor alike are robbed of their humanity.’ Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom*, Abacus, 1995, p. 751.

We are confident in your grasp of the moral challenges and responsibilities, in your ability to think and act as servant leaders, in your capacity to reach out and activate necessary resources – cultural traditions, people, and institutions – for moving forward. We’ve suggested some guides, all within your own ken: the sense ingrained in all of us about what is ‘fair’ and what’s unjust in our societies’ distribution of resources; an abiding appreciation for democratic institutions and practices; our innate understanding of the importance of ‘equality’ as the bedrock of our two nations’ civil and political institutions, equality not just for ourselves but for members of generations to follow – those who will inherit the civic cultures *we* create today. Such guides as these may have been in mind when Abraham Lincoln, in his first Inaugural Address as president, asked his fellow citizens to heed ‘the better angels of our nature’ as they faced the prospect of civil war.

Are you prepared to take or renew your own ‘long walk to freedom’ on behalf of others now and to the seventh generation? We are hopeful that you will...we are worried that you might not.

Endnotes

- 1 The specific phrase is attributed to Martin Luther King, Jr by Robert Franklin, in *Beyond Racism... In Their Own Voices*, p. 53.
- 2 James Baldwin, *The Fire Next Time*, Vintage, 1963.
- 3 < <http://www.guidestar.org>>
- 4 Bill Clinton, *Giving: How Each of Us Can Change the World*, Knopf, 2007.

APPENDIX 1

CIVIL SOCIETY FORUM MEMBERS AND AFFILIATIONS

Over five years, the Binational Civil Society Forum brought together 68 people as Forum members and 30 as resources persons (speakers, panelists, site-visit hosts, etc.). Each one contributed to the development of this monograph. But to be scrupulously fair to those who did not participate in the two final meetings, in which the general nature of this monograph was discussed (2005) and the first draft was critiqued (2006), and, who may neither have read nor had a chance to agree with its arguments, we list members in the following two lists. We hope that those on the second list would endorse our work, but we cannot presume to speak for them. Indeed, while members on the first list contributed invaluable and while we often use the ‘we’ form in the book to suggest the general consensus we reached, in the end the authors are solely responsible for the book’s opinions.

The staff for all five forums:

James A Joseph	Executive Director, Center for Leadership and Public Values, Duke University and Co-Chair of the Civil Society Forum
Ceri Oliver-Evans	Director, Center for Leadership and Public Values, University of Cape Town
Lance C Buhl	Deputy Director, Center at Duke
Michelle Newman	Program Manager, Center at Duke

List 1: Monograph discussants (2005 and 2006 forums)

Participants*

Fareed Abdullah	Deputy Director-General, Western Cape Department of Health (South Africa) 3, 4,
Ivan Abrahams	Presiding Bishop, Methodist Church of South Africa (South Africa) 1, 2, 3, 4, 5
Ivey Allen	Chief Operating Officer, MDC, Inc. (United States) 3, 4
Russel Ally	Director, South African Office, CS Mott Foundation (South Africa) 3, 4, 5
John Barros	Executive Director, Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative (United States) 4, 5

* Participants on both lists are listed in alphabetical order. The title listed for each is the one she/he held at the time she/he last attended the Forum. And the Forum(s) she/he attended is/are enumerated (1–5) at the end of the listing.

Esther Benjamin	Vice President for Business Development, International Youth Foundation (United States) 3, 4, 5
Mary Braxton Joseph	Media Consultant (United States) 1, 2, 3, 4, 5
Anita Brown-Graham	Associate Professor of Public Law and Government, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (United States) 4, 5
Donna Chavis	Co-founder and Chief Operating Officer, The Center for Community Action (United States) 3, 4, 5
Colleen Du Toit	Programme Associate, The Atlantic Philanthropies (South Africa) 1, 2, 3, 5
Tony Ehrenreich	Western Cape Regional Secretary, COSATU (South Africa) 1, 2, 4, 5
Virginia Esposito	President, National Center for Family Philanthropy (United States) 1, 2, 3, 5
Matthew Esau	Immediate Past Rector: Christ the Mediator Church (South Africa) 3, 4, 5
Wilmot James	Executive Director, Africa Genome Education Institute (South Africa) 3, 4
Amelia Jones	Chief Executive Officer, Community Chest of the Western Cape (South Africa) 4, 5
Desmond Lambrechts	Director of Programmes, Anglican Church of South Africa HIV/AIDS Office (South Africa) 4, 5
Paul le Grange	Fellow, Clinton Democracy Fellows (South Africa) 1, 2, 4, 5
Darryl Lester	President, HindSight Consulting (United States) 4, 5
Grace Mathlape	Head, National Programmes, loveLife (South Africa), 5
Mary Mountcastle	President, Z Smith Reynolds Foundation (United States) 1, 4
Marcella Naidoo	Executive Director, The Black Sash (South Africa) 3, 4, 5
Anthony So	Senior Research Fellow in Public Policy and Law, Duke University (United States) 4, 5
Adam Taylor	Director of Campaigns and Organizing, Sojourners (United States) 4, 5
James Taylor	Executive Director, Community Development Resource Association (South Africa) 4
Molefe Tsele	Managing Trustee, Batho Batho Trust (South Africa) 1, 2, 3, 5
Timothy Webb	Managing Partner and Owner, BW Financial Group LLC (United States) 3, 4, 5
Kathryn Whetten	Professor, Terry Sanford Institute of Public Policy, Duke University (United States) 2, 3, 4, 5
Rachel Whetten	International Sector Director, Health Inequalities Program, Duke University (United States) 4, 5

