COPYRIGHT AND CITATION CONSIDERATIONS FOR THIS THESIS/ DISSERTATION

- Attribution — You must give appropriate credit, provide a link to the license, and indicate if changes were made. You may do so in any reasonable manner, but not in any way that suggests the licensor endorses you or your use.

- NonCommercial — You may not use the material for commercial purposes.

- ShareAlike — If you remix, transform, or build upon the material, you must distribute your contributions under the same license as the original.

How to cite this thesis

THABO MBeki'S AFRICAN AGENDA: POLITICAL LEADERSHIP STYLE AND IDEAS FOR GLOBAL REFORM

by

Naseera Noor-Mahomed

200800718

MINOR-DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree

MASTERS IN PHILOSOPHY

in

MANAGEMENT (LEADERSHIP IN EMERGING COUNTRIES)

in the

DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIAL PSYCHOLOGY AND PEOPLE MANAGEMENT

in the

FACULTY OF MANAGEMENT

at the

UNIVERSITY OF JOHANNESBURG

SUPERVISORS: Prof. C. Landsberg and Dr. R. Viljoen
Those who complete the course will do so only because they do not, as fatigue sets in, convince themselves that the road ahead is still too long, the inclines too steep, the loneliness impossible to bear and the prize itself of doubtful value.

- Thabo Mbeki, Address to the Nation, 21 September 2008

UNIVERSITY OF JOHANNESBURG
DECLARATION:

I, Naseera Noor-Mahomed, do hereby declare that this dissertation is my own original work and that all the sources contained in this dissertation have been accurately reported and acknowledged using the APA sixth edition referencing style, as stipulated by the Department of Industrial Psychology and People Management; and that this document has not previously, either in its entirety or in part, been submitted at any university in order to obtain an academic qualification.

Signed on this_________________________ day of______________________2016
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is with tears in my eyes and joy in my heart that I thank Allah the Comforter and Protector for allowing me to embark on this privileged path, for listening to me at all times of the day and night, and for bestowing His countless and choicest blessings upon me. I ask Allah the Almighty to continue to strengthen my character and to sanctify my journey with wondrous and beneficial knowledge.

I would like to express my gratitude and appreciation to Prof Landsberg. I will forever remember his call on that warm Friday afternoon, as it brought with it hope and opportunity. Thank you for remembering me and believing in me. I thank you for your unwavering support, your consistent messages of encouragement, and your passion for hard work. I would like to convey my gratitude and appreciation to Dr Rica. Your warm nature and dedication have served to inspire me. I thank you for exposing me to new ways of thinking. I thank you for your meticulous approach to my research and for your bursts of bliss and optimism.

Thank you to Mr Jan Nel for editing this work and for dealing with my inconsistent emails with patience and courtesy. I would like to thank Dr Hewitt for her tireless efforts, and all the participants that helped to shape the findings of this research how incredible it has been to have met you all.

To my parents, Madinee Ahmed and Rabia, I am truly blessed and honoured to have parents like you. Thank you for being my mighty rocks and my wells of love and support. Dad I appreciated you asking: “How many more pages left?” every time I would walk by to my room. Mom, I found comfort in the way in which you would calmly say: “It’s going to be fine, just keep working and trust in Allah the Almighty”. To Nabila, Mahomed Ismail and Nafeesa, thank you for being my confidants and my pillars of strength. It is with your astounding love that I was able to keep typing. I remain motivated by your individual aspirations.

To my late grandmothers and dear cousin Nadia, thank you for lighting the way. To all my family and friends, I thank you for your support and heartfelt prayers. To the Karjieker family, thank you for your steadfast belief in my ability, for your generosity
and kindness, and above all for being family. To Mrs Suraya Bibi Khan, Mr Anver Mohamed, Prof Kondlo, Mrs Rae Israel, and to my students and their families I thank you for your rich conversations, your wisdom and your unflinching confidence- you have enriched this journey. To my colleagues (Thabang, Laurette, Mushi and Mmatsatsi) who became my friends, I thank you for your camaraderie.
ABSTRACT

Mbeki was credited for having established institutions and programmes both domestically and abroad to assist in the development and growth of Africa. He also shared his vision of an African Renaissance and wanted the people of Africa to become independent thinkers, leaders and decision makers. Although Mbeki received international acclaim as the African champion and leader, he did not always receive such admiration domestically, as his political leadership style was often criticised for being too distant, aloof and technocratic (Glaser, 2010). This research sought to examine Thabo Mbeki’s ideas for global reform and to identify his political leadership style from June 1999 when he became president of the Republic of South Africa until September 2008 when he was recalled as president of the African National Party (ANC).

In order to examine the research efficiently, five research objectives were included: i) to study Thabo Mbeki’s Pan-Africanist vision and ideas for global reform; ii) to develop a pragmatic understanding of how Thabo Mbeki navigated and implemented his African Agenda and ideas for global reform; iii) to identify Thabo Mbeki’s political leadership style; iv) to analyse the factors that influenced Thabo Mbeki’s political leadership style; v) to assess whether Thabo Mbeki’s political leadership style was effective.

A qualitative research approach was employed. The research strategy included a single case study in the form of a life history. The study used a political life history of Thabo Mbeki, in-depth semi-structured interviews, as well as solicited documents and literature to collect and analyse data for exploration and insight into the inquiry. Content analysis was used as an analytical technique.

The findings of the study were presented, analysed and synthesised according to the findings in the literature and the theoretical framework. The research revealed that Mbeki had ambitious ideas for global reform and had a strong Pan-Africanist vision, these ideals were informed by his parents and the thinking of his mentors: O.R. Tambo, Walter Sisulu and Duma Nokwe. The research also confirmed that Mbeki implemented and drove his idea for global reform through the establishment of
institutions and by sharing his vision of an African Renaissance. According to the research, Mbeki’s political leadership style is aligned with the orange thinking system within the spiral dynamics theory.

The research revealed that Mbeki shared in a consultative leadership approach, along with attributes such as being ambitious, aspirational, and authoritative. The research further revealed that Mbeki political leadership style may be deemed effective as he built institutions and programmes that remain recognisable; his vision of an African Renaissance remains relevant among the people of Africa; and he established effective economic policies during his time in government. However, Mbeki’s top-down approach to leadership can also be deemed as ineffective, as he was unable to build a strong coalition and this resulted in his recall as president of the Republic; he was also not able to convey his strategies effectively, as well as his thinking and his tactics to the people at large.

Keywords: leadership, political leadership, leadership style, ideas, global reform, African Renaissance, Pan Africanist vision, Thabo Mbeki
ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS DISSERTATION:

**AASROC**: Asian-African Sub-Regional Conference
**AEC**: African Economic Community
**ANC**: African National Congress
**APRM**: African Peer Review Mechanism
**AU**: African Union
**DIRCO**: Department of International Relations and Co-operation
**EU**: European Union
**GEAR**: Growth Employment and Redistribution
**IBSA**: India-Brazil-South Africa
**IMF**: International Monetary Fund
**NAASP**: New Asian-African Strategic Partnership
**NEC**: National Executive Committee
**NEPAD**: New Partnership for African Development
**PAP**: Pan African Parliament
**SADC**: Southern African Development Community
**TMALI**: Thabo Mbeki African Leadership Institute
**UN**: United Nations
LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. The Different Human Niches .................................................................. 31
TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND THE CONTEXT ......................................................... 11
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW ...................................................................... 22
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY ........................................................................... 38
CHAPTER 4: LIFE HISTORY: THABO MEBKI ....................................................... 45
CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS .................................................................................... 58
CHAPTER 6: ANALYSIS AND SYNTHESIS ........................................................... 75
CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ................................. 81
ANNEXURE A: CONSENT FORM ....................................................................... 87
ANNEXURE B: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FORM ................................................... 88
REFERENCES ........................................................................................................ 90
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND THE CONTEXT

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This dissertation will demonstrate how ideas come to shape political action through a study of Thabo Mbeki’s ideas for global reform and his political leadership style from June 1999 to September 2008. Mbeki served as president of the Republic of South Africa for almost two terms, but announced his resignation on 21 September 2008, with only nine months left in his second term, after he was recalled as president by the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the African National Congress (ANC) (Chikane, 2012; Noyoo, 2014).

Although this study includes Mbeki’s ideas on South Africa’s place and role in the world, it does not focus on the country’s foreign policy since 1999. Mbeki’s ideational framework may well have informed the country’s international relations and could be regarded as his aspirational or declaratory foreign policy, but it is not the purpose of this inquiry to relate ideas to policies. Rather, the researcher will focus on Mbeki’s ideas for global reform; the role he envisaged for South Africa in remaking the world; and his political leadership style.

This chapter will offer a background of the study, the problem statement, the research questions and objectives. It will also provide definitions of key terminology, an overview of the research philosophy, ethical considerations and the organisation of the dissertation.

1.2 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

When referring to an institution like a government, the concerns of leaders may extend far beyond immediate issues of national security, welfare, prestige and ambitions to reorganise the world along new power lines, as well as territorial or ideological concerns that come into play (Holsti, 1995). According to Jacobs and Calland (2002), Thabo Mbeki was a leader who shared in such ideals. The 1999
democratic election in South Africa was a momentous event, as it materialised the ideals of democracy and national pride that had been met over the previous five years. The inauguration of the second democratically elected president in South Africa, President Thabo Mbeki, also brought with it a sense of hope that the young democracy was indeed maturing (Deegan, 2001). Mbeki served in the presidential office from 14 June 1999 until 21 September 2008; when he was recalled as the president of the Republic (Noyoo, 2014; Pottinger, 2009).

Mbeki characterised himself as an African diplomat and leader, as he focused on transforming social, economic and political policies that would benefit South Africa and Africa (Landsberg, 2010a). His ideas and visions of an African Renaissance is an important feature of his leadership. According to Mulemfo (2005), Mbeki believed that African leaders could develop positive social and economic conditions through constructive planning and creative initiatives. As a result, Mbeki implemented his ideas of an African Renaissance through the establishment of the African Union (AU), the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD), and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM).

Not only did President Mbeki contribute significantly to the AU, he is also understood to be the brainchild of NEPAD (El-Talib, 2006; Landsberg, 2010b). According to Kufuor (2010), NEPAD was adopted by African leaders in order to demonstrate their renewed determination, and it was considered to be the template for Africa’s renewal and progress. Furthermore, the APRM was adopted by African leaders as the political anchor for good governance and democracy on the continent (Kufuor, 2010). Undeniably, Mbeki saw South Africa as a leading representative of positive change in global politics; therefore sought to reform his immediate context (South Africa) in order to build the much needed capability within Africa and to impact global affairs (Landsberg, 2010a). Mbeki was labelled a negotiator, charmer and an intellectual (Du Preez, 2013). Indeed, Mbeki seemingly upheld his title as a ‘de facto ruler’, a title he inherited from late president Nelson Mandela (Landsberg & Van Wyk, 2012).

However, despite Mbeki’s efforts to champion African politics, he was often criticised domestically for his economic, social and political policies. This included criticisms of his policy on black empowerment; his stance on HIV/AIDS (popularly referred to as
the HIV/AIDS denialism); and his quiet diplomacy towards Zimbabwe (Gevisser, 2007; Landsberg, 2004). Mbeki was infamously referred to as technocrat, an authoritarian, the imperial president (Gevisser, 2007; Glaser, 2010; Gumede, 2005; Johnson, 2009) and he was also criticised for centralising power within the executive level of government (Habib, 2009).

1.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Upon entering presidential office in 1999, Mbeki made significant changes to the institutional architecture and decision-making structure of the presidency. He wanted to promote good governance, and wanted South Africa to be a leading agent in African and global politics (Landsberg, 2010b). However, despite Mbeki’s aims at reorganising the world order and at strengthening Africa’s presence on the global stage, domestically he was criticised for spending too much time abroad (Gevisser, 2007). Mbeki’s leadership was described as being both distant and aloof; while also being labelled a visionary and African champion (Gevisser, 2007; Glaser, 2010). Based on the above discussion, this study seeks to identify Mbeki’s political leadership style and to examine his ideas for global reform from June 1999 to September 2008. Through the use of content analysis, the findings of the research will be triangulated by using the interpretation of the political life history of Mbeki (informed by the solicited documents and the literature) the in-depth semi structured interviews, and spiral dynamics theory.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTION

What ideas did Thabo Mbeki have for global reform and what was his political leadership style during his presidential tenure from 1999 to 2008?

Sub-Research Questions

1. What informed Thabo Mbeki’s Pan-Africanist vision and ideas for global reform?
2. How did Thabo Mbeki drive and implement his ideas for global reform?
3. What was Thabo Mbeki’s political leadership style?
4. What influenced Thabo Mbeki’s political leadership style?
5. To what extent was Thabo Mbeki’s political leadership style effective?

1.5 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

To examine Thabo Mbeki’s ideas for global reform, and to identify his political leadership style during his presidential tenure from 1999 to 2008.

The research aims are the following:

1. Studying Thabo Mbeki’s Pan-Africanist vision and ideas for global reform
2. Developing a pragmatic understanding of how Thabo Mbeki navigated and implemented his African Agenda and ideas for global reform
3. Identifying Thabo Mbeki’s political leadership style
4. Analysing the factors that influenced Thabo Mbeki’s political leadership style
5. Assessing to what extent Thabo Mbeki’s political leadership style was effective

1.6 DEFINITION OF KEY TERMINOLOGY

The following terminology will be presented: leadership, political leadership, leadership style.

1.6.1 Leadership

Human leadership is beginning to claim an important space in the human psyche and it is becoming increasingly significant within various disciplines (Lipman-Blumen, 2014; Ngara, 2013). Leadership is “a social construction based on the values and events of the time” (Ciulla, 2014: 302) and can be found within different contexts (Keohane, 2010). Bolden (2010) explains that the selection of leaders depends on their personal characteristics, their social and cultural factors, as well as their exposure to life.
According to Wallace (2009), leadership is the social science of how to interact and work with people. Leadership is not an exclusive phenomenon and practice, and it has been a key determinant of human development throughout the recorded stages of history (Lipman-Blumen, 2014; Ngara, 2013). However, irrespective of the discipline, leadership is often defined as the practice of persuading and facilitating others through collective efforts to accomplish shared objectives and purposes (Daft, 2005; Northouse, 2007; Northhouse, 2010; Yukl, 2006). Murari (2015) states that a leader is an agent of progress and change, therefore leadership is about motivating and inspiring followers to exceed their best efforts (Abbas & Asghar, 2010).

Thus, leadership at best is understood to be a “social influence process that results in the meeting of mutual goals among the leader’s constituents” (Armandi, Oppedsano & Sherman, 2003: 1076). It involves making sense of various situations, determining objectives, motivating members of an organisation to work together to accomplish goals, and influences the behaviour and team culture within an organisation (Quirk & Fandt, 2000).

1.6.2 Political Leadership

No more so is leadership recognised as a viable and relevant phenomenon, as when discussed specifically and in relation to politics (Helms, 2012). Like power, leadership as a concept within the political science discipline is considered to be dynamic and not easily defined (Bennister, 2012; Peele, 2005). According to Hartley and Benington (2011) political leadership is recognised with the activities of holders of executive and legislative offices.

Political leadership is a “symbolic activity mediated by culture, and leaders are understood to be engaged in providing visions to create, shape and enhance national and other political cultures” (Rousseau, Cress & Wootton, 2012: 14). Political leaders do not only have an impact on individuals and institutions, but they also have an impact on aspects of social life that are not limited to domestic borders (Bennister, 2012). Van Wyk (2007: 5) explained: “Political leaders are considered to be the primary holders, controllers and distributors of power and resources in a particular institution and/or territory”.

15
Political leadership is the process through which power and influence can be obtained and exercised (Nye, 2010; Yukl, 2006), therefore political leadership is concerned with decision-making (Rhodes & t’Hart, 2014), the manner in which goals are set and achieved (Helms, 2012), the way in which resources are used (Rotberg, 2012), and within all spheres of social life. Political leadership is not merely successful political management, but it rather implies a guidance function by setting a new agenda and creating the necessary acceptance for political change (Dreher & Jensen, 2013). The central task of political leadership is to “help citizens create and achieve shared goals, to facilitate group identity and cohesion, and to mobilise collective work” (Rotberg, 2012: 19).

