



NAMIBIA UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

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**THE CONCEPT OF LEADERSHIP IN TWO AUTOBIOGRAPHIES, *WHERE OTHERS
WAVERED* AND *LONG WALK TO FREEDOM*: A POSTCOLONIAL READING**

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Declaration

I, Richard Munkuli, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis entitled: *The Concept of Leadership in Two Autobiographies, Where Others Wavered and Long Walk to Freedom: A Postcolonial Reading* is my original work, and I have not previously, in its entirety or part, submitted it to any other university or higher education institution for the award of a degree.

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Dedication

This research is dedicated to the following: The Almighty God, my wife, children, mother and my father. Without you, it would have been very difficult to accomplish this task. Walking with you through this journey has given me the much-needed strength. Daddy, thank you so much for your faith in me and teaching me that I should strive until the end.

List of acronyms

ANC	African National Congress
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West- African States
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
OPO	Ovamboland People’s Organisation
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SANDF	South Africa Defence Forces
SSA	Sub Saharan Africa
SWANLA	South West African Native Labourers Association
SWAPO	South-West African People’s Organisation
UN	United Nations

Abstract

The study sought to establish the concept of Leadership in two autobiographies, *Where Others Wavered* and *Long Walk to Freedom*, autobiographies of Nelson Mandela and Sam Nujoma, respectively. The study utilised secondary research in the form of qualitative desktop research in order to establish leadership roles, leadership styles and leadership concepts of these two African leaders. Content analysis was used to analyse research text and subsequent themes were generated. In terms of leadership concept, they shared the same values, as indicated that leadership is defined by commitment, training and observation, representing rights of the oppressed and responsibility. It was established that leadership is defined by commitment, training and observation, representing rights of the oppressed and responsibility. These concepts were shared by both Nelson Mandela and Sam Nujoma. Nelson Mandela was defined as a largely transformational leader who debatably demonstrated charismatic leadership style as presented in *Long Walk to Freedom*. Sam Nujoma hugely demonstrated an authoritarian leadership style as outlined in *Where Others Wavered*. Equally, Nelson Mandela had several roles such as supporting, planning, networking and advocating for change through the activities of the African National Congress (ANC) Youth League. The study established that Sam Nujoma had several leadership roles which included networking, planning and problem-solving roles as the front-line leader for South- West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) in the fight for independence for Namibia. The study concluded that their leadership concepts differed but they share some similarities in networking, planning and problem-solving roles for pursuit of their country's independence. The study recommends that future studies can compare countries that share regional boundaries such as Southern African Development Community (SADC) and Economic Community of West- African States (ECOWAS) in order to bring out an enhanced picture of African leadership.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background

Throughout history, humankind has examined the concept of leadership and the quality of leadership as a matter of critical importance (Pillay, Subban & Govender, 2013). In Africa, traditionally, a leader was accountable to the people and cared for them. In the context of culture and other influences, the philosophy of leadership has evolved over time. Today, though, the concept of leadership has not been clearly and consequently defined in literature. Consequently, this thesis seeks to investigate the concept of leadership as depicted in the two autobiographies, *Where Others Wavered* and *Long Walk to Freedom*.

According to Eckert and Rweyongoza (2015, p.2), "Africa has traditionally been the cradle of great leadership". In Southern Africa, two leaders, Nelson Mandela and Sam Nujoma asserted their influence and popularity beyond the nations they led before and after their term limits as presidents ended. Consequently, they are hailed for bringing together South Africans and Namibians, establishing a new national order. Many researchers revealed that despite Africa being a vast continent, there are very few researched autobiographies on African politicians which are available in the public space. Hence, this study argues that little has been done in autobiography studies in Africa to explore key leadership traits. Moreover, notwithstanding some claims regarding how the two selected leaders embodied true leadership, little has been done to locate and theorise their leadership style in relation to other African leaders. This research, therefore, seeks to explore traits in their leadership by evaluating their achievements and competencies to comprehend challenges as outlined in their autobiographies. Arguably, autobiographical texts are increasingly attracting critical attention, and work on autobiographies from several perspectives has become a vital area of research. It is evident that a lot of research has been conducted on Eastern and Northern African leaders, but little research has been done on the Southern African leaders, hence there is a great need to know more about these leaders (Pillay, Subban and Govender, 2013). Hence, using the postcolonial theories lens, the proposed study seeks to explore the concept of African leadership using autobiographies of two outstanding African leaders viz Nelson Mandela and Sam Nujoma. Their autobiographies are regarded as authentic and reliable sources of their leadership styles based on their achievements.

1.1 Statement of the problem

African leadership is a complex concept which keeps evolving and defies a singular definition. Many times, it becomes an abstract concept, one whose meaning is constructed socially and, as a result, is contested. Masango (2013) asserts that African leadership has evolved in three ways which include the religious, Christian and globalisation eras as the main sources of influence. On the other hand, Eckert, & Simon Rweyongoza (2015) go further and closely associate African leadership with values of Ubuntu, which is leadership identified with virtues of dignity whose purpose for the transformation of the community is greater than that of the leader. However, a modern comparative approach of African leadership has not been adequately explored and the current study seeks to do so using two political iconic African leaders. Using a literary perspective, this study seeks to understand why Sam Nujoma and Nelson Mandela were regarded as unique African leaders. It intends to examine their approaches and styles of leadership as depicted in the autobiographies *Where Others Wavered* and *Long Walk to Freedom*.

1.2 Objectives

The main objective is to investigate the concept of leadership as depicted in the two autobiographies, *Where Others Wavered* and *Long Walk to Freedom*.

However, the main objective is further subdivided into the following sub-objectives which will be:

- To examine the roles played by Sam Nujoma and Nelson Mandela in their pursuit for independence as reflected in the two autobiographies.
- To analyse the leadership styles of Sam Nujoma and Nelson Mandela as reflected in the two autobiographies.
- To explore how the leadership concept is represented in the two autobiographies.

1.3 The significance of the research

A contribution will be made by this study to the research of autobiographies within the Southern African context. Further, it will deepen our understanding of the concept of leadership. This study will be of benefit to leadership research scholars as they develop further gaps and insights gained from this study. Additionally, the study will provide a platform from which leadership styles in African countries could be compared to those of other developing nations. The study will benefit policy makers as they will be able to target leadership development initiatives for future leaders.

1.4 Literature review / Theoretical framework

The study of African leadership is emerging and still evolving; nevertheless, several studies have attempted to define the concept. Masango (2013) argues that leadership does not have a universal definition due to its complexity. According to Rost (1991, pp. 37), there are also other concepts related to leadership, including influence, power, and authority. Masango (2013) further observes that leadership is based on three principles which include influence, group of followers and hierarchy, insisting that leadership is almost impossible without these three elements. Pursuing this line of thought, Pillay, Subban & Govender (2013) assert that leadership is about developing persons that follow a leader based on the vision and purpose of the leader. The proposed study seeks to examine the concept of leadership from the perspectives of the two prominent political leaders in their pursuit to guide their nations towards achievement of independence. It also follows that leadership is influenced by context as it evolves in different places. The foregoing definitions indicate that the proponents of leadership hardly agree on the definitions of leadership. Different reasons are given for contention; hence this study seeks to decrypt the definitions using the two selected autobiographies.

