Leaders lost in transition: A case study in leadership, ritual and social capital¹

"In very recent times we have been afforded some dramatic and often deeply distressing examples of failed leadership, or indeed what we should without equivocating call unethical leadership."²

(Emeritus Archbishop Desmond Tutu)

"Be careful of your thoughts, for your thoughts become your words; be careful of your words, for your words become your deeds; be careful of your deeds, for your deeds become your habits; be careful of your habits, for your habits become your character; be careful of your character, for your character becomes your destiny."

(Author anonymous)

ABSTRACT

We live in South Africa in a time characterised by liminality. Various shifts take place in this fluid transition phase – not just physical, often forced removals of people, but also, and particularly, shifts in power. Societies in this phase often struggle with feelings of loss and being lost. One of the areas where this feeling of loss is experienced strongly, is in the vacuum that often arises in leadership. The leaders themselves are sometimes unsure what direction to take, and there is often the danger of unethical leadership. This also occurs in faith communities. This article makes use of a case study to examine the role of leadership as part of the religious rituals in faith communities and the positive role it can play in such a liminal phase.

INTRODUCTION

The recent wave of xenophobic violence in South Africa came as a shock to many people in and outside our country. Many people ask: How on earth can this type of xenophobia and racism rear its head in Nelson Mandela's "rainbow nation" that was held up as a model of reconciliation and hope for the African continent?

The xenophobic attacks are one symptom of a deeper malaise in our society, one which we can ascribe to a lack of ethical leadership. Failed leadership or unethical leadership, to which Desmond Tutu refers in the above quotation, is normally a sign of people who find themselves in positions of leadership during times of transition. Therefore we could speak of leaders "lost

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² A paper delivered at the Seboka Conference at the US, April 2008: "The role of moral and ethical leadership in transforming society: Challenges for Southern Africa."

in transition"³. As a matter of fact South Africa can in a certain sense be described as a "country lost in transition".

CONTEXTUAL FRAME

The research undertaken in this study takes place within a specific *research context* and works with certain pre-understandings influencing the choices made. At the University of Stellenbosch a "pedagogy of hope" forms part of the strategic plan of the University since 2007. In this pedagogy of hope, three basic aspects can be distinguished, namely: inculcating critical thinking, engaging in dialogue and transforming the community. In line with the commitments of this pedagogy, the research wants to contribute to the eradication of poverty and promotion of human dignity.

The research is also part of a National Research Foundation (NRF) project on "religious ritual and social capital formation", of which the main objective is "to understand the role of religious ritual in social capital formation for poverty alleviation". The research question formulated by Wepener (2008:1) is: "How and to what extent do religious rituals contribute to social capital formation for poverty alleviation in South African communities?"⁴

A further more "existential" contextual factor relates to my teaching responsibilities in the department of Practical Theology and Missiology at Faculty of Theology, University of Stellenbosch. "Ministerial practice" with specific focus on the development of ethical leadership for faith communities is a central focus in both the B Th and M Div-courses at this faculty.

PURPOSE

With the above-mentioned in mind the *purpose* of the essay is to look at the problem of "leaders lost in transition" and ways in which the problem can be addressed by looking at the important role of religious ritual.⁵

Firstly I will look at some of the *contextual factors* contributing to the situation in which leaders within faith communities find themselves, asking the questions: What is going on and why is it going on?

Secondly I want to take a closer look at *religious ritual* as a window on leadership, trying to understand the relationship between leadership and ritual. I want to do this by asking the question: In what way can this specific form of Christian praxis guide and even reform some dimensions of ethical leadership? I will do this by making use of a case study done by Rick Osmer in the Uniting Reformed Church, Stellenbosch in Cloetesville, South Africa.⁶

In the third part of the essay I want to ask the question: How might this area of praxis (ethical leadership) be shaped to more fully embody the normative commitments of the Christian tradition in our particular context? Therefore I will examine in what way that religious ritual can serve not only as a resource for developing ethical leadership, but also in what way it can contribute to social capital formation.

I make use of practical theological methodology with descriptive-empirical, interpretative-hermeneutic and strategic-pragmatic tasks. In the case study of Osmer are

³ I use the phrase "lost in transition" from the work of Alan Roxburgh (2005) *The Sky if Falling!?! Leaders Lost in Transition*.

⁴ Wepener, C 2008. Religious ritual and social capital formation. NRF approved project.