1.6.3 Leadership Style

Gardner (1990: 5), a foremost leadership theorist and advisor, stated: “Leaders come in several forms, with many styles and diverse qualities”. Through a study of leadership style, one is able to identify and understand leader-centred explanations of events, and provide insight into the personal interest, strategies and the ways in which political leaders wield power and influence (Rhodes & t’Hart, 2014). Lussier and Achua, (2007) describe leadership style as behaviours, traits and skills a leader may choose in order to influence the performance of the members of the organisation. This is seldom published in terms of political leadership.

1.7 RESEARCH PHILOSOPHY

A paradigm is a point of view that can be understood as a set of basic beliefs that an individual holds to be true about the world (Groenewald, 2004; Krauss, 2005). The research process includes the following components: ontology (the study of being), epistemology (the nature and forms of knowledge) and methodology (how data is collected and analysed) (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007; Cresswell, 2009; Creswell, 2013; Groenewald, 2004). Therefore, a research paradigm is an all-encompassing arrangement of interconnected practice and thinking that in turn defines the nature of the study or investigation (Blanche & Durrheim, 2006; Groenewald, 2004). Thomas (2010) explains that aspects of ontology and
epistemology often refer to an individual’s worldview, which in turn has a significant importance on one’s perception of reality.

### 1.7.1 Ontology

Thomas (2010) proposes that there are two types of worldviews: objective and constructivist. For the purpose of this study, the researcher will adopt the ontology of social constructivism. The constructivist worldview is built upon the idea of a “social construction of reality” (Searle, 1995: 1). It demonstrates how “international norms evolve, how ideas and values come to shape political action, how argument and discourse condition outcomes and finally how identity constitutes agents and agency” (Reus-Smit, 2005: 207). According to Crabtree and Miller (1999: 10), the constructivist ontology and epistemology recognise the “importance of the subjective human creation of meaning, and take into account some notion of objectivity”.

Although constructivism bears many traits in sociology, it is primarily understood as an international relations theory (Reus-Smit, 2005). Subsequently, constructivism as a theory highlights and offers insight into diverse aspects of world politics, while also allowing for greater insight into the study of human discourse (Reus-Smit, 2005). Constructivism offers an understanding in terms of the way in which to conceptualise the relationship between states and the international system, and on how to conceptualise the relationship between the individual and society (Zehfuss, 2002). It consequently raises concerns on how culture and society shape the meaning and significance of actors and their actions (Reus-Smit, 2005).

### 1.7.2 Epistemology

There are three distinct philosophical categories: positivism, critical postmodernism, and interpretivism (Gephart, 1999). For this study, the researcher will adopt the interpretive paradigm. According to Thomas (2010) and Creswell (2013), the interpretive paradigm is concerned with understanding the world; therefore the focus is on the subjective experiences of individuals, and meaning-oriented methodologies (such as interviews and participant observation) are used. According to Groenewald (2004), interpretive research places emphasis on the complex nature of human-
sense making and the development of situations. Therefore it can be understood that the interpretive epistemology intends to explain subjective reasons and meanings behind social action (Groenewald, 2004) and does so by focusing on the “need to put analysis in context” (Reeves & Hedberg, 2003: 32).

### 1.8 RESEARCH STRATEGY: CASE STUDY

Stake (1995) and Yin (2003) postulate that the constructivist worldview can be used as an approach to case study research. The need for case study research comes from the wanting to understand complex social phenomena (Yin, 2003). Therefore, this study will use a single case study in the form of a life history (as a comprehensive research strategy); in order to understand and to conduct an inquiry into Thabo Mbeki’s political leadership style and his ideas for global reform. The study will use in-depth semi-structured interviews, life history and solicited documents to collect and analyse data for exploration and insight into the inquiry. Further explanation of the research approach, research design, role of the researcher, and ensuring quality data will be included in chapter 3 of this minor-dissertation.

### 1.9 STRATEGIES TO ENSURE QUALITY DATA

Kohlbacher (2006) explains that measurement or methods of measurement should always be objective, reliable and valid. The researcher has followed a qualitative research approach while ascribing to a constructivist paradigm for the duration of this research. According to Yin (2003) the function of the single case study is to generate theory, thus it is understood to be an exploratory tool. Yin (2003) explains that single case study research is validated through the researcher’s own vigorous practice and procedures in the production of research.

In the case of using qualitative content analysis in case study research, triangulation is understood to be an effective method for collecting and processing social phenomena, so as to develop and realise exact analysis and reasoning (Cox & Hassard, 2005). Triangulation will be used to ensure the quality of the data and to validate the research. Triangulation can be used in two different ways. Firstly, data is
triangulated by assimilating material and evidence; and secondly by applying a method of analysis (Kohlbacher, 2006). Triangulation serves to validate the research (theory, solicited literature and in-depth semi-structured interviews) and allows for research that is modifiable, transferable and authentic, which in turn offers meaningful insight and relevance (Cox & Hassard, 2005).

There is measurable criticism for and against life history material (Vilakati, 2012). The majority of these criticisms have been around the scientific validity, representativeness, generalisability and reliability of life history data and theory generating processes (Tlou, 2006). As a result this study used the suggestions proposed by Plummer (2001) with regard to ensuring reliability, validity, critical humanism and representativeness throughout the research process. The validity of life histories can be achieved through official documents or records of biographical detail (Plummer, 1983).

Cho and Trent (2006) claim that ‘transactional validity’ and ‘transformational validity’ are two ways of addressing the issues of rigour within research. Transactional approaches can be understood as the traditional approaches to validity (the techniques used are seen as an accurate medium to ensure accurate reflection). According to Marshall and Rossman (2011), transformational validity considers that multiple perspectives exist, therefore it is pivotal that all these perspectives are represented clearly and that all parts of the research process are examined and reviewed. For this particular study, the researcher assumed the transactional approach anticipating that the research techniques would result in the validity of the research process.

1.10 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Marshall and Rossman (2011) argue that qualitative researchers (including life history researchers) have worked hard to strengthen ethics and trustworthiness within the research process. This study used the research process guidelines presented by Greenhalgh and Wengraf (2008), which include: the intention of the research must be to further knowledge within the chosen field; the research
questions must be clear and understandable; the data collection methods must be robust; data analysis must be rigorous and transparent; there must be clear links between findings and conclusions; the researcher must be articulate and report errors and steps to minimise errors; the researcher should acknowledge intersubjectivity; and the researcher must follow ethical considerations at all times.

Ethical considerations refer to the protection of the participant’s rights: the researcher will protect the participants’ rights at all times, and will respect their right to self-determination, their right to privacy, right to autonomy and confidentiality, and their right to fair treatment; obtaining informed consent: the researcher will ensure that the self-understanding of individuals participating in the in-depth semi-structured interviews will be respected and not misinterpreted, the participants will be provided with written consent forms prior to the interview and their confidentiality will be protected (Klopper, 2008).

The researcher will comply with the ethical considerations stipulated by the University of Johannesburg in accordance with the ethical requirements as contained in the University’s Higher Degrees and Postgraduate Studies Policy, the University’s Academic and Research Ethics Policy, the faculty-specific procedures as determined by the relevant faculty board, and with due regard to the statutory and professional regulatory requirements and general best-practice principles to protect human dignity in research (University of Johannesburg, 2015).

1.11 ORGANISATION OF MINOR-DISSERTATION

Chapter 2 will review the literature corresponding to this research topic. This chapter will discuss the conceptual framework, the theoretical framework (spiral dynamics theory), and a review of the literature revealing the appropriate themes and trends with regard to Mbeki’s ideas for global reform and his political leadership style.

In chapter 3 the research method approach used in this study will be presented. It will discuss the aim of the research, the research approach, the research strategy, the research setting (data collection methods and data analysis), the role of the researcher, ensuring quality data.
Chapter 4 will present Thabo Mbeki as a case study using the political life history as a research approach. This chapter will include: Mbeki’s upbringing, Mbeki’s role in the ANC by describing the years he spent in exile, Mbeki’s rise into political office, and finally a reflection on Mbeki’s presidency between 1999 and 2008 by focusing on his Pan-Africanist agenda and his ideas for global reform, as well as the challenges he encountered domestically.

The findings obtained from the in-depth semi-structured interviews will be put forth in chapter 5. The different themes which emerge through the data analysis will be analysed and discussed using supporting citations from the narratives.

The findings obtained, the relevance of the findings, and how the findings relate to other research that has been conducted will be discussed in chapter 6. This chapter will provide an interpretation of the political life history of Thabo Mbeki and the findings obtained through the in-depth semi-structured interviews.

Chapter 7 will provide recommendations for future study and will conclude with a brief summary of the research. This chapter will include the answers to the research questions, the list of objectives, a discussion on the quality criteria, and will offer recommendations for future research.
CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will review available literature between June 1999 and September 2008 in an attempt to provide adequate background on past and present trends of Mbeki’s ideas for global reform and his political leadership style applied.

Meta-analysis was used as the literature review strategy, therefore primary and secondary literature was gathered. The review began with conceptualising ideas and worldviews, leadership, political leadership and leadership style. Spiral dynamics as described by Beck and Linscott (2014), Laubscher (2013) and Viljoen (2015) has been employed as an underpinning theory to understand worldview perspectives which in turn impact on leadership style. The review also evaluated the recently available literature that focused on Mbeki’s ideas for global reform and the role he envisaged for South Africa and Africa in global politics, as well as his political leadership style.

2.2 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The following concepts are presented below: Pan-Africanism, ideas for global reform, effective leadership, political leadership and leadership style.

2.2.1 Pan-Africanism

In 1957, Sub-Saharan Africa found its independence and the liberation leaders of the newly independent countries sought to unite in order to remove the continent of all colonial rulers, as well as to bind their collective power into an organisation, as they hoped to represent the new Africa through their ‘collective power’ (Matthews, 2008:29). The Organisation of the African Union (OAU) was formed in 1963, and was set to champion ‘African integration’ (Murithi and Ndinga-Muvumba, 2008:1).
The decade of the 1990s witnessed several new developments, including the signing of the historic Abuja treaty in June 1991; which created the African Economic Community (AEC), and facilitated the Pan African Parliament (PAP) in 1994. During this time, the idea of an African Renaissance shaped the nature of decision making, and African leaders used the term to compare the past and future of Africa. In 2002, the OAU was converted into the AU; this reflected a qualitative improvement in the evolution of intra-African cooperation (Matthews, 2008).

2.2.2 Ideas and Global Reform

A set of coherent ideas that provide a basis for organised political interaction can be termed a ‘worldview’ (Selinger, 1976). Put differently, “ideas contribute to the construction of a global perspective through which actors make sense of their material, social and political environment” (Béland, 2010: 145). Ideas are seen as the “normative context that helps to define the interests of actors” (Blyth, 2002: 25). According to Nel (2006), ideas help to shape the goals and the perceived interests of political actors which in turn can allow for political mobilisation, and can even suggest ways of looking at the world that could allow for fundamental transformation.

In politics, ideas help to define the interests of actors (Béland, 2010; Blyth, 2002) and affect policy-making and state-building (Campbell, 1998). Ideas shape the interests of political actors (Nel, 2006) and form the basis for organised political interaction (Selinger, 1976), which in turn reflects their worldview (Bell, 2004). Political ideas can be associated with constructivist theory (Williams, 2004) as structures are understood as shaping the behaviour and the identities of social and political actors (Reus-Smit, 2005).

The concept of global reform is used in a generic sense to include ideas for reform at several different but related levels, from the immediate Southern African region up to the global level at which multilateral organisations such as the UN and the IMF operate. According to Olive, Gunasekara & Raymond (2011), normative ideas significantly shape political interests and outcomes. Examining Mbeki’s ideas on global reform therefore offers a valuable opportunity to study the role of ideas in leadership and politics.
2.2.3 Effective Leadership

Leadership reflects an individual’s experiences, values, abilities, understandings and sensitivities through the manner in which they influence people and situations to achieve a desired outcome (Williams, 2006). According to Mbigi (2005) the role of leadership is to enable development or progress in society. Therefore, Kouzes and Posner (2007) propose that effective leadership stems from setting a positive example, inspiring a shared vision, motivating and enabling others to cooperate with each other to achieve the defined goal, while also challenging processes to foster the best results. According to Wallace (2009), leadership is about the manner in which people go about deploying resources and working with others, in order to accomplish the assignment efficiently and effectively within the particular situations in which it must unfurl.

However, leadership is clouded with misconceptions, myths and misunderstandings (Ngara, 2013). The idea of leadership is often fashioned by what people in a culture think a leader ought to be (Ciulla, 2014), while Ngara (2013) explains that some conceive leadership to be nothing more than a power tool used by powerful individuals. For others, leadership is not simply synonymous with position, but more importantly it is a role determined by social, political and economic contexts and circumstances (Dubrin, 2007; Elmuti, Grint, 2005; Jia & Davis, 2009).

Ngara (2013) proposes that many believe leadership to be an elitist ideology created for those in politics, religion and business; while academics and those in business understand leadership to be nothing more than management and administration. Nevertheless, leadership remains a pivotal concept and practice to be found within all areas of human activity (Lipman-Blumen, 2014), and thus the continuous study of leadership remains relevant.

2.2.4 Political Leadership

According to Helms (2012: 1) in most countries executive political leaders (presidents and prime ministers) “mark the natural focal point of public attention”. Parker Ellen, Douglas, Ferris & Perrewé (2013) argue that political leadership can often serve as an effective way for accomplishing organisational goals and
objectives. While Rotberg (2012) claims that there is a need for political leadership, especially in developing countries where there are many economic, political and social challenges. Therefore, political leaders are considered agents of change, as they share in an opportunity to mould the environments in which they operate (Bennister, 2012).

Despite the need for political leadership it is also true that many individuals face significant leadership challenges in the public arena; therefore, it is important to question why some individuals aspire to public offices and are willing to stay in them (t'Hart & Uhr, 2011). According to Rhodes and t'Hart (2014: 4), understanding political leadership through the lens of leaders requires one to look to the discipline of psychology; as public debates, speeches and decisions are shaped by the views, drives, skills and styles of the leaders who occupy political offices.

Thus, leadership scholars study and analyse the personalities, behaviours and motives of leaders, by developing and using psychometric tests and biographical methods (Rhodes & t'Hart, 2014). However, understanding why leaders act and make the decisions that they do, is both complex and interesting (Winter, 2002) as political leaders make decisions for the public, but do so according to their emotional intelligence, political skill, morals, confidence and even the circumstances in which they come to find themselves (Greenstein, 2009; McDermott, 2008).

Social psychologists and political communication scholars question when, how and why people come to accept others as their leaders, therefore exploring how some individuals gain positions of authority and the support they need to lead others effectively (Rhodes & t'Hart, 2014: 4). According to Bennister (2012), political leadership is often acquired due to institutional and contextual factors; because it is considered that institutions provide policy and law, and that those in political office are responsible for its direction and its deliverance (McDermott, 2008).

2.2.5 Leadership Style

According to Grove (2007) individuals are even more important during times of crisis and uncertainty. Therefore Haqqani (2005) explains that political psychological
perspectives begin with the assumptions that the behaviour of a state in international affairs can be elucidated by the characteristics, personality, motivation and style of the leader and the manner in which he or she may perceive the situation at hand. Using the suggestion made by Greenstein (2009), Rhodes and t’Hart (2014) reiterate the need for students of politics or policy to study the personal characteristics and leadership styles of individual political actors.

Oforchukwu (2013) refers to leadership style as a method of giving direction, motivating people and implementing plans. In addition, Van Wart (2014) concludes that leadership style encompasses all the behavioural variables revealed by the leader. However, there is no one right leadership style and therefore no one right way to lead effectively (Marturano & Gosling, 2008); as a result the contingency approach is introduced. Marturano and Gosling (2008) explain that effective leadership depends on the dynamics of the relationship between the leader and the follower, as well as the nature of the task.

According to Murari (2015) leadership styles are fundamental for success, and a leadership style is individualistic in nature. However, psychologists and business scholars have crafted functional ways to define the traditional leadership styles, in order to understand and appreciate the effect of the various leadership traits, behaviours and skills (Abbas & Asghar, 2010). According to Oforchukwu (2011), scholars believe that as there are many types of leaders, there are several and various leadership styles. The traditional leadership styles include: visionary or inspirational, democratic, laissez-faire, transactional, transformational and autocratic.