Political leadership is often exercised in several different environments simultaneously. According to Hockin, “even if one definition of leadership were chosen [...] the operational meaning of the definition would change depending on the context in which said leadership would be exercised” (Hockin, 1977, p.34). Additionally, political leadership conceptualisation is highly dependent on leadership styles, so scholarship on leadership styles must be rigorously analysed.

Whilst the various concepts of leadership styles have been adequately addressed in literature (Burns & Burns, 2016), few studies have attempted to understand its classifications within the context of African leadership (Bolden & Phillip, 2011). Using the two autobiographies as the main sources, the current study will attempt to understand leadership styles within the context of Africa. In recent decades, a growing interest in autobiographies has emerged in literature. Additionally, a few classic autobiographies can be viewed as major works in political communication (Daniel, 1990). An autobiography can be categorised as life writing or a life narrative or a product of someone’s experience. Thus, autobiography is about concrete reality, not brute external facts. The external world is embedded in our experiences, but it is viewed from within through the modification of our inward lives (Weintraub, 1975). As such, autobiography presumes the writer is intent on reflecting upon this inner realm of experience (Weintraub, 1975).

For this study, postcolonialism was used as a theoretical framework. Bhabha's Theory of Hybridity and Mimicry (1994) was applied in the analysis of leadership in the two texts. A key feature of postcolonial theory is the Theory of Hybridity, which emphasises that cultures are confluences that cannot be separated (Bhabha, 1994). Adding on, Selden (2007, p.228) remarks that "Bhabha sees hybridity as a problematic of colonial representation which reverses the effects of the colonialist disavowal (of difference), so that other 'denied' knowledge enters upon the dominant discourse and estranges the basis of its authority." Furthermore, Bhabha raises the issue of cultural identity. Using the term mimicry, he shows how the natives have been westernised. This theory was appropriate for the study as it represented an unbiased view of what African leadership is, based on the values, cultures, and context in which it is practised. The theory used was appropriate because various concepts of western forms of leadership have dominated literature in Africa at the expense of true representation of African leadership.

1.5 Research Methods

A qualitative desktop research design was used whose purpose is to discover new information on what has already been published about a study (Hair, Page & Brunfield, 2016). This ensured that a new focus or perspective of the study would be obtained by the researcher utilising material that has already been published (Hair, et al., 2016). In addition, qualitative content analysis of two autobiographies was used. The study adopted, Schreicher's (2013) eight step procedure for content analysis. Firstly, the research questions were set as the guides of focus of the study. Secondly, the appropriate material was selected from these two books. Thereafter, material was placed into categories for easier data handling and then the data was further analysed under African leadership theories. The data was presented as narrative forms based on the themes that emerged. Findings were taken from the analysis and the presentation for further discussions and conclusions.

1.6 Delimitation of the study

In the proposed study, two autobiographies were examined, namely *Where Others Wavered* and *Long Walk to Freedom*. These two texts were purposively selected because of the similar themes that the researcher intended to pursue. These two autobiographies are from Namibia and South Africa, making them more representative of the Southern African political environment. The study focused on African leadership which is built on Ubuntu principles.

1.7 Limitations

The research was limited to Secondary desktop research only and it is imperative to note that there was no need for population size and sample size in this study.

1.8 Ethical Issues

Plagiarism was avoided, and the study adhered to NUST research requirements. The literacy works used in the study were treated with integrity and as such were properly cited and acknowledged.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter outlines and broadens concepts of leadership based on the African environment. It also goes further to discuss leadership styles that are predominantly used by political leaders. The chapter also highlights the roles played by Sam Nujoma and Nelson Mandela in the fight for independence for their respective countries. Lastly, it also reviews works that were done on the *Long Walk to Freedom* and *Where Others Wavered*.

2.1 Concept of African leadership

Prior research has consistently raised indigenous leadership as a key area for future research. "However, it still has not satisfied the thirst for knowledge from the African context." ("Multilevel perspectives on leadership in the African context"). The introduction of indigenous leadership styles and the expansion of our understanding of existing (e.g., Ubuntu) leadership styles are vital in Africa. African leadership literature has discussed Ubuntu as one such concept. First, what can we do to bring Ubuntu to the forefront of leadership research? Until now, major management journals have sparsely discussed this concept (Mangaliso, 2001).

In recent research, the researcher observed a link between Ubuntu and ethical leadership (e.g. Lutz, 2009; Pérezts et al., 2020; West, 2014). In spite of the commendable efforts made by scholars to link indigenous leadership styles to Western leadership approaches, Ubuntu needs to be operationalised as a leadership concept more fully and be examined for its contribution to African organisation and employee outcomes.

Furthermore, the researcher encourages scholars to introduce and develop other local concepts not well known in mainstream leadership literature. As an example, the Gada system in Ethiopia was established in the sixteenth century (Gutema, 2017; Jalata, 2012; Legesse, 2006). Until the mid-19th century, this system was used for indigenous self-government (Jalata, 2012). Checks and balances, the division of power, balanced opposition, and power sharing are some of the principles associated with the "Gada" (Jalata, 2012).

It is clear that these principles are in line with many of the leadership characteristics outlined in mainstream Western leadership literature. Similarly, Zoogah (2020) addresses this fundamental question (see below). The importance of indigenous leadership approaches cannot be overstated, not only in terms of their similarities and differences, but also as additional explanatory power of this system over and above established leadership styles/characteristics.

Drawing on early European explorers' diaries, this paper introduces the very first written and documented accounts of indigenous African leadership. Notably, this research contributes to a small but growing literature on indigenous African leadership (Malunga, 2006; Mazrui, 1970; Mbigi, 2005; Nwagbara, 2012; Obiakor, 2004). The philosophy of Ubuntu from South Africa has emerged as one of the most recognised indigenous African concepts in leadership studies (Mbigi, 2005). In general, this concept emphasises interdependence, humanity, community-building, benevolence, respect, and responsiveness (Mangaliso, 2001). This philosophical approach is argued to resonate across the Sub-Saharan African (SSA) continent (Sarpong et al., 2016).

However, questions have been raised regarding its uniqueness, effectiveness, and credibility (Bolden, 2014; Khoza, 2012; Sigger et al., 2010). This study contributed to leadership thinking in West and Central Africa, building on Ubuntu philosophies in a heterogeneous subcontinent. Considering that while leadership theorising in Africa has gained increasing interest (Walumbwa et al., 2011), a lack of empirical evidence is often cited (Zoogah, 2008).

2.2 Leadership styles within the African continent

2.2.1 Transformational leadership style

Leaders who focus on personal development and the needs of their followers are transformational. A transformational leader encourages their subordinates to go above and beyond expectations, according to Bass (1985). Bass asserts that transformational leaders can achieve that in several ways: first, by making subordinates aware of the importance and value of task goals; second, by making subordinates go beyond their own self-interest for the sake of the organisation; and third, by making subordinates increase their high-level needs.

In addition, transformational leadership emphasises the importance of valuing and appreciating employees (Stone et al., 2004). Transformational leaders inspire their followers. Those who use transformational leadership put more emphasis on encouraging and developing their employees.

A transformational leader also focuses on intrinsic motivation, values, and employee development. As a result, followers feel trusted, admired, loyal, and respected by transformational leaders (Yulk, 2010). A transformational leader cultivates shared values and empowers others (Owen et al., 2004; Ozaralli, 2003), and encourages subordinates to create as much quality work as possible (Limsila and Ogunlana, 2008). Leaders must recognise that transformational leadership emphasises their ability to transform. Employee motivation, commitment, and empowerment are used to change and transform employees (Yulk, 2010).