⁵ In referring to leaders in this study, I will mainly concentrate on ecclesiastical leadership.

⁶ Osmer, R O 2005. *The Teaching Ministry Of Congregations*. Louisville: Westminster. Chapter 6: The Uniting Reformed Church in Stellenbosch, South Africa: Leadership in the Spirit of Belhar 147-173.

some interesting methods he used to gather information including "appreciative inquiry" and "participatory action research".

"LOST IN TRANSITION"

In the well-known book of Armour & Browning they refer to the "four big C's" of our day: change, complexity, confusion and conflict. These four factors are of special importance in times of transition, leading to a situation in which many leaders experience not only loss but also being lost. It is this experience that some scholars call a time of liminality: "the condition of being on a threshold".

In South Africa we have been in this liminal space for almost two decades now, a phase described by Smit as a "collapse into modernity".9 ""Modernity' in this context refers to social forces and institutional forms – secularisation, industrialisation, bureaucratisation – that embody the Enlightenment ideals of rationality, individual autonomy, and progress".¹⁰

At a recent conference (known as the *Stellenbosch Seboka on Higher Education and Ethical Leadership*) different keynote speakers gave their views on leadership in this "time of liminality", showing either directly or indirectly the ongoing influence of modernity and colonisation.¹¹

Emeritus Archbishop Desmond Tutu, after referring to several instances of "unethical leadership" in Southern Africa, emphasised the important role leaders can play in times of liminality. In contrast to the examples of unethical leaders, he pointed to the critical role that Nelson Mandela's moral and ethical leadership played "in the transformation of our land from the bitter dividedness of racial oppression and injustice to the exhilarating experiments about forming a rainbow nation celebrating its glorious diversity". He discussed servanthood, integrity, persuasive power, affirmation of the other and courage as attributes of good leadership, and then concluded by stating: "There is no doubt that the success of any community depends very largely on the quality of its leadership."

LEADERSHIP, RITUAL AND SOCIAL CAPITAL

Before discussing religious ritual as a window on ethical leadership, it is important to qualify some of the terminology that will be used in the study. Leadership, ritual and social capital are some of the central topics that will be discussed in the study.

Ethical leadership

⁷ Armour, M C & Browning, D 1995. *Systems-Sensitive Leadership. Empowering Diversity Without Polarizing The Church*. Missouri: College Press Publishing Company.

⁸ Cf. Roxburgh (2005:20).

⁹ Smit, D J 2007. "Mainline Protestantism in South Africa – and modernity? Tentative reflections for discussion," International and Interdisciplinary Meeting on Religion and Development: Crisis or New Opportunities?, Free University, Amsterdam, Netherlands, 14-15 June 2007.

¹⁰ Vanhoozer, K J 2003. The Companion to Postmodernity: a report on knowledge (of God), in Vanhoozer (ed.) 2003. *The Cambridge Companion to Postmodern Theology*. Cambrigde: University Press, p.7.

¹¹ Some of the other contributions came from Dr. Arthur Chaskalson "Confronting Moral Issues", Geneva Johnson "Leadership: The power to transform", and Mrs. Frances Hesselbein.

¹² Cf. his essay: "The role of Moral and Ethical Leadership in Transforming Society: Challenges for Southern Africa."

Leadership in this study will concentrate on congregational leadership. One of the main tasks of this kind of leadership is to "focus on helping congregations become learning organisations that can face the adaptive challenges confronting their community at any given time".¹³

Within the South African context, because of our specific history, this kind of leadership must include a "prophetic role". In other words it must engage in external and internal debate over the identity of a faith community with the aim of improving the congregations' ritual, witness and pastoral care. In the words of Healy one vital way prophetic leadership performs this self-critical function is "by uncovering and giving sense to the internal contestations of a culture, by disputing the homogeneity and consistency of a culture and by resisting the temptation to assume unified cultural totalities." ¹⁴

Linking up with the prophetic, "ethical or moral" leadership puts the emphasis on the fact that leadership operates within a certain set of normative values. In the case of the Christian faith the values are derived from the interpretation of the Bible and the tradition. Kretschmar (2007:18) identifies a plurality of moral frameworks and differences that arise from culturally derived understandings of the moral values that are at the root of definitions of moral leadership. She defines moral leadership as "leadership motivated by goodness and attuned to the needs of others" (2007:36). She then makes use of the metaphor of conversion and applies it to five areas, namely the mind, heart, actions, will and relationships. She puts all of this in a Christian framework and writes: "For a Christian, moral formation is an aspect of spiritual formation; spiritual maturity results in moral formation and committed discipleship" (2007:36).