The visionary or inspirational leadership style ascribes to the personal abilities of the leader. The visionary or inspirational leadership style observes both the personal traits of a leader, as well as the recognition received by the leader from followers. The visionary or inspirational leader aims at stimulating and encouraging members of the organisation to think creatively and to find ways to improve situations and overcome obstacles (Ilies, Judge & Wagner, 2006). The democratic leadership style encourages group decision-making and allows for the members of the organisation to assist in determining work methods, while also setting the objectives and the goals of the organisation. The democratic leader considers and supports the advice and
feelings of the group, but the full responsibility of the decisions made remain with the leader (Ferguson, 2011).

The laissez-faire leader grants members of the organisation with complete freedom to make decisions, and participates only when asked to do so by members of the organisation. This leadership style is generally used among experts and professionals who require little regulation or consultation from the leader (Salman, Riaz, Saifullah & Rashid, 2011). The transactional leadership style motivates members of the organisation to perform by encouraging them to recognise task responsibilities. The transactional leader aims at fostering confidence among members, and rewards and punishes members of the organisation according to their performance levels (Zagoršek, Dimovski & Škerlavaj, 2009).

The transformational leader places emphasis on the mission and objectives of the organisation, while focusing on the welfare (intellectual and emotional needs and abilities) of members of the organisation (Lussier & Achua, 2007). Thus the transformational leadership style is employee-centred, as the leader focuses on supporting and encouraging healthy working relations among the members of the organisation (Sayeed & Shanker, 2009). Lastly, within the autocratic leadership style, the leader makes unilateral decisions and dictates work methods. There is little communication and consultation between the leader and the members, as the autocratic leader values obedience and discipline (Angus-Leppan, Metcalf & Benn, 2010).

2.3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: SPIRAL DYNAMICS

The following section will present the theoretical framework: spiral dynamics. This section will provide a discussion of the development of spiral dynamics, the underlying assumptions of spiral dynamics and the different human niches will also be explained.

2.3.1 Development of Spiral Dynamics

The spiral dynamics theory is inspired by the work of Clare W. Graves, who served as a Professor of Psychology Emeritus at Union College, New York (Beck & Linscott,
Graves’ framework is called the ‘Levels of Human Existence’ and he was a contemporary of Abraham Maslow, who was understood to be one of the first psychologists to lay claim to theories of a hierarchical nature of human development, as evident through his ‘Theory of Hierarchical Needs’ (Dawlabani, 2013: 35). Therefore, Graves set out to verify his peer’s work and interviewed over a thousand of Maslow’s students over the years, he then identified that there was a connection between Maslow’s needs and his own levels (Dawlabani, 2013: 36).

Don E. Beck and Christopher C. Cowan are responsible for exposing Graves’s framework to worldwide audiences and for developing spiral dynamics (Dawlabani, 2013). Spiral dynamics is comprised of two converging streams of thought: Graves’ Value Systems theory and of ‘levels of human existence’; and the works of biologist Richard Dawkins’ concept of ‘memes’ (cultural units of information that self-replicate through thought contagion). Spiral dynamics is a ‘bio-psycho-social-spiritual framework’, whereby one is able to ‘understand human development’ and ‘human systems’. It helps to showcase the dynamic forces that shape human nature, create global diversity as well as drive social change (Beck & Linscott, 2014).

Spiral Dynamics provides a basis for developing appropriate leadership practices that both support and enhance human interaction and culture (Robinson, Goleby & Hosgood, 2007). Therefore spiral dynamics can be understood as a new and an evolutionary framework that describes whole-systems thinking, and details how value systems emerge in societies; thus spiral dynamics provides a means to elevate human capacities to deal with the complexities of the twenty-first century (Beck, 2007).

Beck and Cowan co-authored Spiral Dynamics: Mastering Values, Leadership, and Change. Over the years Beck collaborated with Ken Wilber, an integral philosopher, and they co-authored Spiral Dynamics, Integral. Beck can be credited for applying his skill and the principles of spiral dynamics in some of the most contentious parts of the world, including South Africa, where he worked for over ten years to design the country’s transition from apartheid. In 1991, he co-authored the book called The Crucible: Forging South Africa’s Future, which discusses the importance of
understanding the macro-memetics of cultures so as to design effective political and economical policies (Dawlabani, 2013: 37).

Using Graves’ eight levels of human existence, Beck and Cowan created eight value systems called vMEMEs (value-systems memes) that define individuals and cultures (Dawlabani, 2013). According to Dawlabani (2013: 38) vMEMEs or values systems memes shape how individuals, organisations, and cultures think; as a term, ‘value systems’ refers to values as a set of assumptions about the world that indicate what is important, and despite the dysfunction and chaos of the world, humanity is always in search for higher values. According to Graves’ spiral dynamics framework the search for higher values has always been the pattern in cultural emergence, and will continue as such.

The driving force behind these assumptions is the double helix nature of the framework, which displays the interaction between our internal states (humans possess the capacities to create vMEMEs) and our external worlds (life conditions that awaken vMEMEs: time, place, problems, circumstances). According to Viljoen (2015), it is understood that human niches drive our behaviours, decisions, our relationships and the ways in which we organise; thus by understanding these dynamics, the study of self and others can be more easily understood.

### 2.3.2 Human Niches

The concept of human niches was constructed by Lorraine Laubscher (2013) in her doctoral thesis. Viljoen (2015: 59) proposes that a niche can be defined as “something at which a person or group of people excels so that it makes them unique.” Laubscher (2013) successfully framed thinking systems as human niches, and in turn allowed the differently thinking systems to be recognised as simply different in nature, and not hierarchal (Viljoen: 2015).

According to Laubscher (2013) human niches describe the areas in which individuals excel due to the distinct question of existence that they ask. Beck (2013) and Laubscher (2013) explains that the nature of human niches can be described as: chronological and not hierarchical; attitudinal and not behavioural; thinking systems
and not personal values; presenting us with gift for society as a whole; heterogeneous in way of personality and intelligence. Viljoen (2015) claims that human niches best describe the quintessence of thinking systems that differ from one individual to another and even one society from another.

2.3.3 Underlying Assumptions of Spiral Dynamics

Graves (1974) focused on how a person’s behavioural needs could ascribe his or her levels of existence, by explaining that a person’s nature is open, and is forever emerging. Human nature is always evolving from one steady state to another; and different value systems exist in each state of existence (Viljoen, 2015). However, Laubscher (2013) explains that human niches tell us how we view the world; what we see as the permanent parts of being us; how we see our future; what information we select and receive to see our world; and finally what we do daily. According to Viljoen (2015: 60), by using Laubscher’s (2013) framing of human niches, one is able to understand how self-concept is defined; the sense of time; and the way of perceiving and energy orientation of a thinking niche.

The human niches each contain their own super power; therefore it is important to apply the following principles: the thinking systems are stratified (they build on each other); it is a developmental theory (low and high of each thinking system); thinking systems only change if the current thinking cannot deal with the changing life conditions; the super power of one system can shift to a different thinking system; individuals, teams, organisations and societies all have a human niche barcode (array of human niches that are visible in the human psyche); individuals exhibit transparent predominant human niches; an individual’s worldview cannot change until he or she asks the questions of existence of the subsequent niche; it is not about intelligence or personality (all personalities are present in all the human niches); human niches are attitudinal and not behavioural; every human niche has adaptive benefits; and all the human niches are relevant and none are bad (Viljoen, 2015; Laubscher, 2013). According to Graves (1974), leadership is contextual; therefore the best leader is the congruent one.

In Table 1, each human niche is depicted in terms of its understanding of the world, its best-fit approach, as well as its organisational legend (pattern).
## Table 1. The Different Human Niches

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>vMEMEs (Human Niche)</th>
<th>View and Understanding</th>
<th>Best-fit Approach</th>
<th>Organisational Legend</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>BEIGE</strong> Survival Sense Staying Alive</td>
<td>Energy is directed toward survival through innate sensory abilities and instinctual reactions</td>
<td>- Biological senses: touch, taste, smell, see hear - Physical contact, rather than symbols</td>
<td><strong>A-N “BAND”</strong> - Herd-like behaviour - Weaker members are surrounded and protected by stronger members - Group bands together for survival: food, mating etc. - Movements determined by weather, food, and water.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PURPLE</strong> Kin Spirits Safety and Security</td>
<td>Tribe Banding: Individual needs must be sacrificed for the tribe, elders and the ancient ways. Powerful allegiance to the chief, elders and clan. Land and territory have a special meaning.</td>
<td>- Traditional rites, rituals and ceremonies - Includes mystical elements and superstitions - Appeals to extended family, harmony and safety - Recognises blood bonds, the folk, the group - Familiar metaphors, drawings and emblems - Minimal reliance on written language</td>
<td><strong>B-O “TRIBE”</strong> - Circular clan, kin, tribal, family structure - Role are determined by kinship, sex, age and ancestry - Ways and culture are rigidly preserved - Chiefs makes decisions, advised by elders - Custom demands obedience to the leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RED</strong> Power Gods Power and Action</td>
<td>Individual action and ego: interested in power and domination. Understands the world to be full of threats and predators.</td>
<td>- Demonstrates power - Immediate gratification - Challenges and appeals to machismo/strength - Heroic status and legendary perspectives - Flashy, unambiguous, reality based, strong - Simple language and fiery images</td>
<td><strong>C-P “EMPIRE”</strong> - Power oriented - Most powerful person make the decisions - Leader directs others who drive the masses - Communication is downward and strength determines relationships</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| BLUE            | A sacrificial system that values meaning, direction and purpose with predetermined outcomes. Believes in rules, regulations and discipline. | - Images of discipline, duty, country, honour  
- Self-sacrifice for higher cause and purpose  
- Appeals to traditions norms and values  
- Use class consciousness, knowing one's place  
- Propriety, righteousness, and responsibilities  
- Insure future rewards and delayed gratification  
Assuage guilt with correct consequences | D-Q “PASSIVE HIERARCHY”  
- Rigid rules for structure and rank  
- Person with appropriate position and power makes the decisions  
- Divine authority speaks through secular authority  
- Communication is downward and horizontally through classes  
People stay in their rightful places |
|-----------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ORANGE          | Believes in individual action, efficient trade systems, and enlightened self-interest. Values technology and innovation. Seeks to improve society and progress is understood to be the natural order of things. | - Appeal to competitive advantage and leverage  
- Success motivations and achieving abundance  
- Bigger, better, faster, more popular  
- Citations of experts and selected authorities  
- Experimental data and tried and true experience  
- Profit, productivity, quality, results, winning  
Demonstrate as best of several options | E-R “ACTIVE”  
- Bureaucratic and status oriented  
- Person with the delegated authority makes the decisions  
- Distribution of specific amount of responsibility  
- Communication flow down, up and across  
Power related to prestige and position within the stricture (allows for upward mobility) |
| GREEN           | Search for inner peace and human connection. Believes that resources should be shared equally and decisions should be reached through consensus. Places emphasis on feelings and harmony. | - Enhance belonging, group and shared harmony  
- Sensitive to human issues and care for others  
- Expand awareness and understanding of inner self  
- Symbols of equity, humanity and bonding  
- Gentle language, along with nature imagery  
- Build trust, openness, exploration, passages  
Real people and authentic emotional displays | F-S “SOCIAL NETWORK”  
- Organisation of equals for mutual benefit  
- Little concern with status or privilege  
- Collective decision making  
- Frequent communication in all directions  
Emphasis on consensus. Sensitivity and human needs |
Adapted from: (Beck, 2007; Laubscher, 2013; Viljoen, 2015)

According to Viljoen (2015: 71), Thabo Mbeki displayed a higher-order orange thinking system, as he had a “highly-developed orange international philosophy”. Despite his progressive thinking, he appeared too far removed from South Africa’s populace (65% of South Africans are purple). Rather than appearing relational and close, Mbeki appeared business like. Viljoen (2015) further states, if orange leaders are not aware of the impact of not translating their thoughts to the rest of the system, the orange thinker runs the risk of appearing aloof, distant and dissident - much like how Mbeki was described (Gevisser, 2007; Glaser, 2010; Gumede, 2005; Habib, 2009; Johnson, 2009).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>YELLOW</strong></th>
<th>Flex Flow</th>
<th>Individualistic, expressive and understands that chaos and change are natural processes. Emphasis is placed on information, competency and knowledge.</th>
<th>Interactive, relevant media, self-accessible Functional: lean information without fluff Facts, feeling and instincts Big picture, total systems, integrations Connect data across field for holistic view Self-connecting to others and systems successfully</th>
<th>G-T “FUNCTIONAL FLOW” Structure according to task at hand Project-centred with changing with changing functional leadership Competent person makes the decisions Communication only as needed May adopt B-O</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>TURQUAISE</strong></td>
<td>Global View</td>
<td>A sacrificial system that views the world as a single and dynamic organism with its own collective mind, however the self is considered distinct and also a blended part of a larger, compassionate whole.</td>
<td>Multidimensional insight Multi-tiered consciousness Renewed spirituality and sacrifice to whole Ecological interdependency and connections Macro solutions to macro problems Community beyond nationalities or partnerships High-tech and high-touch experiential</td>
<td>It is basically non-existent in the world today</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.4 REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON THABO MBeki’S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP STYLE AND IDEAS FOR GLOBAL REFORM

Calland (2006) suggests that in order to understand political power in South Africa, one must understand Mbeki, and the manner in which he thinks and wields political power. Noyoo (2014) believes that South Africa owes its role in today’s politics to Mbeki, stating that Mbeki has vision, personal drive and commitment amongst other facets, whilst Mulemfo (2005) considered Mbeki to be the quintessential leader for Africa’s development.

According to Gevisser (2010) public interest in Mbeki remains prominent and biographers, political scientists and psychologists remain eager to understand former President Mbeki’s “psychic complexity” (Glaser, 2010: 4). Indeed, Mbeki’s political leadership style is met with much contention (Calland, 2006). Singh (2006) attempted to demonstrate Mbeki’s enigmatic and interesting leadership, but resolved by stating that further observation would be required to determine whether he was product of a commandist or participatory democratic leadership styles.

His leadership style seldom conforms to the norms of modern politics (Calland, 2006) and at times he appeared to be more of an intellectual than a politician (Russell, 2009). He is often referred to as a paranoid, secret, centralised and stubborn leader (Adjibolosoo, 2012; Gevisser, 2007; Glaser, 2010; Gumede, 2005; Johnson, 2009). Conversely, Mbeki is also labelled a Third-Worldlist, strategic thinker, globaliser, intellectual, and an astute leader, pragmatist (Calland, 2006; Glaser, 2010; Johnson, 2009; Mulemfo, 2005; Noyoo, 2014; Roberts, 2007; Williams, 2009). Therefore, no definitive understanding of Mbeki’s political leadership style exists, as some descriptions overlap or are over-emphasised (Roberts, 2007). This study will also seek to uncover the factors that influenced Mbeki’s political leadership style.

In addition, Johnson (2009) illustrates the ways in which Mbeki structured the presidency between 1999 and 2008. According to Mathekga (2008), Mbeki’s presidency is characterised by its strong centralisation of power. Chikane (2011) claims that the development of a strong centre in government was not just related to
Mbeki, rather he explains that this process was started during Nelson Mandela’s presidency and that it was concluded during Mbeki’s tenure. However, Mathekga (2008) argues that this centralisation of power resulted in the perception that Mbeki was an elitist leader. Pottinger (2009) considers how Mbeki consolidated power and why he was defeated at the ANC’s Polokwane offices and further discusses Mbeki’s economic, social and political policies. Therefore, this study will seek to address whether Mbeki’s political leadership style was effective.

The role of ideology is a crucial measure of South Africa’s hegemony (Alden & Soko, 2005) and its relationship with other African nations (Vale & Barrett, 2009). Mbeki’s articulated ideas constitute the main building blocks of his view of the world. Gevisser (2007), Jacobs & Calland (2002), Mathebe (2001) and Roberts (2007) investigate Mbeki from an ideological perspective and seek to identify whether there is a central component of thinking that informs his politics, policy-making and the manner in which Mbeki governed South Africa within the global context.