Susan Wilkinson-Maposa Project Director, Building Community Philanthropy Project, Southern Africa-United States Center for Leadership and Public Values (South Africa) 2, 3, 4, 5

List 2: Members in 2002, 2003 and 2004 forums

Taffy Adler	Chief Executive Officer, Johannesburg Social Housing (South Africa) 1
Rebecca Adamson	President and Founder, First Nations Development Institute (United States) 1
Appianda Arthur	Fellow, Duke Master's Program in International Development Policy (formerly of Ghana) 2
Clairissa Arendse	Director, Planned Parenthood Association of South Africa (South Africa) 1
Alma Blount	Director, Hart Leadership Program at Duke University (United States) 1, 2
Stephen Bridges	Program Associate, National AIDS Fund (United States) 1
Esther Carmickle-Ramusi	President of Chapter and National Executive, National Council of African Women (South Africa) 1
Sanford Cloud	President, National Conference for Community and Justice (United States) 1, 2, 3
Mark Constantine	Vice President, CCGI, Ltd (United States) 3
Mvume Dandala	Presiding Bishop, The Methodist Church of South Africa and Chairman, the TISO Foundation (South Africa) 1
David Dodson	President, MDC, Inc. (United States) 2
Neil Fraser	Executive Director, Central Johannesburg Partnership (South Africa) 1
Linetta Gilbert	Program Officer, the Ford Foundation (United States) 1, 2, 3
Charisse Grant	Director of Programs, Dade Community Foundation (United States) 1
Mongezi Guma	Executive Director of Ecumenical Service for Socio-Economic Transformation (ESSET) (South Africa) 1
Adam Habib	Director, Centre for Civil Society, University of Natal (South Africa) 1, 2
Dennis Hayes	General Counsel, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) (United States) 3
Erica Hunt	Executive Director, The Twenty-First Century Foundation (United States) 2, 3

Nguru Karugu	International Program Manager, The Balm in Gilead (United States) 2
Nancy Lane	NAACP Representative to the United Nations (United States) 2
Lionel Louw	Chief of Staff, Western Cape Provincial Government (South Africa) 1, 2, 3
Jennifer Lowenstein	Public Health Analyst, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (United States) 1
Glen Mabuza	Director, AIDS Counseling Care and Training (South Africa) 1
Gil Mahlathi	Trustee, National Ploughback Trust (South Africa) 1
Pravina Makan-Lakha	Programme Coordinator, African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD) (South Africa) 2
Mercy Makhalemele	Executive Director, Tsabotsogo Community Development (South Africa) 1, 2
Jeanette Mansour	Consulting Program Officer, CS Mott Foundation (United States) 1
Gay McDougall	Executive Director, International Human Rights Law Group (USA) 1
Mokhethi Moshoeshoe	Executive Director, CIVA Innovation Management (South Africa) 3
Barney Pitso	Principal and Vice Chancellor, University of South Africa (South Africa) 1
Greg Ricks	Senior Program Officer, Clinton Democracy Fellowships – City Year (United States) 1, 2
Eugene Saldanha	Executive Director, Charities Aid Foundation (South Africa) 1, 2, 3,
Bheki Sibiyi	National President, Black Management Forum (South Africa) 1
Michael Sinclair	Senior Vice President, Henry J Kaiser Family Foundation (United States) 1, 2
Tracy Souza	President, The Cummins Engine Foundation (United States) 3
Aaron Williams	Executive Vice President, International Youth Foundation (United States) 1

APPENDIX 2

MORE WRITTEN RESOURCES

The intent of this appendix is to direct you to **articles and books not already cited in the text** of this book. We've organised these references by relevant headings in chapters where we believe more information would be useful. (For example we do not list any sources for chapters 1 and 2, both of which introduce ourselves and our themes.) We are quick to point out that what we include here is by no means exhaustive; nor does it include many sources taking a different or opposing slant on the social and political realities we see. We'd urge you to allow your curiosity to lead you to other sources *pro* and *con* – and to share them.