Religious ritual

In this study the concept of ritual will be used in a broad sense. Ritual is mainly seen as language (speech and body language, as well as language by material symbols) (Uzukwu 1997; Rappaport 1999). "Time, space and people will be investigated as important dimensions of ritual in the project:

time (reference to the past, actual context and expectations for the future) as ritual dimension will reveal changes and developments that reflect transformations in South African society and people's lives; space will make clear the impact of migration on people. As people express themselves in rituals and at the same time are shaped by rituals, people performing rituals will be the most important dimension in the project. Ritual shapes performatively a social reality and is expression of reality. It is performed according to a certain tradition, and at the same time is changing permanently in accordance with the context (see Bell 1989, Rappaport 1999 etc.)" 15

Social capital

"Social capital has been defined in many ways: as the degree to which a community or society collaborates (through such mechanisms as networks, shared trust, norms and values) to achieve mutual benefits, as the value of social networks (associated with trust, reciprocity, information and cooperation) that people can draw on to solve problems; as the attitude, spirit and willingness of people to engage in collective, civic activities; as skills and infrastructure that aid in social progress; as a composite measure which reflects both the breadth and depth of civic community as well as the public's participation in political life; or as the degree of social cohesion which

¹³ Osmer, R O 2005. The Teaching Ministry Of Congregations. Louisville: Westminster. p.161

¹⁴ Healy, N M 2000. Church, World and the Christian Life: Practical-Prophetic Ecclesiology. Cambridge University Press.

¹⁵ Wepener 2008:1.

exists in communities, etcetera."¹⁶ This definition is also used in the *Social Capital Formation Document* of the Department of Social Services and Poverty Alleviation (2005:20).

RELIGIOUS RITUAL AS A WINDOW ON LEADERSHIP

It is amidst this struggle to keep our heads above the waves of transition, specifically globalisation and modernisation, that we examine examples of ethical leadership, displaying character and commitment by empowering faith communities in their ongoing struggles against injustice.

One example is to be found in the case study described by Osmer (2005:147-173), who uses a *leadership frame* to look at the possibilities of ethical leadership in one specific faith community, namely the URC-congregation in Cloetesville, Stellenbosch. He calls it "Leadership in the Spirit of Belhar".

I start the summary of the case study by looking at the role that religious ritual plays in his description of the leadership of this specific faith community. My discussion begins with his observations at a Good Friday Worship service. The worship service and ritual(s) function as a window on the congregation's ethos and leadership. Drawing on this research different aspects of leadership that contribute to social capital formation will be discussed.

GOOD FRIDAY WORSHIP SERVICE

Osmer observed the congregation in Cloetesville and interviewed various members.¹⁷ It was especially the Good Friday worship service that impressed him. This service included a number of ritual activities, performed by different people. The acting persons were the minister, Jaco Coetzee, members of the congregation and elders. It was not a "one man show". The congregation participated by singing, praying the Lord's Prayer, professing the Apostels' Creed and celebrating Holy Supper together.

The special feature of this service was the "confession of concerns" and the following time of silence while everyone held a nail in his/her hand. During the period of silence one of the elders hammered a nail into a wooden board. This action had a strong symbolic and emotional character, deepening the message that followed.

Everyone attending a Good Friday service knows the story of Jesus' crucifixion. But it is hard to really understand the full extent of this event. By hearing the hammering of a nail, the members suddenly became part of the scenario at the cross. They heard what the people heard when Jesus was crucified. It enabled them to become characters in the story.

The worship service with its rituals and participation of different people provides a window on the ethos and leadership of the congregation. Drawing on other research, like interviews and observations of other congregational settings, as well as comparing this service with other worship services in other congregations in Stellenbosch, Osmer identifies five elements of the "ethos of the congregation". ¹⁸ They are:

Continuity with the piety of its missionary past: the congregation still practices
catechetical instruction and certain forms of church discipline. Both are traditional
elements of Reformed ecclesiology and are indicative of the continuity the

¹⁶ Cf. Wepener (2008:1).