According to Ryklief (2002), Mbeki’s ideological orientation is clear and claims that he is a bold conservative with a primarily pro-capitalist approach to economic power; whilst Williams (2009) and Mulemfo (2005) argue that Mbeki’s political thought is a critical contribution to history of modern African political thought. Mbeki’s idea of political leadership is found in some features of Marxist-Leninism (Williams, 2009). Although these have offered insight in to Mbeki’s ideological perspective of the world, there is little observation with regard to what factors may have informed his strong Pan-Africanist vision and ideas for global reform.

Noyoo (2014) claims that Mbeki was a visionary who was able to reconfigure South Africa and Africa’s role in the post-Cold War world order. In addition, Mulemfo (2005) asserts that President Mbeki served as the quintessential figure of Africa’s hope through his own vision and passions toward the upliftment of Africa. According to Landsberg (2010: 32), Mbeki can be credited for the manner in which he “championed an overhaul of the global political, financial, and trading orders”. He sought to empower Africa and the world in order to address global poverty, inequality and underdevelopment (Mbeki, 2008). Indeed, his strategic transformational African
agenda carved way for both “national and international dimensions” (Landsberg, 2010: 213).

Mzamane (2001) tributes Mbeki for popularising the concept of an African Renaissance; Mbeki shared in a rich desire to transform the African identity in global politics (Landsberg, 2004), and intended to do so through his visualization of an African Renaissance (Landsberg, 2010; Vale, 2010). Mbeki’s ideas of an African Renaissance have been broadly discussed in terms of their key concepts and principles (Bongmba, 2004; Msimang, 2000), with literature revealing a detailed understanding of Pan Africanism (Adebajo, 2010) and the African Renaissance within the globalising world economy (Ajulu, 2001), by considering globalisation and regionalisation in Africa (Taylor, 2003).

In this way, Mbeki’s views on global governance, anti-poverty strategies and economic inequality are also widely discussed (Bond, 2001; Pottinger, 2009; Cheru, 2001). Mbeki’s ideas on institutional architecture, such as NEPAD and the AU, have played a central role within his foreign policy, and Olivier (2003) examines it by evaluating whether his policies and institutions have served South Africa and Africa on a practical level. Indeed, there is substantial literature with regard to how Mbeki drove and implemented his ideas for global reform.

The study focused on those statements made by President Mbeki that offer his ideas for global reform. Mbeki’s ideas for global reform are discussed in a variety of literature and he conveys his thinking in many of his speeches, such as The African Renaissance: Africans defining themselves, delivered at the University of Havana, Cuba, in 2001. Another case in point is that of the discourse entitled Defeating African Underdevelopment, which was delivered at the Third African Renaissance Festival in Durban 2001.

According to Vale (2010), efforts to explain foreign policy are often entwined with the understanding of the style and function of the leader as the primary decision maker. Youla (2009) states Mbeki’s foreign policy cannot simply be categorised as idealist or realist. However, Mbeki’s transformational foreign policy is one of the most salient features of his leadership, as he was often portrayed as the “consummate diplomat”
(Vale, 2010: 244). Hlongwane (2010) offers an evaluation of Mbeki’s leadership style and measures the extent to which he can be considered a transformative leader. Whilst, Landsberg (2010a) addresses Mbeki’s state identity, and credits the former president for introducing into policy the ideas of transformation developmentalism.

2.5 CONCLUSION

The literature review sought to provide an adequate account of the past and present trends of Mbeki’s ideas for global reform and his political leadership style between June 1999 and September 2008. The conceptual framework included: ideas and global reform, leadership, political leadership and leadership style. Spiral dynamics was discussed within the theoretical framework, and this human developmental theory will be employed to address Mbeki’s ideas for global reform and his political leadership style through an analysis of the orange thinking system.

Although scholars have addressed Mbeki’s ideological perspective, the factors that have informed his strong Pan-Africanist vision and ideas for global reform have not been addressed. Within the literature there is no definitive understanding of Mbeki’s political leadership style, thus this study will try to identify Thabo Mbeki’s political leadership style, analyse the factors that influenced his political leadership style, assess whether his political leadership style was effective, as well as to develop a pragmatic understanding of how he navigated and implemented his African agenda.

The following chapter will discuss the research methods that have been used to conduct the research.
CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to present the research approach, the research strategy, the research design, the role of the researcher, and the method of ensuring quality data. The chapter will define the scope and the limitations of the research design and will situate the research amongst existing research traditions in leadership. The qualitative research approach was used in conjunction with a case study research strategy in order to understand and interpret Mbeki’s ideas for global reform and his leadership style. The data-collection methods include the following: life history (political life history of Thabo Mbeki), in-depth semi-structured interviews (with an account of the sample), and literature (solicited documents). The data has been analysed by using content analysis in order to derive themes and to cluster concepts.

3.2 RESEARCH APPROACH: QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

In order to address the research sufficiently, this study followed a qualitative research approach. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2000), qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings in an effort to make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people ascribe to them. Therefore, qualitative research focuses on meaning and understanding. The research was of an inductive nature and offered vast knowledge of the phenomena that was investigated (Merriam, 2009). Furthermore, Creswell (2007) explains that qualitative research facilitates approaches to inquiry, such as case study research. Subsequently, this study was an inductive enquiry and used case study research in order to address the research sufficiently.
3.3 RESEARCH STRATEGY: CASE STUDY RESEARCH

Hartley (2004) states that case study research consists of a detailed investigation of data of phenomena collected over time within their context. According to Yin (2003), the need for case study research arises from the desire to understand complex social phenomena. Whilst Stake (1995) argues that case study research is not a methodology; rather it is a choice of what is to be studied. Case study research is understood to be a strategy of inquiry, a methodology or a comprehensive research strategy (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2003a).

However, Creswell (2007) and Yin (2003) align case study research with a methodological approach, explaining that case study research is a qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a bounded case or multiple cases over a period of time through detailed analysis and data collection involving several sources of information, such as observations, interviews, audio-visual material, documents and reports. Therefore this study used in-depth semi-structured interviews, primary and secondary literature, as well as Mbeki’s pronouncements and speeches to analyse the data and to draw conclusions of his ideas for global reform and his political leadership style.

According to Creswell (2007) there are two types of qualitative case studies and they are distinguished by the size of the bounded case (one individual, many individuals, a group, programme or activity); and in terms of the intent (single instrumental case study, collective case study, and intrinsic case study). Stake (1995) explains that in a single instrumental case study the researcher focuses on an issue or concern, and then selects one bounded case to demonstrate this issue. In a collective case study, the researcher selects one issue or concern, but the researcher collects multiple case studies to demonstrate the issue (Stake, 1995). Lastly, in an intrinsic case study the focus is on the case itself, and the researcher adopts a narrative approach by offering detailed description of the case, however, it is set within its context (Stake, 1995). For the purpose of this study the instrumental case study was employed in order to address the unique and generalisable features of the single case in the form of a life history.
3.4 RESEARCH SETTING

Creswell (2009) explains that research setting refers to the manner in which the researcher collects, analyses and interprets the data. The research setting can be described as a collection of methods or rules by which research is undertaken, and also refers to the principles and theories that are applicable to a particular research approach (Somekh & Lewin, 2005). The following is an outline of the data-collection method and how the research will be discussed, analysed and interpreted; as well as how the findings will be validated to understand Mbeki’s political leadership style and ideas for global reform.

3.4.1 Purposeful Sampling

The study used purposeful sampling, which is widely employed in qualitative research for the identification and selection of information-rich cases related to the phenomenon of interest (Palinkas, Horwitz, Green, Wisdom, Duan & Hoagwood, 2013). Because this study attempts to examine Mbeki’s ideas for global reform and to identify his political leadership style, objective insight is required, and therefore in-depth semi-structured interviews have been conducted with five participants who share in the understanding and the workings of politics. This served to validate the research and enable the exploration of complex situations; allowing for the gathering of multiple perspectives from a range of sources, including contextual information (in the form of official government documents, speeches and pronouncements, as well as newspaper articles and secondary literature) (Yin, 2000). The interviewees included people who have studied and worked with Mbeki. Access was granted to conduct interviews with these individuals.

3.4.2 Data-collection Methods

Three methods of data collection have been employed in relation to this research: in-depth semi-structured interviews, life history and solicited documents. The will be further explained below.
3.4.2.1 Life History

The life-story or history approach is gaining much interest and is used as a research tool in various disciplines (Atkinson, 2002). According to Byleveld (2008), any individual seeking to use life stories in their research will be confronted with a range of terms, concepts, approaches and developments. Plummer (1983) explains that the term ‘life story’ and ‘life history’ can be used interchangeably. However, Miller (2004) writes that life-story refers to an account provided by someone based upon his or her own life; whereas life history includes other sources such as diaries or letters.

According to Atkinson (2002), a life story can be understood as a complete narrative of an individual’s entire experience of life as a whole, with emphasising the most important aspects. The role that an individual life plays within the larger community can best be understood through a story, as we become fully aware and conscious of our own lives through the process of putting them together in stories and form (Atkinson, 2002: 125). Therefore, a life history is a relevant research approach as it allows others to gain insight into how an individual experiences and understands life; it enables others to identify commonalities and to forge connection from one part of an individual’s life to another that connects childhood to adulthood (Atkinson, 2002).

Plummer (2001) explains that there are three types of life histories: naturalistic (autobiographies or diaries); researched (life histories that are solicited by researchers with a social scientific purpose); reflexive and recursive (life history as a construction whereby the interviewer is implicated). A single case on the political life of Thabo Mbeki will be presented in the form of a life history.

3.4.2.2 Solicited Documents

The analysis of existing documents is one of the central sources of qualitative data. According to Love (2003), documents are part of the fabric of our world as they provide rich meaning to any research. Documents in educational research can be divided into the following three categories: firstly, personal documents (documents created by an individual being studied, this may include diaries, letters and
autobiographies); secondly, official documents (documents produced by institutions); and thirdly, popular culture (movies, books, advertisements and other mass-consumed material that can allow the researcher to ask how individuals and groups engage and make meaning of the messages found there) (Biklen & Bogdan, 2007). The researcher will attempt to solicit personal documents (speeches and pronouncements of Thabo Mbeki) and official documents (government websites, TMALI, and newspaper reports) between 1999 and 2008.

### 3.4.2.3 In-Depth Semi-Structured Interviews

In-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted and were beneficial when seeking to validate data emerging from the various data sources. The semi-structured interview allows the researcher not only to ask predetermined questions, but also to seek clarification and insight into the political leadership style of President Thabo Mbeki (Niewenhuis, 2007).

A consent form (Annexure A) has been obtained from the interviewees who participated in the study. The interviewer used adequate recording procedures when conducting one-on-one interviews with the participants, and has done so through purposeful sampling (used an audio-recorder to document the interview) and provided an interview protocol form (Annexure B) with approximately five open-ended questions in order to write responses to the interviewee’s comments. The questions were developed from a narrowing of the general question and sub-questions in the research study and the interviews were transcribed through audio-recording while writing notes (Creswell, 2007).

### 3.4.3 Data Analysis Method

According to Spencer, Ritchie and O’Connor (2003), data analysis is a mechanism for organising data in order to produce findings that require interpretation by the researcher. Therefore the study used content analysis.
3.4.3.1 Content Analysis

Content analysis was used to study emerging themes and cluster concepts together, in order to derive meta-insights about the phenomena (Curry, Nembhard & Bradley, 2009). Content analysis is used when the particular meaning associated with a concept requires clarification and categorisation (Gale, Heath, Cameron, Rashid & Redwood, 2013).

Content analysis can be understood as any kind of recorded communication. It too can be defined as an empirical, methodological controlled analysis of texts within their context of communication, following content analytical rules and step-by-step models, absent of rash quantification, subsequently allowing for themes to emerge (Mayring, 2000). Through a process of clarifying and elaborating, the researcher analysed the meaning of words and concepts found within the political life history of Thabo Mbeki which was obtained from solicited documents and literature; and used by the research participants based on the in-depth semi-structured interviews that were conducted (Mouton, 2001). Therefore, themes were identified and will be used to define Mbeki’s political leadership style and to examine his ideas for global reform.

3.4.4 Role of the Researcher

Qualitative researchers are responsible for interpreting and assigning meaning to the phenomenon that is studied, and as a result, participate in their own form of construction (Charmaz, 2000). According to the interpretivist paradigm, the researcher is required to work with subjective meanings that exist in the social world; therefore the researcher must acknowledge their existence, reconstruct meanings, attempt to understand them, avoid distortion, and use them as building blocks in theorising (Goldkuhl, 2012). Because the qualitative case study was selected for this research, the researcher was the primary means of data collection and interpretation, as well as analysis (Cresswell, 2007).
3.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter the research approach, the research strategy, and the research setting were presented and discussed. The chapter defined the scope and the limitations of the research design. The qualitative research approach was used in conjunction with a case study research strategy in order to understand and interpret Mbeki’s ideas for global reform and his leadership style. The data-collection methods include: in-depth semi-structured interviews (using purposeful sampling), a researched life history (political life history of Thabo Mbeki), and literature (solicited documents). The data will be analysed using content analysis in order to derive themes and to cluster concepts.

The following chapter will present the political life history of Thabo Mbeki.
CHAPTER 4

POLITICAL LIFE HISTORY OF THABO MBeki

4.1 INTRODUCTION

According to Atkinson (2002) a life history allows others to gain insight into how an individual experiences and understands life, therefore this chapter is necessary in order to offer an orientation of Mbeki’s political life and to assist with the inquiry into his ideas for global reform and his political leadership style. The chapter will discuss Mbeki’s upbringing (the socialist nature of his parents, as well as his independent and self-sacrificing childhood); his role in the ANC (years in exile), his rise into political office (the ‘de facto’ president, and the ‘new president’), finally a synopsis of his presidential tenure between 1999 and 2008 by focusing his ideas for global reform through his Pan-Africanist agenda, as well as identifying the challenges he faced domestically.

4.2 MBeki’S UPBRINGING

Thabo Mvuyelwa Mbeki was born on 18 June 1942 in Idutywa, Queens Town in the Eastern Cape. He is one of four children (Linda, Moeletsi and Jama) of Govan Archibald Mvuyelwa Mbeki and Epainette Nomaka Mbeki, who married on 8 January 1940 (Mulemfo, 2005). They were teachers, who were considered to be independent thinkers, intellectuals, political activists and disciplined parents (Mulemfo, 2005; The Presidency, 2015).

Both Govan and Epainette understood the insecure environment in which black South Africans lived; as a result they aimed to equip and to empower their children, to enable them to face the harsh circumstances in South Africa (The Presidency, 2015). According to Mulemfo (2005), Mbeki’s childhood was made up of reading, writing and a consistent emphasis on the value of hard work and commitment. Govan and Epainette believed that it was important for them to provide their children with the necessary life skills that would allow them to translate their knowledge,
attitudes and values in order to assist their survival and growth (Mulemfo, 2005; Gevisser, 2007).

4.2.1 Mbeki’s Parents: the Socialists

Govan was born on 8 July 1910, the same year in which the Union of South Africa was formed through compromise and negotiations at a constitutional conference. A former Boer guerrilla, Louis Botha, became the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa (Bundy, 2012). It is understood that Govan was a keen student of history, and that he used what he had learned about the successes of Afrikaner nationalism to fortify and to lead the African nationalist struggle (Ndlela, 2014). He was also an author and journalist who wrote broadly about economics and politics for more than 60 years; his book titled The Peasant’s Revolt was published in 1964, and is perhaps his most popular work (Drew, 2011). Govan was a socialist who aligned himself with a nationalist party, the ANC (Bundy, 2012). He cared significantly about the people living in the poor rural conditions of his time, yet he too was concerned with the struggle for liberation against white domination (Bundy, 2012; Gevisser, 2001).

According to Gevisser (2001) Govan can be described as a man of fierce principles. However, his deep-rooted ideals were often met with contestation, as he and Nelson Mandela while on Robin Island would often argue and disagree about doctrines and strategies (Bundy, 2012). Despite his robust nature within the organisation, Govan was a committed and determined member of the ANC, and can easily be declared as one of the organisation’s most pioneering and devoted sons (Gevisser, 2001). He died on 30 August 2001 at the age of 90, thus having witnessed seven years of democratic freedom in the country he so unwaveringly fought for (ANC, 2001). Upon his request, Govan was buried in his favourite ANC blanket and cap (Bundy, 2012).