Chapter 3: Crisis of the common good: The problem in general

On the idea and fate of the 'common good', see:

Robert Axelrod's classic, *The Evolution of Cooperation*, Basic Books, 1984; Robert H Frank, *What Price the Moral High Ground: Ethical Dilemmas in Competitive Environments*, Princeton University Press, 2004. Garrett Hardin, 'The Tragedy of the Commons', *Science*, 162, 1968, pp 1243–48; Matt Ridley, *The Origins of Virtue: Human Instincts and the Evolution of Cooperation*, Penguin, 1996.

On the economics of injustice and justice, see:

Barbara Ehrenreich, *Nickel and Dimed: on (Not) Getting By in America*, Owl Books, 2002; Robert H Frank, *What Price the Moral High Ground? Ethical Dilemmas in Competitive Environments*, Princeton University Press, 2004; Milton Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom*, Fortieth Anniversary Edition, Chicago University Press, 2002 (the bible for the 'free market' approach); John K Galbraith, *The Age of Uncertainty: A History of Economic Ideas and Their Consequences*, Houghton Mifflin, 1977; John K Galbraith, *Economics in Perspective: A Critical History*, Houghton Mifflin, 1987; Paul Hawken, *The Ecology of Commerce: A Declaration of Commerce*, Harper Business, 1993; Robert B Reich, *The Work of Nations: Preparing Ourselves for 21st Century Capitalism*, Knopf, 1991; Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom*, First Anchor Books Edition, 2000; David K Shipler, *The Working Poor: Invisible in America*, Knopf, 2004.

Chapter 4: Crisis of the common good: Inclusion and exclusion by race

On recent studies of race in America, see:

Paul Krugman, *The Conscience of a Liberal*, W W Norton, 2007 – included here because Krugman’s predicate about the American inability to achieve economic justice has been its inability to come to terms with race; Nolan McCarty, Keith Poole and Howard Rosenthal, *Polarized America: The Dance of Ideology and Unequal Riches*, MIT Press, 2006; Melvin L Oliver and Thomas M Shapiro, *Black Wealth/White Wealth, a New Perspective on Racial Inequality*, Routledge, 1995; Linda F Williams, *The Constraint of Race: Legacies of White Skin Privilege in America*, Penn State Press, 2003.

On recent studies of race and economic exclusion in South Africa, see:

Isobel Frye, ‘Constructing and Adopting an Official Poverty Line for South Africa: Some Issues for Consideration: A Discussion Document’, National Labour & Economic Development Institute, August 2005; Thomas A Keolble and Edward Lipuma, ‘The Limits to Liberation: Post-colonial Democracy in the New South Africa’, *Convergence*, Vol. 5, No. 2, pp. 16–19; Murray Leibbrant, James Levinson, and Justin McCrary, ‘Incomes in South Africa Since the Fall of Apartheid’, Working Paper, National Bureau of Economic Research, May 2005 <www.nber.org/papers/w11384>

Chapter 6: Restoring the common good

On the ‘arc of the moral universe’, see:

Tomiko Brown-Nagin, ‘The Transformation of a Social Movement into Law: The SCLC and NAACP’s Campaigns for Civil Rights Reconsidered in the Light of the Educational Activism of Septima Clark’, *Women’s History Review*, Vol. 8, 1999, 81–90; Kevin Boyle, *Arc of Justice: A Saga of Race, Civil Rights, and Murder in the Jazz Age*, Henry Holt and Company, 2004 (Arc of Justice quote attributed to the American abolitionist, Theodore Parker, p. vii); Martin Luther King, Jr, *Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community*, World Publishing Company, 1967; William Lee Miller, *Lincoln’s Virtues: An Ethical Biography*, Knopf, 2002; Carl F Wieck, *The Road to Gettysburg*, Northern Illinois University Press, 2002.

On how leadership has been reconceived by scholars over the past forty years from a hero-based transactional model to a servant-based transformative one – in rough order of publication, see:

David C McClelland, *The Achieving Society*, Free Press, 1961 and his *Power: The Inner Experience*, Irvington, 1975; James McGregor Burns, *Leadership*, Harper and Row, 1978 and his *The Power to Lead: The Crisis of the American Presidency*, Simon and Schuster, 1984; John P Kotter, *Power and Influence: Beyond Formal Authority*, Free Press, 1985; Peter Block, *The Empowered Manager: Positive Political Skills at Work*, Jossey-Bass, 1987; Joseph L Badaracco, Jr and Richard R Ellsworth, *Leadership and the Quest for Integrity*, Harvard Business School Press, 1989; Warren Bennis, *Why Leaders Can't Lead: The Unconscious Conspiracy Continues*, Jossey-Bass, 1990; Peter M Senge, *The Fifth Discipline: The Art & Practice of The Learning Organization*, Doubleday Currency, 1990; Stephen R Covey, *Principle-Centered Leadership*, Summit Books, 1991; Margaret J Wheatley, *Leadership and the New Science: Learning about Organization from an Orderly Universe*, Berrett-Koehler, 1992; Robert Kelley, *The Power of Followership: How to Create Leaders People Want to Follow and Followers Who Lead Themselves*, Doubleday Currency, 1992; Michael Ray and Alan Rinzler, eds, *The New Paradigm in Business: Emerging Strategies for Leadership and Organizational Change*, Jeremy P Tarcher/Perigree, 1993; Ronald Heifetz, *Leadership Without Easy Answers*, Belknap, 1994; Peter M Senge, Art Kleiner, Charlotte Roberts, Richard Ross, George Roth and Bryan Smith, *The Dance of Change: The Challenges to Sustaining Momentum in Learning Organizations*, Doubleday Currency, 1999; Kurt April, Robert Macdonald and Sylvia Vriesendorp, *Rethinking Leadership*, University of Cape Town Press, 2000; Joseph L Badaracco, Jr, *Leading Quietly: An Unorthodox Guide to Doing the Right Thing*, Harvard Business School Press, 2000; Joseph S Nye, Jr, *The Paradox of American Power: Why the World's Only Superpower Can't Go It Alone*, Oxford University Press, 2003 and *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, Public Affairs, 2004; Richard P Chait, William P Ryan and Barbara E Taylor, *Governance as Leadership: Reframing the Work of Nonprofit Boards*, BoardSource, 2005; Martha R Helland and Bruce R Winston, 'Toward a Deeper Understanding of Hope and Leadership', *Journal of Leadership & Organizational Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 2, December 2005, pp. 42–54.

On leadership as 'a way of being,' see:

Lance C Buhl, 'Delusions of Adequacy: Thoughts on Leadership, Democracy and Its Institutions', a composite of a series of guest editorials for the South African journal *Convergence: Excellence in Transition* (Vol. 4 No. 3, September 2003, p. 14; Vol. 5 No. 1, March 2004, p. 12; Vol. 5, No. 2, July 2004, p. 10; and Vol. 5, No. 3, September 2004, p. 10; the paper is available from the Center for Leadership and Public Values, Duke University); Frances Hesselbein, *Hesselbein on Leadership*, Jossey-Bass, 2002 and *The*

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APPENDIX 3

OTHER SOCIAL JUSTICE SOURCES

As members of a ‘googled’ and ‘googling’ world, our readers may think it superfluous to add a group of organisations (and their hyperlinks) to those we’ve already referenced throughout the text. We certainly have no pretence that this comes anywhere close to exhausting social justice categories, much less the breadth and depth of organisations within them. The most we can say is that the list contains fine organisations – and presents them in alphabetical order (relying heavily on their own descriptions of their work). And, when we upload this book onto the internet, we will include ‘space’ for readers to suggest other organisations.

Still, what follows* can be an intriguing way to start the reader on a productive search of civil society movements and organisations that promote social justice. Take some time to follow your curiosity. The cyber-journey can deepen your understanding of and broaden your perspectives about how you can add your voice, talent, treasury and time in support of more equitable social orders.

Action Aid – <http://www.actionaid.org/>

An international anti-poverty organisation dedicated to the worldwide fight against poverty, Action Aid was formed in 1972 and has continued to grow and expand for over 30 years, helping more than 13 million of the world’s poorest individuals. Working with local partners they seek to reach the poorest individuals and most vulnerable people in order to help them fight for and gain their rights to food, shelter, work, education, healthcare, and to find their voice in the decisions that affect their lives. (South Africa)

Africa Action – <http://www.africaaction.org/>

As the oldest organisation in the United States working on African affairs, Africa Action has been fighting for freedom and justice since 1953. This organisation works to change US foreign policy and the policies of international institutions in order to support African struggles for peace and development. Through the provision of accessible information and analysis combined with the mobilisation of public pressure, Africa Action works to change the policies and policy-making processes of US and multinational institutions towards Africa.

* The descriptions which follow this and all other entries have been taken from respective websites and, in some cases, edited down to suit our space requirements.

Amnesty International – <http://www.amnesty.org/>

A worldwide movement of people who campaign for internationally recognised human rights for all, Amnesty International started its work in 1961 when British lawyer Peter Benenson launched an international campaign, ‘Appeal for Amnesty 1961’ with his publication of ‘The Forgotten Prisoners’. In this publication he defended the rights of two Portuguese students who were imprisoned because they raised their glasses in a toast to freedom. From these beginnings Amnesty International has grown into one of the most respected organisations in the world and now has offices promoting human rights in over 80 countries. It has over 2.2 millions members, supporters and subscribers in more than 150 countries throughout the world.

Catholic Relief Services – <http://crs.org/>

Catholic Relief Services, a United States-based organisation, seeks to provide assistance to impoverished and disadvantaged people in other nations. It works within the guidelines of Catholic Social Teaching to promote the sacredness of life and dignity of individuals. Although the service is based on Catholic teachings, it serves people solely based on need, regardless of race, creed, religion, or ethnicity.