Through shared values and shared vision, transformational leaders are able to enhance employee commitment (Sadler, 2003). By influencing followers to buy into the vision, transformational leaders change things (Lussier and Achua, 2007). Further, transformational leaders' direct followers toward organisational goals and focus on the organisation. Rather than focusing on self-interest, they influence followers to focus on collective interest (Lussier and Achua, 2007). In doing so, they inspire followers to achieve greater success (Yulk, 2010).

2.2.2 Laissez-faire leadership style

The absence of effective leadership is what is referred to as laissez-faire (Yulk, 2010). In terms of leadership, laissez-faire is characterised by avoiding decisions, dismissing problems, not following up, and not intervening (Gill, 2006). ("JMD Leadership styles and organisational commitment: literature ... - VUMC") These leaders are indecisive and avoid taking leadership responsibility. Those who play a laissez-faire leadership role are passive and do not take the initiative to interact with group members (Sadler, 2003). Leaders like these avoid making decisions or giving direction to subordinates, nor do they involve themselves in their development. A laissez-faire leader does not pay attention to problems or followers (Yulk, 2010), or contribute to their growth (Northouse, 2007). In this type of leadership, feedback, rewards, and leader involvement are absent.

2.2.3 Transactional leadership styles

The transactional leadership model was developed by Burns (1978). The concept of transactional leadership refers to the exchange of value between individuals for economic, political, or psychological reasons (Burns, 1978). According to Burns, both parties have related purposes, but the relationship does not extend beyond the exchange of valued benefits. It is unlikely that followers will engage in extra-role behaviour as a result of the relationship (Erhart & Nauman, 2004). There is no mutual pursuit of a higher purpose between leader and follower in this style (Burns, 1978). ("The relationship between transformational - ProQuest")

Thus, Bass (1985) extended Burns' work and developed transactional leadership theory. Under transactional leadership, leaders, colleagues, and followers exchange information and ideas. Avolio and Bass, 1994) describe the exchange as a discussion between leaders and followers about requirements and rewards that followers will receive if they meet those conditions. Followers exchange things of value with transactional leaders (Ivey and Kline, 2010). ("Yahaya, R., & Ebrahim, F. (2016). Leadership styles and organisational ...") Leaders expect followers to perform or accomplish goals in exchange for praise and rewards (Bass et al., 2003). Thus, transactional leadership is realistic as it focusses on meeting the specific aims or goals (Aarons, 2006). ("JMD Leadership styles and organisational commitment: literature ... - VUMC")

2.2.4 Authoritarian leadership style

The authoritarian leadership style focuses on control. In order to maintain control, an authoritarian leader reinforces hierarchy by reminding subordinates of definitional differences and using titles. ("Homework 2- A Report on Leadership Approaches.docx") Authoritarian leaders tend to employ abusive supervisory techniques when they desire to clearly establish and maintain control (Aryee, Chen, Sun, & Debrah, 2007). In addition to these abusive tendencies, those lower in power are threatened and punished (Likert, 1961), resulting in poor communication (Cole, 2004). It is common for authoritarian leaders to disregard or discount the ideas or contributions of their subordinates due to their own self-centred motives (Aryee et al., 2007; Farh & Cheng, 2000). ("Antecedents and Outcomes of Abusive Supervision: Test of ... - ResearchGate") From this perspective, communication comes from the top and feedback is not appreciated. Subordinates perceive this type of leader to be overbearing, disrespectful, and self-centred (Chan, Huang, Snape, & Lam, 2012). As a result of these perceptions, subordinates may also act in retaliatory manner (Blau, 1964), targeting either the leader or the organisation (Harris, Kacmar, & Zivnuska, 2007; Levinson). ("A Look at Leadership Styles and Workplace Solidarity ... - DeepDyve")

2.2.5 Democratic leadership style

The democratic leadership style is often contrasted with the authoritarian style because of their incompatibility (Eagly & Johnson, 1990). In contrast to authoritarian leaders, democratic leaders encourage their subordinates to share decision-making processes with them (Bass, 2008). As participatory leaders, democratic leaders encourage sharing responsibilities with subordinates and have communication oriented on sharing responsibilities (Mullins, 2015). Subordinates who use this style are solicited for input (Kushalappas & Pakkeerappa, 2014), are perceived as more helpful (Luthar, 2016), and are open to subordinates communicating their ideas (Bhatti, Maitlo, Shaikh, Hashmi, & Shaikh, 2012). ("PRESENTATION ARTICALE 1.pdf - 664176 research-article2016...") The benefits of democratic leadership include increased productivity, satisfaction, and commitment by employees (Puni, Ofei, & Okoe, 2014). By providing encouragement to subordinates, Linski (2014) suggests that organisations can facilitate change at all levels by increasing their ability to provide feedback. Role ambiguity is less likely to be experienced by subordinates who have two-way communication with their supervisors (Johlke & Duham, 2014).

2.3 Roles played by Nelson Mandela and Sam Nujoma

Both Nelson Mandela and Sam Nujoma were already actively participating in the structures of liberation movements, ANC and SWAPO respectively (Saunders, 2015). Nelson Mandela together with Oliver Tambo (one of the ANC liberation giants) were the first to establish law

practice that helped black people needing legal help during the apartheid era (Mandela, 2012). Mandela led numerous defiant campaigns through non-violent means with the sole purpose of ending restrictions on movement and travel among black people (Lieberfield, 2014). He was also one of the main authors of the *Freedom Charter* which was a strategic road map used by ANC in their fight against apartheid (Lieberfield, 2014). Mandela was one of the founders of the military wing called *Umkhonto Wesizwe* and he received military training in Algeria and was subsequently arrested for acts of sabotage and spent 27 years in jail (Lieberfield, 2014). He was actively involved in the negotiations that led to the end of apartheid in South Africa and ushered independence in 1994 (Lieberfield, 2014).

Sam Nujoma was the founder of one of the first political parties in Namibia which was named the Ovamboland People's Organisation (OPO) and subsequently SWAPO in 1960. Nujoma then went into exile and frequently sent petitions to the UN so that Namibia could be ruled through a trusteeship system of the UN (Jallow, 2014). From 1960 to 1966, Nujoma failed to gain ground through non-violent means which then led to the formation of the military wing, People's Liberation Army of Namibia (Jallow, 2014). However, SWAPO was recognised by Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and United Nations (UN) as a liberation movement for the people of Namibia through diplomatic efforts of Nujoma (Jallow, 2014). Nujoma returned to Namibia after spending 30 years in exile and led SWAPO to electoral victory which led to independence in 1990 (Jallow, 2014).

2.4 Previous studies *Where Others Waivered*

Unlike *Long Walk to Freedom*, there are a few authors who have reviewed *Where Others Waivered*. The most recent of these was a book review which was focused on the historical narrative of what was included or excluded from the narrative towards independence (Saunders, 2002). It addresses the shortcomings and deliberate bias that was introduced in the book by the author (Saunders, 2002). Whilst it was meant to be an autobiography, it fails short as it talks more about other people other than Sam Nujoma although it was meant to reveal his own personal life history (Saunders, 2002).

2.5 Previous studies on *Long Walk to Freedom*

Several studies have looked at leadership roles demonstrated by Mandela with most of them highlighting his exemplary leadership in the form of several leadership styles which included servant leadership and charismatic leadership (Motsa, 2009). The same studies also attempted to define his style of leadership based on the different leadership roles that he played in the fight for liberation (Muswede, 2017).