¹⁷ Osmer, R O 2005. The Teaching Ministry Of Congregations. Louisville: Westminster. Chapter 6: The Uniting Reformed Church in Stellenbosch, South Africa: Leadership in the Spirit of Belhar 147-173.. 18 Hendriks, J H 2004 Studying Congregations in Africa: Wellington. For a detailed discussion on the way in which ritual plays a role in analysing the culture and identity of a congregation see the discussion in chapter 4: Analysing the culture and identity of a congregation.

- congregation has maintained with its Dutch Reformed missionary heritage.
- 2. A combination of old and new: the congregation's break with the past: The second element he mentions is a combination of old and new. Even though they retain certain elements in continuity with their missionary past, they have also broken with this heritage and struggle to renegotiate their identity as community. They try to "interject" new forms of music into worship, integrating musical traditions long important for this community but not always part of church life. The combination of old and new is also visible in the interior of the building. They kept the pews from the former church in their new and modern building. They kept the pews from the former church in their new and modern building. They kept the pews future in its confrontation with apartheid. One can clearly see the way the leadership helped in forming the identity of the community by linking it to the past (because identity can only be formed when we knows where we come from). When building an identity it is necessary to remember the past and simultaneously look to the future.
- 3. The participatory and decentralised nature of the congregation: The pastor of the congregation works with the principle "every decision that can be made at the 'lowest' level of congregational life should be made on that level." It is not a question of laziness but of modesty. To provide leadership in a community it is necessary to help and motivate the members to get involved and participate themselves. The leader has to provide the space for developing participation, but should be available to advise if difficulties occur. He/she should be prepared to delegate. It is a challenge to the leader to trust the abilities of the members and to hand over responsibilities. According to Osmer the pastor of the congregation cultivates and equips leaders throughout the highly decentralised congregation and then trusts the good judgment of those people and their roles.
- 4. Social outreach to the community: A congregation is always part of a specific community and society and has to deal with the circumstances of that society. Osmer describes the congregation as fairly conservative or traditional in its theology and worship but liberal or progressive in its social witness. The congregation has a complex of multipurpose classes, a fellowship hall, offices and a kitchen which is open all day long. This space is used for different purposes and attracts many people. They even use the facilities to meet friends or to celebrate within the congregation, strengthening the awareness that the church is there to serve the needs of the community.
- 5. Creative teaching by the pastor: His way of teaching was also a central element in the Good Friday service. Creative teaching and communicating to all age levels is a challenge, but also the way to reach people if you want to be a leader in a community. To draw imaginatively on Scripture and tradition to frame the life and circumstances of the members of the congregation has an effect on the people and helps them to identify with the faith community.

¹⁹ At the beginning of the seventies the congregation was forced to move to a new location due to the apartheid legislation concerning separate neighbourhoods. In the classes I teach at University of Stellenbosch there are quite a number of students studying theology whose parents were part of the forced removals, remembering the shame and anger very well.

20 Cf. Osmer 153.

To summarise, in the five elements Osmer uses to describe the "ethos of the congregation" one can see the central role that rituals and leadership play in the congregation's life. Osmer believes that it is possible to capture and summarise the various facets of URC Stellenbosch's identity and ethos in the following discremen: *leadership in the spirit of Belhar*.

The reference here is to the Confession of Belhar "which played an important role in the struggle of the coloured Dutch Reformed Mission Church (DRMC) against apartheid and served as an important point of confessional unity when this denomination joined the black Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa to form the Uniting Reformed Church."²¹

THE CONFESSION OF BELHAR AS RELIGIOUS RITUAL

If we see time, space and people as central dimensions of rituals...

- with time referring to the past, actual context and expectations for the future revealing changes and developments that reflect transformation in South African society and people's lives ...
- with *space* referring to the impact of migration on people ...
- with people referring to the way in which they express themselves through rituals and at the same time are shaped by them; and as the way in which rituals shape performatively a social reality and are an expression of that reality, and are performed according to a certain tradition, and at the same time are changing permanently in accordance with the context ...

Then

- we can agree with Osmer that the confession of Belhar is a plausible way in which
 to view how this confession continues to animate the ethos of URC Stellenbosch,
 shaping its sense of identity and mission today...
- but also to see the ways in which it can, as religious ritual, help "leaders lost in transition" to use the confession as a resource for ethical leadership and so doing contribute to social capital formation.