Center for American Progress – <http://www.americanprogress.org/>

The Center for American Progress is a progressive think-tank dedicated to improving the lives of Americans through ideas and action. The Center is headed by John D Podesta, former chief of staff to William Jefferson Clinton and professor at George Washington University. The Centre believes that infinite possibilities and betterment can result from education, hard work and the freedom to pursue one’s dreams. The organisation’s vision is to: build an opportunity nation where every hard-working person, regardless of background, can realise their dreams through education, decent work and fair play; reawaken America’s conscience and sense of shared and personal responsibility, to build healthy, vibrant communities; reform government so that it is of, by and for the people: be open, effective and committed to the common good; and use America’s strength to bring the world together, not pull it apart.

Centre for Civil Society – <http://www.ukzn.ac.za/ccs/>

The Centre for Civil Society (CCS) was established in the Faculty of Community and Development Disciplines, University of KwaZulu-Natal in Durban, South Africa in July 2001. With a staff of 19, the Centre has a wide range of thriving local, national and international linkages with key organisations and individuals in and concerned with

civil society. CCS serves as a research unit on issues relevant to civil society, including economic marginalisation and contemporary social movements. CCS also develops and promotes partnerships aimed at knowledge sharing and capacity-building in African and global civil society.

CIVICUS: World Alliance for Citizen Participation – <http://www.civicus.org/>

An international alliance of members and partners, co-founded in 1993 by James A Joseph (CEO of the Council on Foundations) and Brian O’Connell (CEO of Independent Sector), CIVICUS today constitutes an influential network of organisations at the local, national, regional and international levels. From its Johannesburg, South Africa headquarters, it spans the spectrum of civil society across the globe, including civil society networks and organisations; trade unions; faith-based networks; professional associations; NGO capacity development organisations; philanthropic foundations and other funding bodies; businesses; and social responsibility programmes. CIVICUS has worked for 15 years to strengthen citizen action and civil society throughout the world, especially in areas where participatory democracy and citizens’ freedom of association are threatened. CIVICUS has a vision of a global community of active, engaged citizens committed to the creation of a more just and equitable world. For example, CIVICUS served in the last few years as the secretariat for the Global Call to Action against Poverty (GCAP).

Durham CAN – <http://www.durhamcan.org/>

Durham CAN (Congregations, Associations and Neighborhoods) is a multi-racial, multi-faith, strictly non-partisan, countywide citizens’ organisation, based in Durham, North Carolina. CAN is affiliated with the Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF), the oldest and largest national, congregation-based, community organising network in the United States. Durham CAN is an organisation made of several diverse organisations. CAN is dedicated to 1) building relationships across race, social and religious lines, 2) identifying common concerns, 3) developing the skills of leaders inside member institutions and 4) acting together for the common good. CAN leaders translate deeply felt concerns into real innovative solutions that benefit the whole community.

Essential Information – <http://www.essential.org/>

Essential Information provides information to the public on important topics neglected by the mass media and policymakers. It publishes a monthly magazine, books and reports, sponsors investigative journalism conferences, provides writers and citizen activists with grants to pursue investigations and various projects and operates clearinghouses which disseminate information to grassroots organisations in the United States and the Third

World. These projects are designed to encourage citizens to become active and engaged in their communities.

Fahamu Networks for Social Justice – <http://www.fahamu.org/>

The word Fahamu means ‘understanding’ or ‘consciousness’ in Kiswahili. Fahamu Networks for Social Justice supports the struggle for human rights in Africa by: promoting social justice advocacy through innovative use of information and communication technologies; stimulating conversation, debate, and analysis; distribution news and information; and developing training materials and running long-distance learning courses. The focus for Fahamu is primarily Africa, but it does work to promote the global movement for human rights. Fahamu comprises a small core of highly skilled and experienced staff based in Oxford (UK), Cape Town (South Africa) and in Nairobi (Kenya).

50 Years Is Enough: US Network for Global Economic Justice

– <http://www.50years.org/>

This is a coalition of over 200 grassroots movements – women’s, solidarity, faith-based, policy, social and economic justice, youth, labour, and development organisations – dedicated to the transformation of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). It works with some 185 other international partners in over 65 different countries. It is dedicated to changing the international financial institutions’ policies and practices, ending the outside imposition of the neo-liberal economic programmes, and making the development process democratic and accountable.

The Free Child Project – <http://www.freechild.org/>

The Free Child Project advocates, informs and celebrates social change through the leadership of young people around the world. This project traditionally focuses on those who have been denied the right to participate. The Free Child Project works in the United States and Canada providing tools, training and expert consultation in youth development, youth empowerment and youth involvement.

Future of Children – <http://www.futureofchildren.org/>

This organisation partners with the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs (Princeton, New Jersey) and the Brookings Institute (Washington, DC) to promote effective policies and programmes for children by equipping policy makers, service providers, and the media with timely, objective information based on the best research possible.