2.6 Research gaps

The previous studies focused on the individual attributes of one leader and their leadership style (Muswede, 2017, Saunders, 2002). However, there is no study to date which compares the leadership styles and roles of the liberation icons for which this study pursued.

2.7 Summary

This chapter discussed the literature review based on the specific objectives of the study. The chapter also focused on the African leadership concept and further elaboration of leadership styles that were already in literature. The chapter also discussed briefly the roles played by Sam Nujoma and Nelson Mandela towards achievement of independence. In addition, previous studies were reviewed with the intention of establishing the gap of the study. The next chapter presents the research methodology of the study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter begins by elaboration the post-colonial theories and how they connect to the rest of the study. This is then followed by specific methods and procedures which were used to obtain findings of the study and these are: the research design, data analysis and research procedures. The chapter then concludes with a summary.

3.1 Theoretical Framework: Post colonial theories

The study of African leadership is emerging and still evolving; nevertheless, several studies have attempted to define the concept. In Masango (2013), leadership is described as a complex concept without a universal definition. According to Rost (1991, pp. 37), leadership is also related to other concepts like 'influence', 'power', and 'authority', contributing to the variety of competing definitions. Masango (2013) further observes that leadership is based on three principles which include influence, group of followers and hierarchy. Masango goes on to say that leadership is almost impossible without the three elements alluded to above. Pursuing this line of thought, Pillay, Subban & Govender (2013) assert that leadership is about developing persons that follow a leader based on the vision and purpose of the leader. The proposed study sought to examine the concept of leadership from the perspectives of the two prominent political leaders in their pursuit to guide their nations towards achievement of independence. The study also unravelled the fact that leadership is influenced by context as it evolves in different places. The foregoing definitions indicate that the proponents of leadership hardly agree on the definitions of leadership. Different reasons are given for contention; hence this study sought to decrypt the definitions using the two selected autobiographies.

Often, political leadership is exercised in different environments simultaneously. As Hockin (1997) has noted, "even if one definition of leadership were chosen [...] the operational meaning of the definition would change depending on the context in which said leadership would be exercised"(p.34). Furthermore, political leadership conceptualisation is highly depended on the manner in which leadership exercises it, hence, requiring scholars to have a critical eye on how the leadership styles are analysed.

Whilst the various concepts of leadership styles have been adequately addressed in literature (Burns & Burns, 2016), few studies have attempted to understand its classifications within the

context of African leadership (Bolden & Phillip, 2011). Using the two autobiographies as the main sources, the current study attempted to understand leadership styles within the context of Africa. Recently, autobiographies have gained a great deal of attention in literature. It is notable that, several classical autobiographies have been used as major texts in political history (Daniel, 1990). An autobiography can be categorised as life writing or a life narrative or a product of someone's experience. This means that autobiography is not a matter of brute external reality but of concrete reality. A sense of external reality is embedded in experience but is seen from within the modification of inward life that forms our experience; external fact acquires symptomatic value because of inward absorption and reflection (Weintraub, 1975). Thus, autobiography implies the writer's desire to reflect upon this inward realm of experience, someone who values it (Weintraub, 1975).

Post colonialism was used as a theoretical framework for this study. Bhabha's (1994) theory of hybridity and mimicry was applied in the analysis of leadership in the two texts. A key tenet of postcolonial theory is hybridity, which holds that all cultures are confluent and cannot be separated (Bhabha, 1994). Adding on, Selden (2007, p.228) remarks that "Bhabha sees hybridity as a problematic of colonial representation which reverses the effects of the colonialist disavowal (of difference), so that other 'denied' knowledge enters upon the dominant discourse and estranges the basis of its authority." Cultural identity is another issue brought up by Bhabha and he uses the term mimicry to describe how native culture has been westernised. This theory was appropriate for the study as it represented an unbiased view of what African leadership is, based on the values, cultures and context in which it is practised. The theory is based on the fact that various concepts of western forms of leadership have dominated literature in Africa at the expense of true representation of African leadership.

"This section attempts to link the concerns and critiques of postcolonial theory and anti-colonial thought." ("A Postcolonial and Anti-Colonial Reading of 'African' Leadership and") However, at the same time it demonstrates why African anti-colonialism is essential to understanding the particular form of colonialism in Africa and resistance to it. "Postcolonial theory is extensive and diverse because it covers a diffuse set of intellectual positions and practices (Ashcroft et al., 2006; Dirlik, 1994; Gandhi, 1998; Loomba, 2005; Young, 2001)." ("A postcolonial and anti-colonial reading of 'African' leadership and ..."). This heterogeneity is partly due to the interdisciplinary nature of postcolonial studies which ranges from literary and cultural studies to economics and political science as well as its diverse theoretical underpinnings (Loomba, 2005). It also draws from a diverse set of theoretical agendas, including post structuralism/post-modernism, feminism, Marxism, and psychoanalysis (Young, 2001). "The heterogeneity of postcolonial studies has given rise to several debates about its relevancy." ("A postcolonial and anti-colonial reading of 'African' leadership and ...")

The relevance and utility of postcolonial theory have been debated in Africa. Scholars have argued that its post-structural/postmodern orientations and reliance on discursive practices leave little room for addressing African material realities. As Williams (1997: 831) points out, this is the consequence of a lack of "authentic and sustained African input" into postcolonialism. Although Ahluwalia (2001: 9) recognises that Africa has largely been ignored by postcolonial theory formulations, he argues that postcolonial theory is a particularly empowering discourse for marginalised individuals because of its challenge to and reconfiguration of dominant narratives. Additionally, he argues that the use of a postcolonial lens to understand colonialism in Africa does not mean that anti-colonialism, *négritude*, and nationalism are irrelevant. "Instead, Ahluwalia (2001) believes the question of identity prominently raised in these earlier works is indeed the link to postcolonial studies." ("A postcolonial and anti-colonial reading of 'African' leadership and ..."). The significance and relevance of colonial theorists are explicitly emphasised by Young (2001: 68): 'Though postcolonial theorists are typically chosen for their interest in third world anticolonial thinking, they are dependent on these critiques of imperialism and the ideological system that underpins it'. According to Young (2001: 253), Francophone African socialism is one of the closest immediate precursors of postcolonial theory.

In many parts of the world, especially in Africa and Eastern Asia, postcolonialism has taken an interventionist position - it intervenes against the covert structures of imperialism which remain in place (Young, 2001). By using imperial structures, Said (1978) argues that the "other" - the subaltern - has been intentionally delegitimised. In *Orientalism*, Said writes that European culture gained strength by establishing itself as a surrogate, even underground self against the Orient. In the Post-Enlightenment Era, Europeans were able to systematically manage and subordinate the Orient - the people of Eastern Asia politically, socially, ideologically, and scientifically in the 16th Post-Enlightenment Era can be understood by critically studying how they persistently and consistently used power to promote their rhetoric of European superiority.