Epainette was born on 16 February 1916 to a leading family in the Sotho-speaking community of Mount Fletcher near the Transkei (The Presidency, 2015). Epainette came from a strong Christian background and her parents valued education (Gevisser, 2007). She attended Lovedale and later moved to Adams College near Durban, where she completed her teacher training (Bundy, 2012). Epainette is
characterised as a modern, independent woman, who spent much of her time occupied with activist work (Gevisser, 2007).

According to Bundy (2012) Epainette’s political awareness began between 1935 and 1936 with the Hertzog Bills; it is understood that she was the second woman to join the Communist Party, and was recruited by Bettie du Toit in 1938. According to Drew (2011), Epainette is largely responsible for having influenced Govan politically, as she shared his political views and she too was interested in improving the social and political conditions of their time.

In 1975, she settled in the village of Ncingwane, outside Idutywa where she lived with her community (although she could have lived out her old age in the comfort of official residences in Cape Town and Pretoria) until her passing (The Presidency, 2015). Epainette died on 7 June 2014 at a private hospital in East London in the Eastern Cape. She was admitted to hospital for two weeks for medical observation after she had experienced respiratory problems. Indeed, she was a humble and inspirational woman who practiced what she believed in (Gevisser, 2014).

4.2.2 Mbeki’s Childhood: Independence and Sacrifice

Despite Govan and Epainette’s shared worldview on poverty and politics, they did not manage to convey such likeness in terms of their marriage (Bundy, 2012). Govan enjoyed quoting poetry, the likes of Woodsworth, Rossetti and Shakespeare; he saw himself as a revolutionary; and he derived his strength from his ability to navigate politics (Bundy, 2012; Ndlela, 2014). While Govan continued to practice his political beliefs, Epainette was forced to leave her activist and intellectual work behind, as she had to return to Transkei in order to run the family business in Mbewuleni and to raise her children on her own; as a result she learned how to sew and to bake in order to provide for her family (Bundy, 2012; Gevisser, 2007).

In 1952, the strain of her responsibilities and duties as a single parent became almost too much to bear, and she too had longed to teach. Subsequently, Epainette discussed the possibility of leaving her children with Govan in order to fulfil her desire to teach. Govan simply inquired as to what would happen to their children if
she were to leave their home to do so, as he was concerned that children who grew up in broken homes were more than likely to become insecure. After Govan and Epainette conversed about the matter, Epainette consulted her children (who were all under the age of 12) to discuss whether she should leave home or to continue living with them. Through their discussion, it was decided that Epainette would stay at home. Consultation was a natural cause of action for the Mbeki’s, as Epainette revealed that she often consulted with her children about various matters and tasks at hand (Gevisser, 2007).

Mulemfo (2005) states that a good environment always has a sound influence on its inhabitants. The Mbeki children grew up understanding that the political system at the time was the enemy and that if they were to lose their father, it would be due to his struggle to liberate all South Africans and in that sense their own freedom too (Gevisser, 2001). The Mbeki children were brought up to understand the value of education, the need for independent thinking, and the meaning of self-sacrifice: ‘my loss is the people’s gain’ (Gevisser, 2007: 74).

Owing to Govan and Epainette’s financial circumstance, they sent their children to relatives to enable them to attend formal schools and in that way to attain a better education (The Presidency, 2015). Thabo Mbeki was sent at the tender age of eight to live with his uncle in Queenstown; this event also proved to be another lesson for the Mbeki children, as they were taught that separation was a mere condition of life (Gevisser, 2007). They grew up understanding that at any given time Govan or Epainette could have been arrested for their political activities (The Presidency, 2015).

This would continue to be the environment in which Thabo Mbeki grew up: an absent father who aimed to carve his political ideals and a strong and humble mother who aimed to rear children who would be able lead moral and conscious lives (Gevisser, 2001). None the less, both Govan and Epainette were determined to impart to their children their views of hard work and duty to the people (Gevisser, 2007). According to Mulemfo (2005), it is perhaps for this reason that Mbeki was deemed a workaholic, because he loved to work regardless of the circumstance.
According to Gevisser (2014), when discussing her sons, Epainette characterised Moeletsi and Jama as feisty and challenging outsiders who went against the grain – much like herself; whilst characterising Thabo as the diligent revolutionary and party man, much like his father. In an interview in April 2004, Epainette revealed that the manner in which she brought up her children was largely due to the struggle itself. She believed that it was important for her to raise her children to be independent, and in this way they would not be tied to her apron and would be used to fighting their own way in the world; so much so was her belief in the independence of her children that when Mbeki became president, for his mother it was understood to be ‘just one of those things’ (Dean, 2004).

4.3 MBeki’S ROLE IN THE ANC: THE EXILE YEARS

At the tender age of 14, Mbeki had already understood and felt the negative impact of the apartheid regime on black South Africans (Mulemfo, 2005). It was through this consciousness that Mbeki became involved in student politics while in high school (The Presidency, 2015). After the civil unrest and the banning of the ANC in 1960, Mbeki obeyed instruction of the ANC and was sent into exile in 1962 (Glaser, 2010). He travelled through Botswana to Zimbabwe, where he was arrested and placed in a Bulawayo prison for six weeks. However, rather than being deported to South Africa, Mbeki was granted asylum in Tanzania (Mulemfo, 2005). Mbeki then left from Tanzania and travelled to London where he lived for many years (Glaser, 2010). In 1966, he completed a Master’s degree in economics at the University of Sussex (Gevisser, 2007).

Gevisser (2007) reveals Mbeki’s competitive streak through a discussion with Epainette who recalled young Mbeki asking her what was the highest class his father had passed. In return, Epainette replied that Govan had achieved his BA qualification, to which Mbeki responded that he would do something better. Upon receiving his Master’s qualification, Mbeki wrote to his mother requesting her to tell a local lawyer that he was no longer the only man from Idutywa with a Master’s degree. According to Epainette, Mbeki wanted to show people that he was as good and if not better than his father, and aimed to do so not only through his academic achievements, but through uplifting the people too.
Despite Mbeki’s young age, he continued his political struggle while in exile (The Presidency, 2015). He was greatly impacted by the thinking and leadership of Oliver Tambo (the president of the ANC at the time) who was also in exile in England (Glaser, 2010). Tambo can be credited for having kept the ANC’s movement alive during its 30 years of illegality and exile, and he became a father, guide and mentor to Mbeki while they were both in exile (Callinicos, 2004). Not only did Mbeki’s political maturity grow during his time with Tambo, but he too went on to become a mentor for other ANC comrades in exile (Callinicos, 2004; Mulemfo, 2005). It is through Mbeki’s commitment to the fight against white domination and the freedom of all South African’s that he was considered to be a trustworthy young leader within the ranks of the ANC (Mulemfo, 2005).

In 1974, Mbeki married his wife, Zanele Dlamini, in England (Glaser, 2010). Zanele was considered to be a suitable spouse for Thabo and the Mbeki family approved of their union: she was a beautiful and an articulate young woman, she was a well-educated university graduate from South Africa, and she came from a prominent church family (Barrell, 1999). Not insignificant to the ANC leadership, Zanele was also considered to be a suitable partner for Thabo as she was of Zulu heritage; this mattered to the ANC leadership, because they were keen to lessen the perception that the organisation was dominated by Xhosas (Gevisser, 2007).

Mbeki was appointed to the ANC’s NEC in 1975 (The presidency, 2015). According to Mulemfo (2005) Mbeki’s diligent attitude allowed him to emerge as a competent young leader, and as a result he was assigned with further tasks and responsibilities, such as the Director of Information; the Secretary for Presidential Affairs (Oliver Tambo’s office); and he served as a member of the ANC’s political and military council. Mbeki returned to South Africa in 1990, after Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners were released (Glaser, 2010).

4.4 MBEKI’S RISE INTO POLITICAL OFFICE

When Mbeki returned to South Africa, he was appointed head of the ANC’s Foreign Affairs Department (The Presidency, 2015). According to Mulemfo (2005) Mbeki once again used his keen ability to work hard and subsequently his support grew; in
1993, at the ANC National Conference, Mbeki was elected as the National Chairman of the ANC. Indeed, his continuous rise in rank within the ANC led many to believe that he would succeed Mandela as president of the ANC (Russell, 2009).

4.4.1 The ‘De-facto’ President

In view of the developmental challenges that faced the new democratic South Africa, the need for a strong centre of government was necessary for providing leadership, and also for enabling an environment for all organs of the state machinery to execute and conduct their responsibilities effectively and successfully (Mathekga, 2008). As such, Mandela delegated responsibility to his deputy presidents, Mbeki and De Klerk, and increased the capacity of the deputy president’s office with the duties of serving and supporting the president (Chikane, 2011).

The governing of the country became the responsibility of the two deputy presidents; Mbeki and De Klerk directed the cabinet committees, but when De Klerk led the National Party (NP) out of the Government of National Unity (GNU), Mbeki managed the deputy president duties alone (Russell, 2009). The role of Mbeki became more evident as he organised the president’s office and even influenced the selection of the president’s cabinet (Johnson, 2009). Mbeki from the onset was designated with a substantive amount of economic responsibility, including the co-ordinating of all economic policy across the different government departments; he too was also consulted by Mandela with regard to the selection of Mandela’s cabinet, and as a result many of Mbeki’s recommendations were accepted (Chikane, 2011).

Provided with the task to set up Mandela’s office, Mbeki appointed many of his own people, including his friend Joel Netshitenzhe as Mandela’s communications director and speech writer, with the assistance of Tony Trew. He also appointed a human rights lawyer that he had come to know through the 1980s, Nicholas Haysom as Mandela’s legal advisor. Other appointments included Mbeki who also appointed his close friends Jakes Gerwel as Mandela’s chief of staff, Frank Chikane as director-general and Moss Ngoasheng as an economic advisor. He also appointed two political advisors, Thami Ntenteni and Vusi Mavimbela, and when De Klerk left in
1996, Mbeki promoted Dr Essop Pahad to a deputy ministership in Mandela’s office (Gevisser, 2007; Johnson, 2009).

In July 1994, the office had created 50 posts headed by a Chief Director. Frank Chikane was appointed in 1995 as the Chief of Staff, managing capacity problems and developmental plans. In 1996 Frank Chikane was made director-general in Mandela’s presidential office and was in charge of communications staff, management services, programmes and projects. By April 1996 Mbeki’s staff had grown to 96 and by July 1998 a further 133 posts were created in the office of the deputy president, of which 100 had already been filled by black South Africans (Gevisser, 2007).

However, the most significant development in the office of the deputy president was the establishment of the Co-ordination and Implementation Unit (CIU) with the responsibility to coordinate, facilitate and implement policy. The CIU was approved by cabinet in June 1997, six senior posts and seven support staff posts were created and these positions were filled from August 1997 and were fully operational by June 1998. The CIU was understood as the most significant development in the evolution of the presidency. It was an important administrative initiative with substantial implications for the processes of governance (Bernstein, 1999; Reitzes and White, 2010).

Deputy President Mbeki became a formidable figure within the presidential office and government, conducting cabinet meetings and dealing with problems at executive level (Gevisser, 2007). The approval of the CIU in 1997 as a special unit in the office of the deputy president brought with it much responsibility as it was established to administer all the functions of government, to provide greater policy direction, to guarantee inter-departmental co-ordination and also to evaluate the efficiency and effectiveness of individual departments (Bernstein, 1999).

Although Mbeki did well to work hard behind the scenes, he struggled to be acknowledged by the public as more than President Mandela’s executive deputy president (Russell, 2009). When F.W. de Klerk resigned as executive deputy president and his party (National Party) withdrew from the Government of National
Unity, Mbeki’s role became more prominent (Gevisser, 2007). Mbeki assumed much of the management and governance tasks of the presidency which often led President Nelson Mandela to openly admit that Mbeki had already in reality been the president of the Republic of South Africa years before his actual election, and referred to Mbeki as the ‘de facto’ ruler (Landsberg & Van Wyk, 2012). As such, Mbeki’s instrumental role in Mandela’s presidency allowed him the opportunity to observe and enact all structures and functions of government, therefore facilitating his progression into presidential office (Hamill, 1999).

4.4.2 The ‘New’ President

Mandela completed his term in presidency and supported Mbeki’s campaign during the second democratic elections in 1999 (Deegan, 2001). The votes reflected an overwhelming victory for the ANC and considering the integral role that Mbeki had played as deputy president of the country, it was highly anticipated that he would be the new president of South Africa (Russell, 2009). Thabo Mbeki was inaugurated as president on 14 June 1999 and served in the presidential office until 21 September 2008, just a few months shy of completing his second term in Presidency, having had submitted his resignation after a dramatic recall by the ANC Executive Committee (Jeffery, 2010).

Mbeki was elected as the eleventh president of the ANC in December 1997, at its fiftieth national conference in Mafikeng, it was at this time that President Mandela retired as president of the ANC and openly supported Mbeki’s presidency. It then became the responsibility of Mbeki as the new party leader to take the ANC into the twenty-first century (Russell, 2009; Gevisser, 2007). Mbeki was re-elected as president of the ANC in 2002 at the fifty-first conference in Stellenbosch (Russell, 2009). According to Mulemfo (2005) his success as a twice elected leader of the ANC was due to his excellent managerial skills and his ability to remind fellow members of the ANC to continue to practice unity and to advance the party’s policies as well as their commitment to social development; this election also made Mbeki the sole ANC presidential candidate for the 2004 general elections.
Mbeki did well to lead the ANC into landslide victories in both the 1999 and the 2004 elections. In 1999, the ANC won 66.36% of the vote, 266 seats in the National Assembly, while in 2004 the ANC won 70% of the votes (reaching a two thirds majority) and claimed 279 seats in parliament. These results were pivotal and allowed for the ANC, the people of South Africa, and the rest of the world to realise that the young democracy had confidence in its new leadership. However, despite Mbeki’s success as the president of the ANC, he urged fellow comrades to remain humble and to avoid sense of arrogance by keeping in mind their responsibility to serve the people of South Africa (Mulemfo, 2005; The Presidency, 2015).

4.5 PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA: JUNE 1999 TO SEPTEMBER 2008

4.5.1 Mbeki’s Ideas for Global Reform: Pan Africanist Agenda

Mbeki’s ideas for global reform included his ideals for an African Renaissance and global equality, which rested on normative principles (equity, human dignity and respect for international law). These were pursued through various strategies and institutional architecture, including democratic governance, economic policies and development strategies translated from organisations, such as the AU and the UN (Nathan, 2010).

Within the Southern African region, Mbeki shared his ideas for reform at the Official Opening of the 28th SADC Ordinary Summit in 2008. He reaffirmed South Africa’s role within the organisation by stating its commitment to peace, stability and security, as well as regional integration and harmonisation of policies. Mbeki stated that the organisation should be used as a platform for promoting Africanism, and should implement an African Agenda that would realise the regeneration of the continent (DIRCO, 2003).

Motivated by this strong desire for African renewal (Pretz, 2008), Mbeki focused on the rest of Africa. He was considered as one of the major architects of the AU, of which he served as Chairman during 2002-2003 (Barber, 2005). He was also the
principal architect of NEPAD (Landsberg, 2010b); and its chief instrument, the APRM (Pottinger, 2009).

In an address delivered at the UN University in Tokyo on 9 April 1998, Mbeki spoke about his ideas for an African Renaissance; and discussed the need for Africa to reform itself by becoming less dependent on the West for humanitarian and development aid and instead introduce economic policies that would help alleviate poverty and benefit African states. At the same time he encouraged the need for leadership and good governance (Chikane, Esterhuyse, Langa, Mavimbela & Pahad, 1998: 246-247).

Mbeki’s ideas on the Global South set South Africa’s agenda for South-South cooperation, which was to promote multilateralism in the interests of the developing world, in order to establish an equitable system of global governance (Graham, 2013). Therefore, Mbeki placed emphasis on development and aimed at engaging the leaders of the three continents (Africa, Asia and South America) so that they could better organise themselves to enable them to speak in a unilateral voice and to utilise multilateral forums that would implement strategies and allow for greater engagement with the North (Landsberg, 2010b). Although Mbeki was not successful in realising his goal of a G8-South, many of his ideas translated into a number of South-South initiatives, such as IBSA, AASROC, the NAASP and G77-China (Landsberg, 2010b).