Global Justice Now – <http://www.globaljusticenow.org/>

Global Justice (GJ) mobilises a movement of students and young people in the US, in partnership with youth internationally, to promote solutions to the world's most pressing social problems. It produces an immediate impact by promoting policies that strengthen global communities, and long-term change by empowering young people to become global justice activists for life. We achieve these goals through student owned and led campaigns, leadership development, advocacy and education. Global Justice unites the courage of young people with the experience and expertise of academics and professionals. GJ believes that the young should be at the forefront to work towards equality and social justice.

Grassroots Global Justice – <http://www.ggjalliance.org/>

An alliance of US-based grassroots groups who are organising to build an agenda for power for working and poor people. Grassroots Global Justice (GGJ) understands the important connections between local issues and works on them in a global context. GGJ believes in building relationships of solidarity between and among organisations within the US and the international community.

Health Action International – <http://www.haiweb.org/>

HAI is a nonprofit, independent, global network of some 160 consumer groups, public interest NGOs, healthcare providers, academics, media and individuals in more than 70 countries. HAI promotes increased access to essential medicines, the essential medicines concept and the rational use of medicines. HAI partners recognise that poverty and social injustice are the greatest barriers to health and sustainable development. Partners are working for just societies where people can participate equitably in all decision-making that affects their health and well-being, including the allocation of resources. (South Africa)

IFIwatchnet – <http://www.if WATCHNET.org/>

IFIwatchnet connects organisations worldwide that monitor international financial institutions (IFIs) such as the World Bank, the IMF and regional development banks. Formed in response to a call by civil society groups to maximise the effectiveness of their communications and networking efforts, it is rapidly developing into a key tool for ever increasing degrees of collaboration between IFIwatching groups at national, regional and international levels. With nearly 60 organisations from 27 different countries in every region of the world, it has huge potential to increase the ability of civil society to make global governance institutions accountable to the people they serve. (Uruguay)

Institute for Policy Studies – <http://www.ips-dc.org/>

As Washington's first progressive multi-issue think-tank, the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) has served as a policy and research resource for visionary social justice movements for four decades: from the anti-war and civil rights movements in the 1960s to the peace and global justice movements of the last decade. In September 1976, the Institute's destiny became irrevocably linked with the international human rights struggle when agents of Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet murdered two IPS colleagues on Embassy Row. Since then, our annual Letelier-Moffitt human rights awards ceremony has celebrated heroes of human rights in the US and Latin America. The Institute for Policy Studies is the counterweight to the dealmakers and it works to reclaim democracy by collaborating with grassroots movements to foster the conditions for long-term change.

International Center for Transitional Justice

– <http://www.ictj.org/en/index.html>

The International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ) assists countries pursuing accountability for past mass atrocity or human rights abuse. The Center works in societies emerging from repressive rule or armed conflict, as well as in established democracies where historical injustices or systemic abuse remain unresolved. The ICTJ assists in the development of integrated, comprehensive and localised approaches to transitional justice comprising five key elements: prosecuting perpetrators; documenting and acknowledging violations through nonjudicial means such as truth commissions; reforming abusive institutions; providing reparations to victims; and facilitating reconciliation processes. (US and South Africa)

International Forum on Globalization – <http://www.ifg.org/>

This is a North-South research and educational institution composed of leading activists, economists, scholars and researchers providing analyses and critiques on the cultural, social, political and environmental impacts of economic globalisation. Formed in 1994, the International Forum on Globalization (IFG) came together out of shared concern that the world's corporate and political leadership was rapidly restructuring global politics and economics on a level that was as historically significant as any period since the Industrial Revolution. The IFG works through an active international board of key citizen movement leaders; a small, dedicated staff; and a network of hundreds of associates representing regions throughout the world on a broad spectrum of issues. (United States)

The James MacGregor Burns Academy of Leadership

– <http://www.academy.umd.edu/>

Established in 1981, the James MacGregor Burns Academy of Leadership pursues a bold mission: ‘to foster leadership excellence through scholarship and education, with special attention to advancing the leadership of groups historically underrepresented in public life’. The Academy is named after Pulitzer Prize-winning scholar and author James MacGregor Burns. It pays tribute to his role in creating the field of leadership studies and describing a kind of leadership – transformational leadership – that is self-aware, respectful of others, and visionary. (United States)

Jubilee South – <http://www.jubileesouth.org/>

Jubilee South is part of the global movement to uphold social justice, playing a strategic role in the anti-globalisation resistance. It is a network of debt campaigns, social movements, people’s organisations, communities, NGOs and political formations that aims to develop and strengthen a global South movement on international debt issues. Members represent some 85 anti-debt groups from over 40 debtor nations from the regions of Latin America and the Caribbean, Africa and Asia/Pacific. (Philippines)

Jubilee USA Network – <http://www.jubileeusa.org/>

Jubilee USA Network brings together people to turn a desperate reality around through active solidarity with partners worldwide, targeted and timely advocacy strategies and educational outreach. Jubilee USA Network is an alliance of more than 80 religious denominations and faith communities, human rights, environmental, labour, and community groups working for the definitive cancellation of crushing debts to fight poverty and injustice in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Kettering Foundation – <http://www.kettering.org/>