Said (1978) explained why Europeans ruled Eastern, Central, and Western Asia and some eastern parts of the world. As an example, he analysed Arthur James Balfour's June 1910 speech to the British House of Commons. According to Balfour, the British colonisation of Egypt was not only for Egyptian benefit but also for that of Europe (p. 33). Said went on to say that the British justification for their existence in Egypt came from the Egyptians' inferiority and subsequent lack of "self-governance." Despite their belief in the inferiority of the people over which they ruled, the British did not explicitly admit that belief in public addresses and political activities. As a result, Said enlightened his readers with an agenda that was based on the conviction that "England probably knows Egypt better than it knows itself" (p. 34). Essentially,

the English used their limited understanding of their colonies to justify claims that their knowledge of Egypt was greater than Egyptians' and, therefore, capable of ruling it. In light of the above, postcolonial movements have been concerned with dispelling notions of inferiority among people in former colonies and the idea that they cannot govern themselves (Bhabha, 1994; Said, 1978). Since the turn of the 20th century, African intellectuals have also struggled against European colonialism and later against western imperialism (Achebe, 1994; Mandela, 1994; Nkrumah, 1955).

The anti-imperialism struggles in Africa, which began more than a century ago, have evolved into a war against colonial and neo-colonial oppression (Young, 2001). In essence, colonial/neo-colonial oppression is the result of western hegemonic exploitation or what Young refers to as global imperialism on Africa. This type of exploitation relies heavily on power because it allows another actor to do what it would not otherwise do (Goldstein & Pevehouse, 2010, p. 45). A more powerful actor/state is able to gain the advantage over a less powerful actor/state. According to Young, post-colonialism challenges and unpacks the subtle but profoundly totalitarian nature of western colonialism and imperialism. According to him, any attempt to undermine colonialism and imperialism is merely a convenient deflection from the real issue, which he disagreed with. Even though colonialism was a period of dominance, it was also a form of imperialism. It is for this reason that "colonialism" is often substituted for "imperialism" in this study.

The concept of imperialism encompasses all the structures used to sustain the dominance of a group over another (Said, 1978). The study is related to the postcolonial agenda of intervening on the covert forms of oppression still prevalent in the Third World, especially in Africa. "Postcolonial" or "postcolonialism" refers to an entire academic discourse that emerged because of ideological, political, economic, and cultural liberation: "the politics of anti-colonialism, neo-colonialism, class, race, gender, nationalism, and ethnicity" (Young, 2001, p. 11). An African leadership agenda modelled after Nelson Mandela, and Sam Nujoma is likely to advance the goal of creating social and ideological transformation, according to the research. Research conducted in this study argues that the role of African leadership in postcolonial discourse is crucial for African economic freedom. By developing a sense of African nationalism with painstaking determination, the study determined the agenda for the above-mentioned African leaders, who ultimately won their people's political freedom. African colonial history was used to analyse the accounts of African leaders (Onanuga, 2018).

In this study, mimicry and hybridity were key constructs of postcolonial studies. It was found that both leaders' accounts were not only analysed within an organisational context, but also that their actions were influenced by discourses of colonialism and Westernisation, as

colonial/neocolonial subjects (Hall, 2011). Mandela and Nujoma became famous after World War II, when most colonised countries began seeking political independence from their colonisers. In the research, the term African nationalist was used to describe someone who is passionate about Africans and the continent. The person believes that Africa is capable of succeeding all by itself, without the help of others.

3.1.1 Hybridity

Although the current study focused on African leadership, hybridity becomes important as a postcolonial construct. Hybridity describes how local and Western cultures are mixed to form one distinct from both. Hall (2011) explained that, “increasingly, organisations and their control are used to denote the mechanisms put in place to regulate individual or group behaviour and internal cultures cannot be understood separately from the unique cultural realities of the societies in which they exist” (p. 619). It is possible for Western thought and ideals to transform an individual into a hybrid identity by mixing indigenous culture with that of Western powers. Hybridity does not happen by choice but because “not all ancestral roots are accorded the same symbolic privilege within nation-building projects.” (Munasinghe, 2002, p. 664). Thus, one group is compelled to align itself with the ideals of the dominant culture. There is, therefore, a subordination of one or more groups in the production of hybrid identities. This study proposes that colonial/neo-colonial subjects are hybridized, which complicates the discourse. A constant switch between two separate identities contributes to this complexity: one being the Western identity and the other being the African identity.

3.1.2 Mimicry

As explained by Bhabha (1994), mimicry is linked to issues of control. Essentially, the postcolonial social actor mimics the coloniser as a means of navigating the sense-making process. Mimicry did not occur by accident during the colonial experience; colonial outposts were set up to teach colonial citizens how to mimic the coloniser's institutions and the hierarchical colonial discourses of race, class, and nationality (Hall, 2011, p. 618). Even though mimicry is unintended, it has the effect of making the colonised similar to but not quite the same as the coloniser. Thus, the colonised resemble the colonisers in a false way. In history, colonialism repeatedly exercises its authority through figures of farce (p. 85), according to Bhabha. Through repeated performances of the coloniser's identity, the colonised becomes a copy of the coloniser. A dialect between agency and control is introduced into colonial/neo-colonial discourses, thereby strengthening the authority of the coloniser (Onannuga, 2018). Through mimicry, the colonised loses her/his agency and control in favour

of the coloniser who is being mimicked. Hence, the coloniser is seen as the owner of Westernised identity.

3.2 Research design

A qualitative desktop research design was used whose purpose is to discover new information on what has already been published about a study (Hair, Page & Brunfield, 2016). This was done to ensure that a new focus or perspective of the study could be obtained by the researcher utilising material that has already been published (Hair, et al., 2016). In addition, qualitative content analysis of the two autobiographies was used. The study adopted, Schleicher's (2013) eight -step procedure for content analysis. Firstly, the research questions were set as the benchmarks of the study. Secondly, the appropriate material was selected from the two autobiographies. Thereafter, material was placed into categories for easier data handling and then the data was further analysed under African leadership theories. The data was presented as narrative forms based on the themes that emerged. Findings were taken from the analysis and the presentation for further discussions and conclusion.

3.2.1 Procedures

The study utilised the highlight feature of Foxit PDF software as the researcher read through the text whilst making notes of the relevant themes of the study. In addition, the researcher utilised secondary sources which reviewed the two autobiographies. The analysis in turn was based on the post-colonial theory and resultant paradigms were also within that context but presented in narrative format.

3.2.2 Data analysis

Data analysis for the current study was based on the use of content analysis. Bryman and Bell (2018) state that content analysis has several strengths which allow one to have fuller comprehension of the research data thereby giving context to the researcher. In addition, content analysis allows the researcher to have a multi-perspective view from different participants (Creswell and Creswell, 2016). This then allowed the data to be placed into categories and placed into the relevant sections for the study based on the paradigm that was given in the first section of this chapter. The data was then presented in narrative format for which then themes were presented for discussions and conclusion.

3.3 Chapter summary

This chapter presented the research methods that were used to obtain findings of the study. The next chapter presents the findings of the study based on the research objectives juxtaposed to the two autobiographies.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the study based on the two selected texts, *Where Others Wavered* and *Long Walk to Freedom*. This chapter provides a brief synopsis of the two autobiographical works which then flows into the different themes for each research objective. More particular, the findings were based on the roles played by Sam Nujoma and Nelson Mandela which led to the independence of their respective countries. Secondly, the findings were also based on the leadership styles of both leaders. Thirdly, the findings were based on the leadership concept based on these two leaders. The chapter ends with a conclusion.

4.1 Synopsis of selected text

This section provides synopsis of literature based on the two selected texts and several themes have been generated through content analysis. The first part provides a synopsis of the entire chapters followed by a synopsis of selected sections within the book from which themes emerged.