The focus on the Global North region was found in Mbeki’s vision and ideas for a North-South dialogue. Mbeki was considered as Africa’s chief negotiator when engaging with the Global North (Graham, 2013). This was critical in his declaratory foreign policy, as he wanted to reform the global order by increasing development in the Global South and encouraging North-South partnerships. He aimed at meeting these goals through initiatives and organisations, such as the G8-Africa Action Plan and through strategic partnerships with the EU (Landsberg, 2010; Olivier, 2012).

In terms of the rest of the world, Mbeki encouraged the voice of African states within the UN (Landsberg, 2010b). He endorsed the creation of a new global order to end what he perceived to be ‘global apartheid’ (Bond, 2001). Furthermore, Mbeki spoke of the need to reform the UN, in order to allow for a more democratic system of
international governance (Graham, 2013). In essence, Mbeki sought to oversee a “global partnership”, as noted in his address to the Scottish Parliament on 13 June 2001, in which he stated, “Our approach in South Africa is to strengthen regional and continental co-operation and unity, so that we are better equipped to engage the broader international community in the age of globalisation” (Pahad & Esterhuyse, 2002: 112).

4.5.2 Domestic Challenges

The transformation of the presidency under Mbeki also led to the adoption of new values, goals and strategies; these had implications on the way in which the ANC operated and also on the manner in which leadership and membership were exercised as well as the ANC’s relationship with its alliance partners (Gumede, 2008). The reforms introduced by the Mbeki administration, were resisted by some within the ANC and among its alliance partners criticising the top-down approach from the centre, thus following Mbeki’s dismissal of Zuma as the deputy president of South Africa in May 2005 (Gumede, 2008; Chikane, 2012).

According to Russell (2009: 22) many in the ANC were not pleased with their president, and it was clear that Mbeki had a ‘political tin ear’, and that he was not in leadership to entertain, but rather to execute ideas and policies. As a result, he appeared unapproachable and above popular democracy. Mbeki’s decision-making style was compared to the royal-court model, understood to be highly centralised in a monarchical mode and one that is typically dominated by a head of government and his key advisers (Venter & Landsberg: 2011). The style and the role of the head of the government are vital in this model, as the advisers and executives are selected by the head leader because they share the leader’s views (Venter & Landsberg: 2011).

Mbeki’s strategic, success-driven and aspirational approach to governance did not translate well to the general public of South Africa; as Laubscher (2013) explains that 65% of South Africans reflect the purple thinking system, therefore valuing safety and security above all else. Therefore, while Mbeki sought to strategically transform the economic, social and political policies of the country; he struggled to gain
immediate approval from the general public who valued safety and security more than strategy.

In December 2007, Mbeki was repudiated by the majority of his own membership at a party conference in Polokwane. This incident became one of the most remarkable developments in post-liberation South Africa (Pottinger, 2009; Chikane, 2012). Despite his record of advancing gender rights, the ANC Women’s Youth league voted narrowly to reject him, and he received no ethnic solidarity from the Xhosa-dominated Eastern Cape, and it appeared that Zuma (a Zulu) there too gathered support (Pottinger). After Polokwane, Mbeki’s cabinet was effectively removed from the senior decision bodies of the ANC, and his appointees in the service were dismissed (Pottinger, 2009). In 2008, Mbeki submitted his resignation and addressed the nation for the last time as the president of the Republic (Noyoo, 2014).

4.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented the political life history of Thabo Mbeki, in order to gain insight into the factors that may have influenced his ideas for global reform and his political leadership style. Therefore the chapter highlighted Mbeki’s upbringing (the socialist nature of his parents, as well as his independent and self-sacrificing childhood); his role in the ANC (years in exile), his rise into political office (the ‘de facto’ president, and the ‘new president’), and finally offered a synopsis of his presidential tenure between 1999 and 2008 by focusing on Mbeki’s Pan-Africanist agenda as well the challenges he faced domestically. The following chapter will present the findings (in-depth semi-structured interviews) of the research.
CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS: IN-DEPTH SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will present the data and the findings of the research that arose out of the interview process. In-depth semi-structured interviews were used as a data-collection method among five participants who were purposefully sought. The findings presented below are the transcribed responses provided by the respective participants. As the questions were open ended (Annexure B) and because of the high profile of the participants, the researcher suspended a direct questioning technique in favour of a narrative exploration of the research, for that reason not all participants responded to all questions.

5.2 ANALYSIS OF THE IN-DEPTH SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS: THEMES

The following themes were found in the analysis and will be discussed below: Pan-Africanist ideals, ideas for global reform, political leadership style, Mbeki’s mannerisms, mentors and effective leadership. The verbatim responses of the participants are interpreted here.

5.2.1 PAN-AFRICANIST IDEALS

According to Participant 1, Mbeki was seen as an African leader and an anti-imperialist, as he often contended with the Western powers. According to Participant 1, Mbeki wanted to pioneer Africa into global politics. Participant 1 said:

“The western diplomatic core circles, when he left in September 2008 actually murmured and whispered in their closed circles, and I got this because I interact in that space as well, they murmured to say that the ‘African bulldog’ has left the structure, because among other things he was to put it grimly, he was also anti-west. But in essence, the correct term is that he was ‘anti-imperialist’. And in the space and as it relates to the African continent and foreign policy, he was anti-imperialist.”
According to Participant 2, Mbeki holds very strong Pan-Africanist ideals; as he firmly believes that Africans are independent thinkers and that the solutions the African continent requires must come from Africans themselves. Participant 2 said:

“Alongside his Pan Africanism, you know he is very very strong-minded this thing that he...Mbeki takes it personally when people undermine Africa and Africans. He takes it very personally; you must never ever do that. It pains something in him deep down, it hurts very badly, and he doesn’t believe that Africans deserve to be treated as if they cannot think for themselves”.

Participant 2 explained that Mbeki believed that the people of Africa have the capacity to bring about change, and because of our past and our present challenges, Mbeki shared in a powerful Pan-Africanist approach. Participant 2 said further:

“And he saw all of us as African, as what he called ‘midwives of the African Renaissance’. That surely, this continent with such a glorious history should go back to what it was, should be able to feed the world with something different, something totally different. His idea was that so many things have happened: colonialism, slavery and apartheid...that the time has come to take back what belongs to each and every person, to take back what belongs to us, to restore it and to take Africa to her rightful place in the world, to stand shoulder to shoulder with the rest of the world. We can’t be in the periphery anymore. If you woke him up at twelve midnight that I am sure he would tell you as I have...he was passionate about this.”

Participants 3 did not respond directly to this theme.

According to Participant 4, Mbeki’s strong Pan-Africanist ideals originated from the Pan-Africanist visions of the ANC. Participant 4 said:

“As reflective as that Pan-Africanist vision was, the concrete found expression in NEPAD and the APRM, so it also originated in my view...should one call it an idealism that has got its roots in the very origins of the ANC...If you are to read the ‘I am an African’ speech, you will discover that that it echoes those ideas that were contained in a speech, it was in 1906, ‘The Regeneration of Africa’...you’ll see an
echo of that speech. So in addition to everything else, there was also an idealism
that had very strong historical roots.”

Participants 5 did not respond directly to this theme.

5.2.2 IDEAS FOR GLOBAL REFORM

Participant 1 explained that Mbeki had the unique ability of challenging Western
powers. According to Participant 1 Mbeki was tactful as he was able to foster
relations on a domestic and international level. Participant 1 said:

“He sought to understand how he had to tread, you know the policy environment
and the international space...how he had to tread that, on the one hand you don’t
want to isolate your traditional capital that has always had interests in the country, on
the other hand you really do not want them to interfere with African politics, in the
sense of conflict resolution, regime change, telling Africans what to think, developing
African commissions based in London and elsewhere...as if Africans can’t think
about their own solutions. That is the kind of posture that he had.”

According to Participant 2, Mbeki wanted to be a leader that would serve the African
people, as he believed that Africa need not depend on the West and other global
institutions for aid and in this way Africans could retain their independence.
Participant 2 said:

“So naturally Mbeki has to assume a leadership that serves, we are not going to be
told what to do, we are going to do things our way, even as Africans and South
Africans. It comes as no surprise then that Mbeki and his administration really didn’t
see the need for us to go to the IMF and World Bank, because it would be like
ceding our sovereignty to them. Because they had learned from other independent
states on the continent what happens if you do that, because then it means you are
going to have to basically dance to their tune.”

Participant 2 explained that Mbeki wanted to reconfigure African institutions, and in
so doing reform global politics in order to allow for African leadership to be
recognised and to be considered equal among the other global players. Participant 2 said:

“My sense is that Mbeki wanted to make his own humble contribution together with his colleagues to at least begin to set some different discourse on the continent and a different direction...and this is why there was such an obsession with reconfiguring what was the OAU to the AU so that it could be able to meet the current challenges...so you could say you wanted to change Africa, but if you didn’t have the polices to go out to these leaders in the West and tell them that this was the direction that we now wanted to move, you were not going to get anywhere...so my genuine belief is that I don’t think he thought that this was something he could do, but he did believe that when he left into the afterlife he would have made a small contribution to us thinking differently on how to handle Africa.”

Participant 2 explained that Mbeki wanted African to flourish economically, and as a result he believed that by establishing South-South relations, the global south would be able to compete with their Western counterparts. Participant 2 said:

“When you now have to relate to the rest of the world, you will recall that there was South-South cooperation...where you are saying that okay, there is this whole big world and Africa somewhere in the periphery...and then there’s Asia, India and so on and so forth. If these other guys are being stubborn and wanting us to do things that they wanted, but we’ve got other markets...we have India, we have Russia, but the ideas of BRICS emanating from those discussions. So if you’ve heard him talk about South-South cooperation, it’s like we have to look for alternative markets as Africa. That was the idea...so in the end everything that he did, whether discussions around the IBSA, whether it was those numerous trips we would have done to the South Americans...it was done to see how Africa could really expand it. In his mind it was not possible that we were locked into a relationship with just the Western powers...when we could open our markets to others and others theirs to us.”

Participants 3 did not respond directly to this theme.
According to Participant 4, Mbeki wanted to restructure global institutions as he believed that the objectives and interests of Africa and more particularly South Africa would be exercised. Participant 4 said:

“The campaign intensified about the need to restructure both the United Nations and the Bretton Woods institutions, that’s the IMF, World Bank, the IBRD and so on. Because the argument was in the context of changing those institutions you will create better objective conditions for South Africa as well as for South Africa to pursue their self-interests. Secondly, as you would know, it is during his time that the question was posed, if Africa has to convince the world that its development is in the interests of the totality of the global community, what kind of strategies and programmes does it need to adopt in order to persuade the world that it is there self-interest that South Africa and Africa develop. So it is in essence identifying the self-interests of others, in order to identify your own self-interests”.

As a result, Participant 4 explained that through the establishment of NEPAD, Mbeki was able to bring his idea of an African Renaissance to life and allowing African leaders to make collective decisions that impacted not only their own states, but also their standing in global politics. Participant 4 said:

“So for Africa, his approach included an understanding of what seems to be a natural global dynamic in the relations among others, then posed the question, is there a common interest that these different nations, especially the “bigger powers” in Africa, is there a common interest that they could have and how do you ensure that you use especially the various fine crumbs of development on the continent to become a joint force that serves as a locomotive to pick all of the continent up. As such in developing NEPAD and elaborating his idea of and African Renaissance, made sure to interact with Obasanjo and others, the regional hegemons to pick Africa up.”

Participants 5 did not respond directly to this theme.
5.2.3 POLITICAL LEADERSHIP STYLE

According to Participant 1, Mbeki possessed a firm political leadership style. However, this created an ambiguity among people, and did not transcend well, as some interpreted his leadership as sure and assertive, while others deemed him overbearing and paranoid. Participant 1 said:

“I think it’s possible that people confuse his confidence, assertiveness and firmness, in a word his ‘decisiveness’, to mean that he is paranoid. And I don’t think so, it’s one of the dominant media narratives that you have found, that he is intolerant of dissent in the realm of ideas...There are different postures. Those who support Thabo Mbeki, then argue that he was actually a very much more democratic personality and leader, because he did not say sit down, shut up and don’t speak, and so on. But rather, what he did was that he took in what you said and he challenged you head on. And because some people use the very feeble, dominant narratives to challenge him and his leadership at the time, could not come back...and then as a result, instead of acknowledging substantive defeat in terms of a weaker argument, then they would say he is using debate...and that was also another rumour and misinterpretation that were also done within the ANC.”

According to Participant 1, Mbeki was had a methodical and meticulous political leadership style, as he would often challenge his staff and would expect the very best of results. Participant 1 said:

“His style of leadership...when you prepare something for him as a minister you must be thoroughly prepared. And some of the ministers’ submissions would be turned away for revision because he does not approve of the content and he does not think that they have done a good job, and they themselves will admit and work around the new tradition that was established that the DGs must also attend cabinet meetings, was established on the basis of that, because on a Friday they would meet for the cabinet three day lekghotla, and when they meet he would dismiss them. He would read through and underline reports and then toss them and ask the ministers, ‘Is this what you want me to tell South Africans?’ By the end of the lekghotla, he would say, ‘I need to have a better version.”
According Participant 1, Mbeki’s political leadership style can be understood as consultative, but Participant 1 explained that this consultative approach lends itself to a tactic of persuasion. Participant 1 said:

“Leadership style...was he consultative? I think he was to a certain extent...but he also emphasised his prerogative, for instance he sometimes makes the example of, which people tend to like ignoring, that before he would appoint the cabinet...or before he would appoint the premiers...he would call in the officials and brief them that these are the names I have suggested and this is why I have suggested them...do you agree? And they would say, president we agree. I don’t know if people would agree with reservations and if they don’t express it, but the point is that he consults, so he follows the procedure and he goes to the NWC and gets endorsements and then he announces the premiers.”

However, according to Participant 2, Mbeki has a consultative political leadership style. Participant 2 indicated that Mbeki believed in the processes of consultation and that he placed emphasis on collective decision-making. Participant 2 said:

“Despite what many have said, he believes in consulting, and sometimes we even feel that it’s too much consultation. When you think in your mind it’s obvious what should be done, he has this thing that he doesn’t move on anything unless it’s consulted. Very often if he has something that is on his mind, maybe something needs to be done, he will very often send out an email to the bulk of us to say ‘I’ve got his idea, can you guys please share with me what you think’...and he will not move until he has a decidable number of response to say yes, and if people think strongly that this thing must be dumped or for whatever reason they don’t think it will work. He will respect it, maybe he won’t be happy, but he will respect it and try to understand it...So I have often heard people say that he is autocratic, in fact it is the direct opposite. It is the direct opposite; I don’t see a trace of that in him at all. He feels offended if you don’t voice your opinion, he almost gives you a sense of ‘what do you mean you don’t have an opinion?’

Participant 3 offered a different portrayal of Mbeki’s political leadership style, as Participant 3 claims that Mbeki was both and intellectual and a philosopher. The
Participant further argues that these are both admirable traits provided that they are present in equal measure. Participant 3 said:

“I would characterise Mbeki as a strong leader and in more recent times somebody who will see to have had a very clear vision of where he wanted to go...so to me those are qualities of leadership that I associated with Mbeki. And I think it is a big plus that you could have a kind of philosopher king, a kind of intellectual...being president of South Africa that time...that’s what characterises Mbeki, ‘the philosopher king’...from a tradition of leaders who are intellectual and visionary and the two are also probably too academic to lead...effectively.”

According to Participant 4, Mbeki was a visionary and tactical leader who was always focusing on the strategic objectives of any task. Participant 4 also believed that Mbeki was a philosophical and very well-read man. Participant 4 said:

“I would characterise him as someone who in working on a project, would develop the grand idea of how that project needed to be pursued and from there would then arise the tactical approaches as you undertake that project...So I think when you analyse his leadership style, the way in which he approaches issues, you have to take in account as I was saying, what is the strategic objective? And the other issues become a matter of details. Perhaps what we should also add is that there might be even from the point of view of those who worked closely with him...an incomplete understanding of him as a political leader. I am saying incomplete because...if others said he was a philosopher president, many of us would agree. A learned, well-read person...”