The Kettering Foundation, a research institution, is an operating foundation rooted in the American tradition of cooperative research. Kettering’s primary research question today is ‘What does it take to make democracy work as it should?’ Kettering collaborates with community groups, government agencies, scholars and activists around the world. Much of the foundation’s work centres around public deliberation – the work of weighing the costs and benefits of various approaches for action against the things people hold most dear. Guiding Kettering’s research are three hypotheses. Democracy requires: 1) citizens who accept their public responsibility and are able to make sound judgements about public issues; 2) healthy communities that encourage citizens to act together; and

3) institutions that bring officials and communities together to transform their collective public judgement into action.

Knowledge Ecology International – <http://www.keionline.org/>

KEI is an organisation that searches for better outcomes, including new solutions, to the management of knowledge resources. There are probably five billion people who live in the margins of the global economy, and an entire planet that depends upon knowledge for economic and personal development, education and health, political power and freedom, culture and fun. We are just now learning about the opportunities to manage knowledge resources in ways that are more efficient, more fair, and responsive to human needs. (United States, UK, Switzerland)

MADRE – <http://www.madre.org/>

MADRE is an organisation that has built a community-based worldwide women's network for over 24 years. MADRE works to use human rights to advance social, environmental and economic justice, while understanding that human rights is not a hierarchy. This network includes thousands of women and families in the Sudan, Iraq, Nicaragua, Cuba, Haiti, Guatemala, Kenya, Peru, etc. Through the programmes in peace building, women's health/freedom from violence, and economic and environmental justice, MADRE researches and develops innovative social and political strategies that: deliver resources and support to women and families; use human rights advocacy to promote social justice; research and offer alternative solutions to educate and inspire people to action; and work for an equitable distribution of resources to sustain social change. (United States)

Médecins Sans Frontières (Doctors Without Borders)

– <http://www.doctorswithoutborders.org/>

Doctors Without Borders/Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) is an independent international medical humanitarian organisation that delivers emergency aid to people affected by armed conflict, epidemics, natural or man-made disasters, or exclusion from health care in nearly 60 countries. MSF provides essential healthcare, rehabilitates and runs hospitals and clinics, performs surgery, battles epidemics, carries out vaccination campaigns, operates feeding centres for malnourished children, and offers mental-health care. MSF was founded in 1971 as the first non-governmental organisation to both provide emergency medical assistance and bear witness publicly to the plight of the people it assists. A private nonprofit association, MSF is an international network with sections in 19 countries. (United States)

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

– <http://www.naacp.org/>

The oldest and largest civil rights organization in the United States, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was founded nearly 100 years ago (February 1909) by a multiracial group of activists, including WEB DuBois, Ida Wells-Barnett, Henry Moscowitz, Mary White Ovington, Oswald Garrison Villiard, and William English Walling, to address racial inequality in the US. NAACP's continuing mission is 'to ensure the political, educational, social, and economic equality of rights of all persons and to eliminate racial hatred and racial discrimination'. Across its 99 years, NAACP has been at the forefront of legal and political challenges to segregation and of efforts to provide substantive change on behalf of equal protection of the law in voting and political representation, education, housing, and employment. The organization has field offices and local branches in every state and many communities in the United States and in several other nations.

National Organization for Immigrant and Refugee Rights

– <http://www.nnirr.org/>

Established in 1986, this American group brings together grassroots communities, religious, labour, civil rights and legal organisations to help build a social movement that supports immigrant and refugee rights. This organisation strives to share and analyse information, educate the community and public at large, and develop and coordinate plans of action to impact important immigrant and refugee issues. The organisation works to promote the just immigration and refugee policy with the United States and to expand those rights as well.

OneWorld United States

– <http://us.oneworld.net/>

This international organisation encourages individuals to find their respective voices in order to empower them to speak, connect and make a difference. OneWorld is a global information network developed to support communication media of the people, by the people and for the people – everywhere. Its goal is to help build a more just, global society, through its partnership community. OneWorld encourages people to discover their power — power to speak, connect, and make a difference – by providing access to information, and enabling connections between hundreds of organisations and tens of thousands of people around the world.

Oxfam International/Oxfam America

– <http://www.oxfam.org/en/> and <http://www.oxfamamerica.org/>

Oxfam International is a confederation of 13 organisations working together with over 3 000 partners in more than 100 countries to find lasting solutions to poverty and injustice. With many of the causes of poverty global in nature, the 13 affiliate members of Oxfam International believe they can achieve greater impact through their collective efforts. Oxfam International seeks increased worldwide public understanding that economic and social justice are crucial to sustainable development. They strive to be a global campaigning force promoting the awareness and motivation that comes with global citizenship while seeking to shift public opinion in order to make equity the same priority as economic growth. Oxfam America works on the scene, helping people gain the hope, skills and direction to create a new future. For example, the organisation set up a programme in the wake of Hurricanes Katrina and Rita in Louisiana, focusing on housing policy and community development. They are also active in the global arena, addressing social injustice through advocacy, public education and emergency assistance programmes. Oxfam and its partners work together in 26 countries in seven regions.