4.1.1 *Where Others Waivered*

The book was written by Sam Nujoma as an autobiographical account of the narrative of the fight for independence. The Namibian liberation struggle has never been more fully described by anyone involved in it than in the book *Where Others Wavered*. Despite not explaining its title, the book is titled after a statement made by Nujoma in 1978, a crucial year in Namibian history. His statement is one that was often repeated afterwards by him and others: 'When the history of a free and independent Namibia is written one day, SWAPO will go down as having stood firm where others have wavered: that it sacrificed for the sacred cause of liberation where others have compromised'. ("Where others wavered: Nujoma at 80 | Pambazuka News"). In addition to asserting and substantiating SWAPO's heroic role in bringing independence and freedom to Namibia, the title also praises those who stood firm and condemns those who did not. Taking a different view of Namibia's liberation struggle, Nujoma challenges the critical assessment of SWAPO's participation in Colin Leys & John Saul, *Namibia's Liberation Struggle*. The sub-title on the cover of Nujoma's book is '*My life in SWAPO and my participation in the liberation struggle of Namibia*', which is misleading since the book primarily discusses SWAPO and its struggle and not his own life and involvement.

4.1.2 Long walk to freedom

Long Walk to Freedom is based on the autobiographical account of Nelson Mandela which he wrote when he was in prison (Muswede, 2017). The book is a thoughtful and reflective narration, and Mandela is honest about the setbacks that he and others suffered (Saunders, 2002). The book describes Nelson as a young boy to the time he became a father and one of the leaders of the ANC Youth League (Mangcu, 2018). The book shows the cultural and societal assumptions which formed the values of traditional leaders at that time. The book then follows through the years when Nelson left to get formal education at the University of Fort Hare and University of Witwatersrand (Muswede, 2017). This is also the period when Nelson met several liberation stalwarts and Mandela became very active and became a symbol of defiance in South Africa (Mandela, 2012).

4.2 Leadership roles displayed by Nelson Mandela

This section addresses the leadership roles of Nelson Mandela as articulated in text and these roles include networking, planning and problem solving.

4.2.1 Supporting

Nelson supported the ideas of those who had the same interest of liberation from all forms of oppression by the apartheid regime. Nelson was part of the group that developed the ANC Youth League manifesto which then led to the actual formation of the Youth League, but referred to this group in a collective manner as “we” instead of “I”. He had no intention like others to start their own party but rather to develop the original ideas of the party.

“But we were reaffirming and underscoring those original concerns, many of which had gone by the wayside”, (p. 65).

Mandela also visited relations who were affected by police brutality as a result of the mine workers strike and showed his support despite it being on a losing cause.

“I had a number of relations who were mineworkers, and during the week of the strike I visited them, discussed the issues, and expressed my support” (p. 67).

4.2.2 Planning

Right from the early days of the struggle, Mandela was involved in planning roles in boycotts and strikes. He often planned with a group of very courageous men who at times were victims of police brutality.

“During the strike I sometimes went with him from mine to mine, talking to workers and planning strategy” (p. 67).

He also mentions that the nation-wide strike had been properly planned with moderate success.

“It was the first time I had taken a significant part in a national campaign, and I felt the exhilaration that springs from the success of a well-planned battle against the enemy and the sense of comradeship that is born of fighting against formidable odds” (p.67).

4.2.3 Advocating change

Nelson showed extraordinary resolve to be a change agent, as evidenced by his refusal to allow the status quo to remain the same in the face of increasing repression. This actually led to the defeat of the then ANC president due to his stance not to become too militant in order to gain liberty (p. 70). Nelson could not sit and wait as social injustices prevailed in society, firstly it was his decision with the support of others to form the Youth League which was an idea considered unnecessary since the ANC party was already there. (p.65), The idea behind the formation of the ANC Youth League was that the main party had deviated from its mandate (p.65).

4.2.4 Networking

Nelson Mandela had a close relationship with Gaur who gave him a fresh perspective of the history of the struggle through materials and lectures that Gaur delivered. This relationship led Mandela to participate in the Alexandra bus boycott in 1943. The boycott was caused by the sudden increase of bus fare by one penny. It was Gaur’s commitment to the struggle that encouraged Mandela to participate (p. 58).

In August 1943, “I marched with Gaur, and ten thousand others, in support of the Alexandra bus boycott, a protest against the raising of fares from four pence to five. Gaur was one of the leaders and I watched him in action. This campaign had a great effect on me. In a small way, I had departed from my role as an observer and became a participant. I found that to march with one’s people was exhilarating and inspiring. But I was also impressed by the boycott’s effectiveness: after nine days, during which the buses ran empty, the company returned the fare to four pence”. P. 63).

When the young Nelson went to study at Wits University, he also met future liberation leaders such as George Bizos and Ismail who were both liberal individuals (p. 63). Nelson also went to Walter Sisulu house where he also met with other political leaders such as Oliver Tambo and Victor Mboobo to discuss and develop ideas of the liberation agenda (p. 64).

4.3 Leadership roles of Sam Nujoma

This section addresses the leadership roles of Sam Nujoma as articulated in text and these roles include networking, planning and problem solving.

4.3.1 Networking

Sam Nujoma began to have close relationships with those that had been in the liberation of Namibia's independence. Of these, his first influence came from Chief Hosea Kutako, Gabriel Mbuende and others who made Nujoma aware of the role of United Nations in reporting atrocities that were being perpetrated by the South Africans among the Namibian people:

"I myself became aware of the United Nations through Chief Hosea Kutako. I came to him through friends such as Gabriel Mbuende, and the late Clemens Kapuuu, a teacher trained in South Africa, then acting secretary of Chief Kutako. They not only brought us to Chief Kutako-Katjikururume, "wise elder" as we called him, they were also with Himumuine, our teacher. Around Chief Hosea Kutako, we were able to talk about how we would achieve our first objective, ending of the slave contract system"(<https://neweralive.na/posts/retracing-footsteps-liberation-struggle-icon-where-wavered-autobiography-sam-nujoma-6>).

This would lead to future networking opportunities that led Nujoma to travel from one city to another on a diplomatic offensive with severe pressure to make compromises (Saunders, 2015).

4.3.2 Planning

Nujoma began an astute planner in his role as the organising secretary of OPO, with detailed objectives and plans of how they would strengthen their resistance activities and evade arrest from colonial authorities.

"I met with Muashekele to draw up plans and strategies, and we quickly decided to convene a meeting during the church service. There I was given the floor to explain in detail the aims and objectives of OPO. I urged the residents to mobilise the people and establish an OPO branch in Tsumeb" (p. 61).

Nujoma recounts his extraordinary journey across Africa without a passport in 1960 followed by the lonely years of exile which were very long. Initially, he was the only SWAPO official in Dar-es-Salaam. A young, well-dressed, self-confident politician appears in the photograph chosen for the dust jacket of the book, taken at the Third All African People's Conference in Cairo in March 1961(p. 116). Among the many flights he took, from meeting to meeting, from country to country, another photograph shows a very weary man waiting in an airport lounge (p. 186). SWAPO gained increasing recognition and support from the international community until the late 1980s despite the major setbacks as South Africa dragged its rule.