Taking my cue from Osmer once again, there are three basic reasons why the hypothesis just formulated can be helpful in trying to understand ritual and leadership.²² I try to summarise the argument by making use of the three dimensions we can distinguish in faith communities in general, that is: identity, process and programme:

- 1. The role of the confession in *identity formation*. The phrase "the spirit of Belhar" emerged at a number of points in Osmer's interviews with adult members of the congregation, especially its leaders, and was used by several theologians in the area to describe the congregation. "Belhar remains a part of the living memory of the congregation and is a part of its public profile among those who know something about the Reformed tradition in South Africa." It is quite clear, the confession forms a central part of the congregation's identity formation.
- The role of the confession in congregational processes. The confession also "played a crucial role in the denomination's break with its missionary past, a process that occurred in parallel fashion at the level of this congregation."

 The important point to understand is that this confession spoke directly to its

²¹ Cf. Osmer 154-155.

²² Cf. Osmer 2004:155-156.

- situation by stating that the God in whom it believes is opposed to the policies of apartheid and their legitimisation by the DRC "mother" church. In that sense the confession was a "kairotic event in both the denomination and the congregation and continues to reverberate even two decades later."
- 3. The role of the confession in the *programmes of the congregation*. "The theological affirmations of Belhar ... continue to provide the congregation with markers of its identity and mission, even in a post apartheid era." The confession affirms three articles, with a prologue and a conclusion. If you study the three articles (unity that must become visible, the power of God's reconciliation, and a commitment to justice in all forms of human community) it is not difficult to see in what way these articles can function in a programmatic way to help the congregation "to stay socially and ecumenically engaged in spite of the massive problems that surround it on all sides."

It is not difficult then to see how the Confession of Belhar, as religious ritual, functions (in terms of time, place and people) as an important instrument in shaping ethical leadership in the URC Stellenbosch. In the following section I want to elaborate on this by looking at the way in which Osmer makes use of what he calls a "leadership frame". Although he uses it to focus on the way in which the congregation as a community exists in mission, I am convinced that we can also successfully use it to further reflect on religious ritual as a resource for ethical leadership and social capital formation.

RELIGIOUS RITUAL AS A RESOURCE FOR ETHICAL LEADERSHIP AND SOCIAL CAPITAL FORMATION

According to the Social Capital Formation Document of the Western Cape Government, "social capital refers to the strengthening and establishment of networks, relationships, norms and values that contribute to the building of social cohesion, racial integration and the strengthening of a social safety net during times of crisis (economic, natural, and other). It is not an end in itself, but a means to an end."²³

Taking up the challenge of the *Social Capital Formation Document*, which states that "there is a need for a scientific base of the stock of social capital in the Province of the Western Cape in order to guide the types of interventions required to facilitate the formation of further social capital" this study concludes with the assumption that religious ritual, as illustrated by the case study, can function as an important resource for ethical leadership and social capital formation.

It is recognised that more and more researchers have concluded that religious communities' biggest contribution regarding social development lies on the level of value formation. ²⁴ Because religious rituals are an important carrier and communicator of these values, I want to concentrate in the last section of this study on the way in which religious rituals can further be a resource for ethical leadership and social capital formation.

In this case I am using Osmer's so-called "leadership frame" to help us to understand the ways in which religious ritual serves as a resource for ethical leadership and social capital formation.²⁵ The *leadership frame* works with two perspectives.

²³ Department of Social Services and Poverty Alleviation. 2005. "Social Capital Formation Document" p.25.

²⁴ See proposal of Wepener (2008)

²⁵ Cf. Osmer 2004:157-165

- The first perspective is a theological perspective, seeing the congregation and
 its leadership as a community that exists in mission. Here we look at the whole
 congregation as a leader in the community. "To pursue its mission, the congregation
 must learn to understand the particular adaptive challenges of its community and
 the particular resources it might bring on these challenges."
- The second perspective is organisation learning and leadership theory perspective, seeing leadership as the ability to engage an organisation or community in adaptive work, looking at the ways leadership is carried out within the congregation itself. "We are to picture the congregation as a learning organisation, which fosters (or not) a culture of thinking, mutual learning, and innovation across its various activities."

For leadership to contribute to social capital formation and to be "ethical" we need both perspectives.

Theological perspective

"As a community in mission, the congregation stands in a relationship of creative tension to the social context in which it is located. It does not turn its back on the world, but it does not merely adjust to the world as it is. At its best, the church serves as a "critical catalyst" that causes new elements and properties to emerge through its interaction with processes and relationships beyond its internal life."²⁶

Starting by referring to new thinking about the doctrine of the Trinity and the importance of viewing the "work" of the divine persons in the economy of salvation as missionary in character, Osmer continues to discuss four lines of thinking that can help us in our quest.