Participants 3 did not respond directly to this theme.

According to Participant 5, Mbeki’s leadership style rested on his ability to listen well and to integrate arguments. Participant 5 said:

“So he also had the view that he will let everyone else speak, whether it was in cabinet or whether it was in meetings of the NEC, and bring people together. And when he did that in NEC meetings or even in cabinet, when he summed up the
discussion, and always discussions are hard, whether in the NEC or the cabinet, because people come to issue from very different angles, from very different positions and he had a great capacity to integrate the different views, the conflicting views, sometimes the subtle difference in the views and bring them together in a way that when he summed up, everyone accepted that that was the correct interpretation of what was said and then bring it together.”

Participant 5 further illustrated this point by offering two shared experiences which Participant 5 believed dismissed the claims that Mbeki was an aloof and a distant leader. Participant 5 said:

“I don’t understand when they refer to him as ‘aloof’...because he started the imbizos. Actually it was started by me and Joel Netshitenzhe...it was our idea, but we went to him with our idea, and he immediately took to the idea and that is when we began the process of having these imbizos, which really was essentially going to these most far-flung rural areas, to these communities and essentially it was to listen. To listen to what the people were saying and I can tell you that they can talk...and he still has these notebooks, unlike us...and his great skill also is that he is not just such a good listener but to make notes of what people were saying...he would sum up in just one or two sentences what the people were saying...”

“He was never aloof...and I remember when we went to the Northern Cape, and we were in a working-class coloured area, and these women came, so they are obviously working class, unemployed, poor...and two of them hugged him and kissed him and all they could say was, ‘Ek het hom gesoen! Ek het hom gesoen! Ek gaan nou nie was nie! Ek gaan nou nie was nie!’...so in the sense of being aloof and not responding to what the people were wanting and doing, it’s not true at all. So the accusation comes from people who don’t know him. No he isn’t a Mandela or a Zuma in the sense of where he exudes a sense of natural warmth. There are people like that who just exude natural warmth, but I don’t believe that he was ever aloof from anybody.”
5.2.4 MBeki’S MANNERISMS

Participant 1 explained that although Mbeki displayed English mannerisms, he had always held African scholars and traditions in very high regard. Therefore Participant 1 explained that Mbeki has been shaped by his experiences and his lineage. Participant 1 said:

“In terms of personality, his mannerism is British in a way, because that’s all he knows...because he left South Africa at a very young age. That’s all he knows in a way, but he is steeped a lot in African literature, which is why he tempers his worldview, his Marxist worldview with a lot of African literature. I mean, Thabo is one person that if you have noticed, by the way, Thabo is one person that will do a sixteen-page speech only having quoted African scholars, if you haven’t noticed in many regards.”

Participant 1 provided further insight with regard to Mbeki’s mannerisms. Participant 1 explained that Mbeki has a friendly and a concerned approach toward people. Participant 1 also explained that Mbeki was nothing like the criticisms found in the media, and stated that Mbeki had contempt for people who showed off a mediocre attitude. Participant 1 said:

“His other mannerism, which I said is when he sits in a small room of maybe five people in total, would be that when you would come in, the first thing that he does is to greet you, to check how are you and the last time if you had a conversation with him whether your mother was in hospital. He would remember that and ask how your mother is ...And then what he does is that he literally moves. He doesn’t ask for his PA or me or the other people to move. He moves to allocate the chair that you must sit on. And once you have sat down and become comfortable, then he asks ‘is there anything you are going to drink? There are snacks here’. He snacks a lot. He has got the English mannerism, as well as on the other hand...it is not only an English mannerism, it is also an African mannerism of welcoming a guest and how you host a guest. So on his more personal traits and character, so very contrary to what people say, the dominant media narrative again, this aloof personality...I don’t know
that image of him, because I have interacted with him and he so not aloof, but the one thing that he hates personally is mediocrity.

Participant 1 offers further insight into Mbeki’s mannerisms, and reveals a more modest depiction of Mbeki. Participant 1 said:

“His mannerism is also expressed when he gets to a house where he campaigns for the ANC. Of course there is an element of the cameras, the media...he is in a campaign mode. But also his mannerism, because remember in the ‘Dream Deferred’ he used to write letters for elderly people. As a youngster he used to write letters for them, read letters for them. So his posture is also informed by African customs and traditions. Then he enters in the room of this elderly woman in Eastern Cape, and you know what he does...he sits on the floor. He doesn't sit on the chairs, because I think there was no place to sit or something.”

Participants 2 and 3 did not respond directly to this theme.

Participant 4 describes Mbeki as an intelligent person, and he further illustrates this point by describing various ways in which Mbeki would exercise this particular characteristic, including his ability to be a dynamic strategist. Participant 4 said:

“I would say that unlike many leaders, he has what one can call natural intelligence. He is quite an intelligent person, himself, as a personality. And you would see this in the debates that took place, as they take place in various forums. In how he interacted with both the leaders who were senior to him as he was rising in the system as well as younger people like ourselves who worked with him in various places, like in Lusaka in the Department of Information and Publicity. You would also see it, I think, in how he developed strategy for whatever undertaking that he would be involved in, so as head of Information and Publicity in the ANC. Then in exile, he would develop the grand ideas about how that department should function and how it could make impact, and the same when he became the head of International Affairs and started promoting the ANC beyond its natural friends but also in Western countries. You would also see it in the manner in which he was chosen by then president of the ANC, Oliver Tambo, to lead the initiation of the negotiations process.
Again, developing a strategy on how to approach that...just to elaborate, the issue arose as to what kind of negotiations process should South Africa have?”

According to Participant 5, Mbeki possessed leadership qualities from an early age. Participant 5 said:

“Therefore, from a very early age you could tell that he had some very serious leadership qualities, and he had the confidence to take on the tasks of leadership that was given to him, so there was no such thing that you sat in a meeting and said ‘okay this one is going to be a leader’...It was just that people would grow and by that ability that capacity to understand that political intelligence. He had a very deep loyalty and commitment to the party and its positions...discipline, and that time all of these characteristics were critical because the ANC was banned, so how you worked and operated became very important. The first thing about him from the beginning was that he had this very warm powerful personality. And there is no one who once they met him on a one-to-one or a smaller group was not immediately attracted to him and to his personality. Now that time obviously he didn’t have a leadership style...but there was a very natural way in which he was able to interact with people and respond to things.”

5.2.5 INFLUENCES ON MBEKI’S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP STYLE

According to Participant 1, Mbeki’s political leadership style was largely influenced by his comrade and espoused father, O.R. Tambo. Participant 1 provided an example in order to illustrate the extent to which O.R. Tambo disliked mediocrity. Participant one said:

“He draws a lot from O.R. Tambo, O.R. Tambo did not take mediocrity, for instance O.R. Tambo once landed in Zimbabwe from London, when he landed at the airport, an ANC representative in Zimbabwe, who was the equivalent of an ambassador...was dressed up in a suit properly, but his shoes were not polished...and then by the time they took the picture, because the protocol is to take an official picture...this is an anecdote...somebody tells the story because he was there. When the time arrived for the picture to take place, O.R Thabo shoved him
out...and his expression was that you come here with your unpolished ship-shape shoes, and that’s how fickle they were.”

Participant 2 believes that Mbeki’s political leadership style was greatly influenced by the principled ways of his mother. Participant 2 said:

“He forced us to think what a servant-leader is. A servant-leader is his favourite...servant-leader is one who serves as opposed to being served. And he got this from his mother, who is what I would call one who lived really be the principles of servant-leadership. She understood that once you are put in the position of leadership you are actually the servant of the people...and that’s his thing...he is his mother’s child.”

Participants 3 and 4 did not respond directly to this theme.

Participant 5 further demonstrated the manner in which Mbeki was influenced by the leadership styles of the icons of the ANC, Walter Sisulu and Duma Nokwe. Participant 5 indicated that Mbeki was mentored by the likes of these iconic leaders and as such inherited their characteristics, innate leadership qualities and values for education. Participant 5 said:

“When he came he was taken under the wing of Walter Sisulu and Duma Nokwe ...now Duma Nokwe was the first African to qualify as advocate in South Africa. An exceptional brain, very bright, very sharp and Walter Sisulu, everybody knows his great qualities, but Duma Nokwe had these wonderful qualities too. And Thabo used to be their driver more or less, driving them from the township and taking them back, and then established a very close relationship with them. So then already at that time, he was learning if you like under the feet of two great giants, Duma Nokwe and Walter Sisulu...and that time when he first came from the Eastern Cape, so at that young age he was definitely...well you could easily recognise qualities of leadership in him. Secondly, he started to do his ‘A levels’ in Economics while he was in Johannesburg.”
5.2.6 EFFECTIVE LEADERSHIP

Participant 1 did not respond directly to this theme.

According to Participant 2, trying to understand whether Mbeki was an effective leader was dependent on one’s own perception as to what made for an effective leader. Participant 2 described Mbeki as a diligent leader who at all times felt very responsible for whichever role he was tasked with. Consequently he also applies the same level of responsibility to those who worked around him. This participant said:

*He will get impatient if you haven’t done what you have said, and your reason for not doing it is not valid enough. I imagine that he is not going to be very happy about that, because each one of us has to deliver what we say we are going to deliver. Would somebody like that be a good leader? I have no idea. I really have no idea. Do you need somebody who is more hands-on in a country? I also have no idea. Truly, I have no idea...because as a president, in terms of management...the practical work... He is like that...he feels aggrieved if he hasn’t delivered what he has promised to deliver. Mbeki doesn’t like to feel like he is the weakest link in the team and I think he would want the same from everyone in the team, because he trusts that it is your area and you will know better than him on what to do, and if you come in uncertain...then he is not happy, but that’s his management style*.

Participant 2 explained that although Mbeki was often described as an uncharismatic leader and was considered by others to be more of a CEO than a president. However, Participant 2 also explained that Mbeki’s leadership could be considered effective as he was able to make people think about whom they were and what it truly meant to be African. He Participant two said:

“I have also heard that he is not charismatic, that he is not the ‘peoples president’...so perhaps...See I am finding it difficult to say whether he is a good or bad leader, because he is not charismatic, because people didn’t find him to be...that’s the general perception...so if that what people see, I can’t judge that because that is not what I see. Then he must be a bad leader, but you can go to one analyst after another and they will criticise him on many things, but they did agree on
things in terms of his international work. In terms of the way he handles the economy barring AIDS and Zimbabwe. These two are always there. They say they have found him to be a good CEO...So I’m saying that his mind is locked into something different that few of us thought about...we didn’t take time to think that in depth. He forced us to think in a different way, he forced us to think about what it means to be an African.

However, Participant 3 explained that effective leadership required a leader who exercises his authority, and at the time to build his constituency. As result, Participant 3 stated that according to common criticism, Mbeki was not able to easily compromise on his visions. Participant three said:

“Effective leadership needs a lot of compromise. There is a sense that politics is a game of negotiations and give and take...and politics is forging alliances and coalitions...and you can’t do that if you are too strong...so it is a very tricky and intricate balance...And the translations of visions are what I call a process of mobilising and coercing constituencies...The criticism about him is that he was not able to do that as well, because people found him to be too over-winning and too strong...I mean that’s a very typical criticism of Mbeki...that he was not the kind that would make...which is understandable from an intellectual perspective because if you have very strong visions around something, sometimes you don’t want to compromise. I think the issue around HIV...the criticism around the position he took on HIV and so on and how long it took him to begin to listen to everyone else and to listen to a much more conventional readings of the problems.”

Participant 3 further indicated that Mbeki needed to build a stronger coalition, so that his ideas could have been supported and as such experience longevity. According to Participant 3, Mbeki’s vision was not sustainable because his leadership was not well received by the current leadership. Participant three said:

“So the dilemma is that he is interestingly making a vision at a moment when that vision is needed, but the circumstances are not as appropriate...the criticism is that there was no longevity of his ideas are left. Because he needed to make a much more solid coalition that would transcend him. If you are a leader selling ideas that are sustainable, then the Renaissance should still be spoken of and even more now.
We should question why the vision was not sustainable, and I don’t blame Mbeki for that...for the wavering of the Renaissance vision, because my point has always been that it was up to South Africa and the subsequent leadership to take it up, because it is still an agenda that you can’t wish away. It is an agenda they should not be apologetic about for taking on. They were not able to take this vision on because Mbeki was considered a pariah of sorts and that probably explains why...that when you undercut yourself domestically then your vision internationally is also not sustainable, it also does not have a long lease on life as it should be.”

Conversely, Participant 4 believed that Mbeki’s leadership was effective, although he may have faltered in some areas of policy. This participant credits Mbeki for establishing institutions that remain recognisable, and for establishing effective economic policies during his time in government. Participant four said:

“Yes, I definitely think so. And in elaborating, besides the things we have spoken about in relation to NEPAD and the African Renaissance, which have now become the standard ‘lone stars’ of South Africa, and that will be the case for many decades to come. In addition to all of that, I think also his understanding of economics made it possible that he was able to guide the process of taking very difficult decisions in the earlier years of our democracy, pertaining for instance to macro-economic stabilisation, GEAR...understanding that that would be unpleasant but necessary action in order to stabilise the macro-economic environment. We could see by the beginning of the new century that that stabilisation had been achieved and South Africa started picking up. And in that sense he was very effective, secondly, in relation to that... you will see in government’s approach a shift from emphasis of macro-economic to micro-economic issues...But inversely, as he sometimes paid attention to some details on particular issue, he might have missed the overall strategic approach, which might have undermined his achievement of certain things. So in my view, I would say he was effective, but nothing is perfect.”

According to Participant 5, Mbeki was an effective leader. He considered Mbeki to be one of the greatest presidents of South Africa. He credited Mbeki for igniting the African identity, and for establishing of governmental structures that remain to this day. Participant five said:
“In time to come, he will be recognised as one of the greatest presidents of the ANC, but in our country we’ve only had four presidents since 1994 so amongst the four, yes he would rank as one of the best...but we’ve only had four so far. I’m quite sure that long after we are dead and you have grandchildren, we will have had many more presidents that and they will then recognise that Mbeki was one of the greatest presidents that South Africa has had...that it was he more than anybody else in the sense that gave us a sense of belonging to the continent and drove the continental agenda for progressive change and he took us through the most difficult period after Mandela had left office and steered us through this difficult time.”

**5.3 CONCLUSION**

This chapter presented the main themes and findings of the research that arose from the interviews. The following themes were found in the analysis and were discussed: Pan-Africanist ideals, ideas for global reform, political leadership style, Mbeki’s mannerisms, influences on Mbeki’s political leadership style, as well as effective leadership. The following chapter will synthesise and discuss the results of the study in terms of the research questions by using the findings obtained from the semi-structured interviews, the literature review and the conceptual framework.
CHAPTER 6

ANALYSIS AND SYNTHESIS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The main objectives of this research study were to analyse Mbeki’s ideas for global reform and to identify his political leadership style during his presidential tenure from 1999 to 2008 by using content analysis. This chapter will provide an interpretation of the political life history of Thabo Mbeki by using the solicited documents and literature that were obtained, and the findings obtained through the five in-depth semi-structured interviews that were conducted; it will demonstrate why the political life history of Thabo Mbeki and the findings from the in-depth semi-structured interviews are relevant to the research, and will relate the findings of the research to other research carried out (spiral dynamics).

6.2 UNDERSTANDING THE FINDINGS OF THE RESEARCH IN TERMS OF THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The researcher sought to examine what ideas did Thabo Mbeki have for global reform and what was his political leadership style during his presidential tenure from 1999 to 2008?

6.2.1 Political Life History

Mbeki’s independent and diligent political leadership style was largely influenced by his upbringing, as his parents were considered to be independent thinkers and intellectuals and they valued discipline. Mbeki’s childhood was centred on the understanding and need for hard work, as his parents believed that it was important for their children to establish strong work ethics in order to assist their survival and growth. Therefore, this derives an explanation for Mbeki’s strong drive approach to leadership. Mbeki’s parents also believed in the process of consultation, and would
often consult with their children when making decisions, which serves as an indication of Mbeki’s consultative leadership style.