4.3.4 Problem solving

Sam Nujoma clearly articulated his need to be a problem solver who represented the rights of Namibians who had returned as contract workers in South Africa. Apparently, they had been paid in very meagre wages than their white counterparts. In addition to these little wages, they were given utensils and scented soap which the Boers confiscated stating that they were not suitable for blacks. Reverend Hamutumbangela wrote a petition of complaint about what the Boers were doing and the presiding Bishop then transferred him in collusion with the Boers. Sam Nujoma and his friends then confronted the Bishop about what he had done, leading to the return of the same reverend.

“Early in 1958, Fanuel Kozonguizi and I decided to confront Vincent, the Anglican Bishop. He agreed to see us. Early one Tuesday evening, we went to him at his house next to the Anglican Cathedral. We told him: "You, an Anglican Bishop, have collaborated with the Native Commissioner to remove Reverend Hamutumbangela because he petitioned the United Nations, opposing the injustices being done and the robberies of the Contract workers properties. Kozonguizi was then a student at the University College of Fort Hare in South Africa and we put our case strongly. The Bishop was plainly alarmed. This was most likely the first time in his life that he had been confronted in this way by Africans. We told him. We are going to denounce you unless you make sure that Reverend Hamutumbangela is returned to his parish, and that you stop collaborating with the Boers” (p. 55).

Sam Nujoma was able to utilise his knowledge of the travel itinerary and system of the railways at the time, he managed to use cleverly devised ways such as booking oneself in the first-class compartments for which blacks were not allowed to use. In the process he was able to travel and organise rallies which would have been almost impossible without such knowledge.

“I was thus able to defeat the travel restrictions and get to places like Walvis Bay to the west and Tsumeb far to the north, to form branches of OPO and to mobilise the workers” (p. 57).

4.4 Leadership style Sam Nujoma

This section provides themes that relate to the dominant leadership styles adopted by Sam Nujoma. Of the several leadership styles that stood out, Sam Nujoma adopted an authoritarian leadership style which was also cascaded within SWAPO and provided through in-text evidence and several other scholars cited.

4.5.1 Authoritarian leadership style

Finally, *Where Others Wavered* builds one's reputation and his power by assembling memory to build the reputation of one person and one movement (Saunders, 2018). Other key actors and events in the drama have either been 'airbrushed' from history or are only mentioned

selectively. However, the book is a story about courage, honour, and pride. A dogged endurance could be added to this litany. Saunders (2013) concludes [that] “A reading of *Where Others Wavered* will bring no comfort to those concerned about the future of democracy in Namibia today”.

The wider insinuation for the democratic project and for the political culture lodged in the book deserve serious consideration by scholars, a discussion of democracy and rights should also be centred around the mechanisms that ensure their survival and enforcement (Saunders, 2018). Sceptical, engaged, and clear voices are still required to contribute to this debate. In this sense, *Where Others Wavered* maintains one of the main liberation struggle myths, notably, that the struggle was essentially maintained by the external leadership. (“Memory politics in *Where Others Wavered* the Autobiography of Sam ...”). Based on their account, and from other sources, it is clear that SWAPO was highly authoritarian while based in Zambia and Angola in the 1970s and 1980s and that critical voices were suppressed (Saunders, 2018). SWAPO activists who campaigned for a representative congress in 1975–76 were jailed, and a decade later the leadership actively discouraged grassroots mobilisation (Leys and Saul 1994 and 1995:14 and ch. 4).

It is apparent from Nujoma's title that he was not generous with those who dissented and they were traitors in his eyes according to history. His choice of title seems odd from this perspective, since one would have expected him to emphasise his own steadfastness and determination rather than the fact that others had wavered, but it fits into the pattern of recent attacks on Namibians deemed traitors. His aversion to presenting his own ideas as right, as well as his dismissive comments about others' limited vision, may also be explained by his own lack of educational opportunities. At least in part, this background may also explain his inability to engage with reporters and his resort to bluster and rhetorical accusations.

Of Shipanga and other ‘reactionaries’, Nujoma merely said, ‘we simply asked them to leave’ (p. 247). He did not mention their detention in Zambia and Tanzania and appeared to justify what was done to them by saying that their ‘numbers were very small. Fewer than a hundred were involved’. He merely continued: ‘There was really no uproar at all ... the armed liberation struggle continued with intensity’ (p. 247). Nujoma did not address the allegations against him and his organisation but brushed them aside and presented a bland and highly distorted narrative. This is consistent with SWAPO's refusal to address such issues since independence. SWAPO's ‘wall of silence’ was enriched by Nujoma's authorial voice. However, Nujoma demonstrated some consideration for the criticism that SWAPO's procedures in exile were not democratic because he made the astounding claim that during the years of exile,

there were 'democratic elections every five years for the leadership of the Party' (p. 246). No explanation was given as to what type of elections were held. In the decades of exile, only two 'consultative' conferences were held, and none in the 1980s, the era of 'spy drama' (Saunders, 2018). In suggesting SWAPO was democratic in its practices, Nujoma is reading back in history what he wanted to find.

SWAPO never encouraged open discussion among its members, it is not surprising that in the book no sense of debate is apparent, no alternatives are weighed, no rational decisions are made, and no analysis is provided of SWAPO documents that relate to democracy (Saunders, 2019).

Nujoma's memoir suggests he had little understanding of what a democratic system involved. Besides dismissing critics as waverers and traitors, there was an easy attempt to sweep under the rug unsavoury events. Nujoma wrote of 'the elimination of some puppets like Chief Elifas' (p. 251) as if it was a justifiable act. As for the detainee scandal of the early 1980s and the damage it did to SWAPO, Nujoma's narrative of SWAPO in the late 1980s was one of SWAPO advancing 'from strength to strength'. As far as he was concerned, the detainees' detention was legitimate because they provided information to the South African Defence Force, thus contributing to the massacres at Shatotwa and Cassinga (Saunders, 2018). In addition, he failed to address the claim that SWAPO leadership knew in advance of these raids but failed to alert camp residents (Saunders, 2018). He merely said, 'If we are accused of ill-treating detainees, this was very little compared to the killing, cruel torture and brutal treatment the apartheid South African regime inflicted on our people over so many years', and adds: 'we prefer to leave that sad history behind us and concentrate on national reconciliation ...' (p. 357). This is all he and other SWAPO members have said on this since independence.

4.6 Leadership style Nelson Mandela

Mandela leadership style was largely a transformational one which was largely influenced by the traditional leadership style for which Mandela was exposed to as shall be seen in the section below.

4.6.1 Transformational leadership style

"Mandela had to practice what (following Burns 1978) has been popularly dubbed 'transformational [or "transforming," "transformative"] leadership.'" ("Leadership and power in Nelson Mandela's Long Walk to Freedom"). Mandela's brand of political leadership has been obscured by the current faddish popularity of the term, especially in the field of organisational behaviour. Mandela can be better understood by Burns' own writings (1978, 2003), which are

explicitly political and historical (for instance, with reference to the American and French Revolutions). A key role played by Mandela's leadership in this transformation was transforming the South African political order, not merely reforming it around the edges. However, the generalisations used by Burns and others to describe transformational leadership do not easily capture the precise character of Mandela's leadership and the specific contribution it made to the change of South Africa: 'new cultures and value systems,' 'empowerment' of followers, the 'capacity to be visionary' (Burns 2003, pp. 22–29, Conger 2004, pp. 1568–1570). "As applied to Mandela such descriptors are not incorrect, but they do not take us very far" ("Leadership and power in Nelson Mandela's Long Walk to Freedom").