Project South

– <http://www.projectsouth.org/>

Project South is a leadership development organisation based in the US South creating spaces for movement building. It creates popular education tools, conducts action research and publishes accessible curricula to provide grassroots organisations with the resources to develop stronger analytical skills, leadership capacity and sustainable strategic plans. Leadership in low-income communities of colour is built upon to create a stronger bottom-up movement for social and economic justice.

Sojourners

– <http://www.sojo.net/>

Sojourners is dedicated to the articulation of the biblical call to social justice, inspiring hope and building a movement to transform individuals, communities, the church and the world. Sojourners ministries grew out of the Sojourners Community, located in Southern Columbia Heights, an inner-city neighborhood in Washington, DC. The community began at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School in Deerfield, Illinois, in the early 1970s when a handful of students began meeting to discuss the relationship between their faith and political issues, particularly the Vietnam War. In 1971, the group decided to create a publication that would express their convictions and test whether other people of faith had similar beliefs.

Southern African Regional Poverty Network (SARPN)

– <http://www.sarpn.org.za/index.php>

The Southern African Regional Poverty Network (SARPN) is a nonprofit organisation that promotes debate and knowledge sharing on poverty reduction processes and experiences in Southern Africa. SARPN aims to contribute towards effective reduction of poverty in the countries of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) through creating platforms for effective pro-poor policy, strategy and practice. SARPN was originally established as a project of the Human Sciences Research Council in 2001. In 2004 it became an independent regional entity, supported by a board of 20 regional policy makers, academics and civil society members. (South Africa)

Synergos

– <http://www.synergos.org/afrika/southafrica.htm>

Synergos works with partners in South Africa and other parts of the region to strengthen the capacity of grant-making organisations, other bridging organisations and individual philanthropists to reduce poverty, increase equity and advance social justice. Synergos is engaged in a collaborative effort with the Development Dialogue Program of the Kagiso Trust (KT), a registered public benefit organisation. With KT, Synergos has undertaken a dialogue and research process in Greater Alexandra, Johannesburg, focused on the theme ‘strengthening community partnerships for HIV/AIDS service delivery’. It is also providing some advisory and technical support to the African Leadership Initiative (ALI), to advance a multi-stakeholder partnership-building process to generate innovation, leadership and action around the complex problem of orphans and other vulnerable children affected by HIV/AIDS in South Africa.

TransAfrica Forum

– <http://www.transafricaforum.org/>

TransAfrica Forum is the largest and oldest African-American human rights and social justice advocacy group. It works to promote diversity and equality in foreign policy and justice for the African world. This organisation strives to create a world where Africans and people of African descent are self-reliant, socially and economically prosperous, and equal participants within the international system. Most important, TransAfrica Forum serves as a constant source for education and an organising centre that promotes progressive thinking in United States foreign policy. It also serves as an advocate for justice for Africa and the African Diaspora. (United States)

Universities Allied for Essential Medicines

– <http://www.essentialmedicine.org/>

The Universities Allied for Essential Medicines strives to determine how universities can help to ensure biomedical end products, such as drugs, are made more accessible to people in poor countries; and to increase the amount of research conducted on neglected diseases, or diseases affecting people who are too disadvantaged to a market attractive to private-sector research-and-development investment. (United States)

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Renewing Struggles for Social Justice is the product of the Binational Civil Society Forum, a conversation over five years among 68 leaders in the not-for-profit sectors in South Africa and the United States.

Cast as an extended letter to each reader, this book pursues a single question. How can you and I, as citizens, help bend the moral arc of the universe towards justice – towards a fuller realization of our innate and shared sense of ‘fairness’? And it assumes that each reader is a leader, has that spark of leadership within – and needs to exercise it on behalf of the greater common good.

If you wonder about such issues as the decline in our common obligations to one another...the persistence of racial and economic inequality that diminishes the life prospects for millions of fellow citizens and untold numbers in future generations...the failure to respond adequately to the HIV/AIDS pandemic in places like South Africa and the growing new epidemic of that disease in the United States, especially, its southern rural areas...the relentless poverty that defines many inner-city and rural communities throughout America and townships, both urban and rural, in South Africa, indeed, much of Africa and Asia – then this book is essential reading. It asks you to consider what your moral obligations are as a leader – in your social circle, your vocation, your organisation, your family – in response to these urgent matters.

The book not only challenges the reader to act, it is truly a primer on the sources of our present civic malaise – especially in South Africa and the United States; and it identifies sources of hope and suggests what the citizen leader can do personally and with others to make a difference.