Mbeki was depicted as competitive and meticulous, characteristics that are believed to have stemmed from his interactions with Oliver Tambo. Mbeki was committed to the ANC and his value for hard work allowed him to climb the ranks of the organisation. As a result, Mbeki served as deputy president during the Mandela administration and then served as president of the Republic from 1999 to 2008 (a few months shy of completing his second term in presidential office). Unlike his predecessor, Mbeki was considered to be less charismatic and struggled to gain the approval of his constituents and as a result the South African people too. Despite the challenges he faced on the domestic front, he did, however, gain the respect of the international community for his strong Pan-Africanist vision and his ideas for global reform. Mbeki was able to translate his ideas of an African Renaissance by establishing intuitions and programmes that provoked African independence and its presence in global affairs.

6.2.2 In-Depth Semi-structured Interviews

According to the analysis derived from the in-depth semi-structured interviews it was revealed that Mbeki has very strong views about the progression of the African people. He believes that due to the challenges that African people have endured over time, they have the capacity to draw from their experiences and cultivate change. Mbeki believes that Africans should be valued as independent thinkers; and that the solutions to African problems must come from Africans themselves. It was also revealed that Mbeki’s strong Pan-African ideals stem from the Pan-Africanist visions of the ANC. In terms of Mbeki’s ideas for global reform, the findings indicate that Mbeki wanted to contend with Western powers and was considered an anti-imperialist; Mbeki wanted to foster relations at domestic and international levels; he wanted Africa to be considered a global player in politics; he wanted to reconfigure global institutions; more specifically he wanted to establish South-South relations; and he wanted to restructure global institutions and build African intuitions and programmes to benefit the development and governing structures of African states.
The participants shared similar views in terms of Mbeki’s political leadership style, as it was generally understood that Mbeki had a consultative leadership style, although his approach did not always transcend well. Mbeki’s consultative approach may have appeared too strict for some of the participants, while others could have been interpreted as an act of persuasion, and still others may have perceived his consultative leadership style as dedicated and encouraging. According to the participants, the popular media narrative of Mbeki’s political leadership style was that he was aloof and uncharismatic. However, some of participants believed that this was untrue and shared their own experiences to demonstrate a different perspective. The words that were used to describe Mbeki’s leadership style include: consultative, methodical, meticulous, intelligent, philosophical, visionary, tactful, and a good listener.

Mbeki was described as: friendly, concerned, modest, intelligent and a strategic person. Some of the participants believe that his mannerisms are a product of the time he spent in exile in England. However, it is also understood that his mannerisms are a reflection of his upbringing, and thus his high regard for African scholars and traditions. The findings revealed that Mbeki was largely influenced by the leadership style of his mother (Epainette Mbeki) who encouraged the principles of a servant-leader; O.R. Tambo (whom Mbeki had considered as father) who was very meticulous and highly critical of mediocrity; and Walter Sisulu and Duma Nokwe, who were both very intelligent and well-educated individuals.

The findings revealed that the individual interpretation of Mbeki’s political leadership style correlated with whether he was considered an effective leader or not. Some of the participants believed that Mbeki was a diligent and responsible leader who set high expectations for himself and those who worked with him. Some of the participants believe that Mbeki was an effective leader, because of his ability to inspire the notion of the African identity. He established institutions, programmes and governmental structures that are still recognised and used today (domestic and continental). However, one of the participants questioned whether Mbeki’s political leadership style could be identified as effective, as the participant indicated that according to popular criticisms Mbeki was not able to compromise on his vision and was not able to build a strong coalition. According to the participant, Mbeki’s ideas of
an African Renaissance did not have longevity, because he was unable to win the support of his constituents.

6.3 COMPARISONS WITH PREVIOUS RESEARCH AND SPIRAL DYNAMICS THEORY

According to the spiral dynamics theory, the orange thinking system represents a ‘strive-drive’ worldview, driven by success and autonomy. According to Viljoen (2015), Mbeki reflects the characteristics of the orange thinking system. The literature and the findings of this research correlate with this description. Mbeki strove for success and autonomy; he believed in individual action and placed emphasis on individual responsibility and detested mediocrity. He believed in efficient trade systems, as he sought to reform economic systems domestically and internationally by introducing economic policies to encourage growth and equality. Mbeki sought to use technology and innovation to alleviate poverty and establish institutions and programmes, such as the AU, NEPAD and others in order to foster development and independence in Africa. Mbeki wanted to improve society and sought to do so through his ideas of an African renaissance, as Mbeki believed that African people could create progress in their own environments without having to rely on international aid and Western powers.

Mbeki was driven by competitive advantage and leverage, as he wanted Africa to be an active player in global politics, but at the same time he wanted South Africa to be the leading agent. He was motivated by success motivations, and served as president of South Africa for almost two terms, having successfully led the ANC to achieving majority votes in both the 1999 and 2004 elections. Despite Mbeki’s success as president of the ANC, he did not always enjoy favourable commentary from his constituents, as his demand for excellence and his hatred for mediocrity led some to believe that he was a technocratic and paranoid leader. Mbeki valued the citations of experts and selected authorities, thus he believed that the solutions had to come from people who had true knowledge of the problem at hand.

However, for those who did not understand his thinking, he was often interpreted as an imperialist leader. Mbeki demonstrated a ‘best of several options approach’ to his
decision-making style, thus according to the findings he had a consultative political leadership style, indeed there is a correlation as Mbeki sought to consider all opinions and insights before settling on a decision. Mbeki believed in the structures of government and had a high regard for bureaucracy, as he wanted government to serve the people of South Africa. However, Mbeki would exercise his authority as president of the Republic, as he would feel largely responsible for making decisions for the people. This stance was also met with controversy, as despite his respect for collective decision-making, others who would question his leadership, would feel that he was domineering when he would challenge their inputs.

The orange thinking system is characterised by its up-and-across or top-down communication flow. Mbeki was often criticised for favouring a select set of individuals and for creating an inner circle. Others directly referred to his leadership style as top-down. Indeed Mbeki kept those that he trusted in close proximity and distributed a certain amount of responsibility. However, his inability to foster a cohesive coalition resulted in mistrust and suspicion among constituents. Although Mbeki was responsible for the establishment of several programmes, institutions and structures, he was not able to achieve such success domestically as he spoke at an intellectual, bureaucratic and power-driven level. For those who were a part of Mbeki’s inner circle, he was consultative, inspiring, assertive, a visionary, an intellectual, but those who felt distant or who were at a distance from him (marginalised constituents and the general public) interpreted Mbeki as imperial, aloof, distant and technocratic.

6.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter offered an analysis of the findings that were obtained, and illustrated why the findings were relevant to the research and to other research carried out. Mbeki’s political leadership style and ideas for global reform correlated with the orange thinking system found within spiral dynamics. Indeed, Mbeki was a natural organiser and leader, as he had the ability to cultivate a vision into a reality. His reasoned thinking and sharp negotiating skills served well to liberate the people of South Africa from the shackles of the apartheid regime. He was able to use his keen sight for strategic objectives and his tactful persuasion to harvest his ideas for global
reform. However, these very skills were also his downfall, as he was unable to translate his consultative and philosophical leadership style to his constituency and the greater population of South Africa.
CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the conclusions and recommendations of the study are presented. Firstly, the key discoveries from the research questions are highlighted. Secondly, the quality criteria of the research are presented. Thirdly, the significant contributions of the study are offered. Lastly, recommendations and suggestions for future research are provided.

7.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS ANSWERED

The aim of this research was to examine Mbeki’s ideas for global reform and to identify his political leadership style between 1999 and 2008. The preceding chapters sought to determine the following research questions:

1. What informed Thabo Mbeki’s Pan-Africanist vision and ideas for global reform?

According to the research Mbeki’s Pan-Africanist vision and ideas for global reform were informed by his upbringing, as his parents dedicated their lives to the empowerment of their people and instilled their ideals in terms of issues of poverty and freedom within their children. During Mbeki’s time in exile, he was exposed to the thinking of O.R. Tambo and Walter Sisulu and other ANC comrades. As a result, he adopted the ANC’s shared opinions and values in terms of their Pan-Africanism ideals.

2. How did Thabo Mbeki drive and implement his ideas for global reform?

Mbeki wanted to drive and implement his ideas for global reform through three specific approaches. He wanted to transform global politics by establishing
institutions and developing programmes that would include African leaders and in turn allow for them to be recognised as key global players, as well as independent leaders of their own states. He wanted South Africa to foster relations domestically and internationally, as well as to establish relations with the Global South, in order to secure the country’s role in African and global politics. Mbeki sought to impart his vision of an African Renaissance, as he wanted Africans to develop a more pragmatic approach toward their difficulties and the challenges faced due to the inequalities of the past. Indeed, Mbeki offered a pragmatic and a visionary approach toward driving and implementing his ideas for global reform.

3. What is Thabo Mbeki’s political leadership style?

Mbeki’s political leadership style aligns with the spiral dynamics orange thinking system, as Mbeki’s political leadership can be described as consultative, competitive, success driven and aspirational. In terms of Mbeki’s leadership structure, he had a top-down approach. Therefore, he would often consult with those that were in close proximity to him. However, this approach proved challenging, as although Mbeki sought to gain advice from those he trusted, he inadvertently isolated other members of his constituency.

In terms of Mbeki’s decision-making structure, he used a best of several options approach; as he would solicit advice from those close to him, and from experts and those that he understood to be authorities on specific matters of concern. As a result, his political leadership was received as aspirational, visionary, articulate and strategic by those who felt close to him. However, his political leadership style appeared technocratic, authoritative, distant and aloof to those who did not feel like they were a part of his inner circle; as a result members of his constituency did not feel accepted or trusted, and the general public was not able to easily understand his aspirations and thinking.

4. What influenced Thabo Mbeki’s political leadership style?

Mbeki’s political leadership style was influenced by his strict upbringing. Govan and Epainette were principled people and independent thinkers, and both believed in a
consultative approach toward matters and issues of concern. Mbeki was largely influenced by O.R. Tambo, Walter Sisulu and Duma Nokwe, all of whom served as guardians and mentors. He adopted many of O.R. Tambo’s leadership qualities, such as his disdain for mediocrity and his respect for independence, hard work and strategic thinking. Mbeki was also influenced by the innate leadership qualities of Walter Sisulu and Duma Nokwe, and the value they placed on education as the means to which poverty and inequality could be addressed.

5. To what extent was Thabo Mbeki’s political leadership style effective?

Mbeki’s political leadership style is understood to be highly effective as he built institutions and programmes that remained recognisable. He also imparted his vision of an African Renaissance and as a result allowed for African people to think about their identity and to question their role in changing their own environments. Mbeki established effective economic policies during his time in government. However, Mbeki’s top-down approach to leadership resulted in his failure to gain the support of his overall constituency, and although he developed a strong Pan-Africanist vision abroad, domestically he failed to win the approval of the people as his strategies and tactics to deal with economic, social and political policy did not translate well to the general public.

Therefore the following overall objective of the research was reached, namely, to examine Thabo Mbeki’s ideas for global reform, and to identify his political leadership style during his presidential tenure from 1999 to 2008. Through answering the research questions the objectives were reached; namely to study Thabo Mbeki’s Pan-Africanist vision and ideas for global reform, to develop a pragmatic understanding of how Thabo Mbeki navigated and implemented his African Agenda and ideas for global reform, to identify Thabo Mbeki’s political leadership style, to analyse the factors that influenced Thabo Mbeki’s political leadership style, and to assess whether Thabo Mbeki’s political leadership style was effective.
7.3 QUALITY CRITERIA OF THE RESEARCH

The researcher used a qualitative research approach and ascribed to a constructivist paradigm while conducting the research. The researcher used qualitative content analysis in case-study research as an analytical tool, and triangulation was used as a method in order to develop and realise more accurate analysis and explanation (Cox & Hassard, 2005). The single-case study research was used to expand and generate theory, and therefore the researcher sought to maintain high-quality exercises and procedures to ensure the validity of the research (Yin, 20

Although there is measurable criticism for and against life-history material, the use of official documents and biographical detail obtained from the available literature ensured the validity of the life-history approach (Plummer, 2001). The research questions were examined through a qualitative approach using in-depth semi-structured interviews. The researcher sought to protect the rights of participants and to comply with the ethical considerations stipulated by the University of Johannesburg, thus a consent form and an interview protocol form were issued to each participant (University of Johannesburg, 2015). Therefore the researcher has complied with the quality criteria of the research.

7.4 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The use of semi-structured interviews allowed for more in-depth insight into the participants’ perspectives of Mbeki’s ideas for global reform and his leadership style, allowing for shared and contrary understandings to emerge. This in turn made the interpretation and analysis more meaningful. A literature review was presented with regard to the research topic on Mbeki’s Pan African Agenda, his ideas for global reform, and his political leadership style. The study included a political life history of Mbeki in order to present the case. The findings of the study were presented, and were analysed and synthesised according to the findings in the literature and the theoretical framework (spiral dynamics).

The findings of this research are relevant to the wider study of Mbeki’s ideas and his political leadership style, as they are interrelated and highlight the study of leadership in both the politics and psychology disciplines. The purpose of
understanding the ways in which leaders think and act is important as it allows one to derive lessons for practicing effective leadership. This study highlighted Mbeki’s ambitious ideas for global reform, and that he sought to establish change in the global arena by encouraging a strong Pan-Africanist vision by establishing institutions and programmes to foster development in Africa and to allow for Africa to play a crucial role in global politics. Mbeki’s political leadership style was identified as consultative and philosophical. As a result through the analysis and synthesis of the findings and the literature it was revealed that Mbeki had an orange worldview and thinking system.

Although Thabo Mbeki is largely credited for the African Renaissance and the establishment of several institutions, further researchers should consider the role of other key players in the conceptions, successes and failures of these. Thabo Mbeki remains a controversial leader among most scholars and the depictions of his leadership style are often understood to be a general media narrative. Therefore, further studies should include a larger sample in order to avoid generalisations and biased understandings. This study leaned on both Political Science and Psychology in order to examine Mbeki’s ideas for global reform and to identify his political leadership style. Therefore, this study can be understood as a methodological contribution as it is crossing boundaries between the aforementioned disciplines. Thus, future research may contribute to our knowledge of leadership studies.

7.5 CONCLUSION

The research objectives of the study were obtained. Through a qualitative analysis, this research sought to examine Thabo Mbeki’s ideas for global reform and to identify his political leadership style from June 1999 when he became president of the Republic until September 2008 when he was recalled as president of the ANC. The research questions were examined using a single-case study in the form of a life history, in-depth semi-structured interviews, and solicited documents and literature to explore and gain insight into the inquiry. Content analysis was used as an analytical technique. According to the theoretical framework (spiral dynamics) and the findings of the study, Mbeki had ambitious ideas for global reform and his political leadership style could aligned with orange thinking system found within spiral dynamics. The
outcomes of the research have highlighted the multidisciplinary nature of the study leadership; the need for further research in to the leadership styles of individuals in order to avoid generalisations, bias and popular narratives.
ANNEXURE: A

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Title of project

“Thabo Mbeki’s African Agenda: Political Leadership Style and Ideas for Global Reform”

The researcher has provided an adequate explanation of this study, and I hereby declare that I have understood it. I have had the chance to put forth questions, and I am satisfied with the given responses. I recognise that I may remove myself or any information that I have offered for this study before July 2015 without issuing reasons.

I acknowledge that any information that I provide to the researcher, the supervisor and the co-supervisor will be kept confidential. I appreciate that the published results will not use my name, and that no opinions will be attributed to me in such a manner that will cause me to be identified. I accept that the audio recordings will be erased at the end of the study, unless I request for the recording to be returned to me.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewee’s printed name</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interviewee’s signature</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**ANNEXURE B: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FORM**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title:</th>
<th>“Thabo Mbeki’s African Agenda: Political Leadership Style and Ideas for Global Reform”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Time of interview:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewer:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewee:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Position of interviewer:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions:</th>
<th>Responses:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. What informed Thabo Mbeki’s Pan-Africanist vision and ideas for global reform?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. How did Thabo Mbeki drive and implement his ideas for global reform?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. What is Thabo Mbeki’s political leadership style?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. What influenced Thabo Mbeki’s political leadership style?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. To what extent was Thabo Mbeki’s political leadership style effective?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
REFERENCES


Ciulla, J.B. (2014). *Ethics, the heart of leadership*. California, CA: ABC-CLIO.