(1) The invitation to congregations to view their *reason for being* as participation in God's seeking and saving love for the world. Leaders and congregations do not serve their own needs and interests but are caught up in the movement of God's love in Christ and the Spirit. (2) Therefore congregations and their leaders must seek to understand their *social contexts* in some depth. This will take place where leaders and congregations understand and respond to the particular challenges of their own time and place. (3) To engage in these kind of activities it is important for leaders and congregations to enter into *dialogue* with the world. Dialogue is understood here as a deep respect for the partner as an other who has dignity and is worthy of respect, where congregations and their leaders listen and learn from their partners. Where this happens the leadership and congregation gain the right to be heard and contribute to the overall atmosphere of trust in the community as a whole. (4) If congregations and their leaders take the first three facets seriously they *serve as leaders* in their communities. And this is more than merely wielding influence and power. "It has to do with calling attention to the adaptive challenges that a community faces at any given time."

Looking at the four lines of argumentation it becomes clear in what ways religious rituals (broadly defined) do have a direct influence on developing ethical leadership and contributing to social capital formation on the level of value formation. In other words by being a "critical catalyst", faith communities and their leaders make an enormous contribution to the social well-being of communities.

Organisational learning and leadership perspective

Without going into the detail of Osmer's argument concerning organisational learning and leadership, I want to get to his summary: "In short, leadership is the ability to engage an

²⁶ Cf. Osmer 2004:157.

organisation or community in adaptive work. This involves a process of learning in which the organisation or community (1) forms and understanding of the adaptive challenges it faces, drawing on mental models that allow it to grasp the systemic dimensions of these challenges; and (2) avoids protective strategies that seek to restore equilibrium prematurely; and (3) explores various ways of responding to these challenges that both draw on and charge the values and core narratives of its culture."²⁷

The way in which Osmer makes use of the thinking of Ronald Heifetz²⁸ is of special importance in our quest to try to understand in what ways religious ritual contributes to the development of ethical leadership and social capital formation. The reason is that one of the most important dimensions of Heifetz's theory is his emphasis on values and the way in which leaders are those who challenge an organisation or community to engage in "adaptive work". An important part of this work in developing ethical leadership is the educational process by which leaders help people to gain insight into the values and narratives that frame their understanding of the challenge before the community.

CONCLUSION

If we return to the question asked at the beginning of the study, namely: How might this area of praxis (ethical leadership) be shaped to more fully embody the normative commitments of the Christian tradition in our particular context?, we can conclude the argument by stating:

- The case study of Osmer on the URC Stellenbosch in Cloetesville, starting with the Good Friday Worship Service, helped us to understand the impact of the congregation's rituals on the development of ethical leadership through the formation of values and social capital.
- By looking at time, place and people we discovered how the Confession of Belhar contributed to a clearer understanding of the congregation's identity formation, congregational processes and programmes, made possible by visionary leadership.
- Lastly we saw in what ways theological, organisational and leadership perspectives contributed to a better understanding of the way in which this specific faith community functions as a "critical catalyst" through ethical leadership in responding to the adaptive challenges it faces. Working from the perspective that "the community exists in mission" (participation in God's seeking and saving love for the world) the leadership helps people to gain insight into the values and narratives that frame their understanding of the challenge before them. In this way the whole congregation serves as "ethical leader" in their community.

In the light of this we can return to the anonymous author at the beginning, replacing "words" with "rituals": "Be careful of your thoughts, for your thoughts become your rituals; be careful of your rituals, for your rituals become your deeds; be careful of your deeds, for your deeds become your habits; be careful of your habits, for your habits become your character; be careful of your character, for your character becomes your destiny." Hopefully not a destiny "lost in transition"!

²⁷ Cf. Osmer 2004:162.

²⁸ Heifetz, R 1994. Leadership without Easy Answers. Cambridge: Belknap Press.

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Kontakbesonderhede

Dr Ian Nell

Fakulteit Teologie

Universiteit van Stellenbosch

Privaatsak X1

7602 MATIELAND

7002 WATELAND

TEL.: 021 808 3259 Sel.: 083 400 3999

E-pos: ianell@sun.ac.za