It was necessary for the researcher to look at Mandela's own remarks about leadership in *Long Walk to Freedom*, to three metaphors he employed: shepherd, draughts player, and gardener, to transcend preconceived notions of what constitutes transformational and charismatic leadership. Mandela's self-description should not be seen as neutral or definitive, but rather as a process of breaking free of leadership stereotypes, which are clearly grounded in his own character rather than qualities attributed to him. Mandela explained why he decided to hold talks without the approval of his colleagues in ANC he said: 'There are times when a leader must move out ahead of his flock, go off in a new direction, confident that he is leading his people the right way. He returns to a metaphor he has introduced earlier in the book at 36'. Mandela (1994) aimed to describe himself by speaking about a tribal regent he had seen as a child:

My later notions of leadership were profoundly influenced by observing the regent and his court. I watched and learned from the tribal meetings that were regularly held at the Great Place. The meetings would continue until some kind of consensus was reached. They ended in unanimity or not at all. "Unanimity, however, might be an agreement to disagree, to wait for a more propitious time to propose a solution." ("propose a solution - Перевод на русский - примеры английской | Reverso ...") "Democracy meant all men were to be heard, and a decision was taken together as a people." ("Democracy meant all men were to be heard, and a... - Sehnsucht") Majority rule was a foreign notion. A minority was not to be crushed by a majority. Only at the end of the meeting, as the sun was setting, would the regent speak (p. 35).

The purpose of his speech was to sum up what had been said so that consensus could be reached between the diverse opinions. The conclusion was not forced on those who disagreed. Another meeting would be held if an agreement could not be reached.

"As a leader, I have always followed the principles I first saw demonstrated by the regent at the Great Place." ("Long Walk to Freedom - Regent") "I have always endeavoured to listen to

what each and every person in a discussion had to say before venturing my own opinion." ("Nelson Mandela quote: *I have always endeavoured to listen to what each ...*") "Oftentimes, my own opinion will simply represent a consensus of what I heard in the discussion." ("Leadership Traits in Nelson Mandela - Pennsylvania State University") "I always remember the regent's axiom: a leader, he said, is like a shepherd." ("Nelson Mandela - "I always remember the regent's axiom: a... | Facebook") *He stays behind the flock, letting the most nimble go out ahead, whereupon the others follow, not realizing that all along they are being directed from behind. (1994a, pp. 18–19)*

There are several things worth noting in this passage. As a first point, Mandela's later remark about a shepherd moving ahead of his flock is reversed from the way the metaphor appears in the beginning. Typically, the shepherd directs from behind based on an implicit consensus (a consensus evident only to him) and in a largely invisible manner. The exception would be a leader who moves out ahead of the flock in the absence of consensus and at great risk (as Mandela did in secretly inviting talks with the government). This indeed is suggested by Mandela's own phrasing: to say that '*there are times*' when a leader must move out ahead of the flock, also implies that there are times when it is better for a leader to follow, to 'lead from behind.'

The second thing to notice is that Mandela does not speak of an automatic consensus here. There are times when it completely fails. To achieve consensus, the leader needs to actively work to bring together diverse opinions in a way that is agreeable to everyone. In contrast to opinion surveys, this is not the type of consensus that can emerge or be readily evident from what large numbers of people do or say. Third, one should notice – but at the same time should not exaggerate – the exercise of power implicit in this image of 'leading from behind.' The shepherd leads the flock to its destination, even though the flock cannot achieve it on its own. Considering the leader's active role in generating consensus, coupled with his invisibility, this passage has some Machiavellian overtones. Nevertheless, 'leading from behind' is necessary because the shepherd has limited control over the flock - evidenced by the huge risk the leader takes when attempting to lead in a new direction. In contrast to actual sheep, the members of this flock retain their autonomy of judgement and have the power to renounce the shepherd at any time, a possibility Mandela never forgets.

A shepherd's power lies in his detailed knowledge of his flock (a quality also emphasised by writers on charismatic leadership, it is fair to note). While imprisoned on Robben Island, Mandela read Tolstoy's *War and Peace* and commented on the character of General Kutuzov. Mandela observed that:

Kutuzov defeated Napoleon precisely because he was not swayed by the ephemeral and superficial values of the court, and made his decisions based on a visceral understanding of his men and his people. It reminded me once again that to truly lead one's people one must also truly know them. (1994a, p. 428)

In the same way as Mandela's shepherd, Kutuzov also 'led from behind'. From his own experience, Mandela described instances in which leaders either realized or failed to realise the 'leading from behind' principle: one such occasion led him to conclude that it was 'of no use to take an action to which the masses were opposed, for it would then be impossible to enforce'; on a later occasion he insisted it was dangerous for Robert Sobukwe of the Pan Africanist Congress to promise 'Freedom in 1963' because '*there is nothing so dangerous as a leader making a demand that he knows cannot be achieved*' (1994a, pp. 116, 293).

It is important to note - without exaggerating - the idea of unanimity rather than simple majority rule: "A minority was not to be crushed by a majority." Mandela, 1994, p. 35.' Taken at face value, this would seem ironically to indicate a commitment on Mandela's part to precisely the kind of minority-veto model of rule that the National Party insisted upon, almost to the very end, as a precondition for allowing universal suffrage in South Africa, and that Mandela and the ANC utterly rejected as nothing more than white rule in a new guise. It was de Klerk who insisted upon something like Mandela's African tribal ideal – consensus or nothing – whereas Mandela and the ANC insisted on the 'foreign' European concept of majority rule during negotiations for a new South Africa.

One should note, however, that Mandela never stated that consensus was any kind of formal decision rule backed up by veto rights in telling the story of the regent (as it is, for example, as it is on a jury verdict, and as it would have been under the constitutional structure demanded by the National Party). A leader's creative work is crucial to achieving consensus. This distinction between consensus as goal (which he embraced) and unanimity as a decision rule (which he rejected) explains Mandela's achievement in negotiating a peaceful transition to majority rule without granting any permanent minority veto (2009b, pp. 196–199, 216–221).

At another point in *Long Walk to Freedom*, Mandela used the metaphor of playing draughts (checkers), a skill he developed on Robben Island. 'My style of play was slow and deliberate; my strategy conservative. I carefully considered the ramifications of every option and took a long time between moves. I resist such analogies, but it is my preferred mode of operating not only in draughts but in politics.' In contrast, some other players made their moves 'rapidly as though points were awarded based on speed.' Mandela would carefully consider moving his piece and call out 'Quipu – which means "I strike!"' (Mandela, 1994, p. 396).

In this example, Mandela symbolically drew a political analogy without explaining it in detail. As a slow and deliberate thinker, with a conservative strategy, he considered the implications of every option, but when he made a move, it was decisive. Using checkers as a metaphor suggests thinking through the opponent's perspective and imagining how the game and its strategy look from that point of view. He used this method (as will be noted below) to become fully acquainted with the history and traditions of his opponents, which was relevant to his actual accomplishments as a political leader. Almost everyone recognises that it is essential to ask oneself how matters look from an opponent's perspective (both in board games and in politics), but in practice, this is extremely difficult.

The gardening metaphor comes still later in the book. During his time at Robben Island and at Pollsmoor Prison, Mandela had ample time to practice gardening. It was first introduced as a private pursuit: 'One of the few things in prison one could control was a garden ... a simple but enduring pleasure.' But then he turned to the political analogy:

'A leader must also tend his garden; he, too, plants seeds, and then watches, cultivates, and harvests the results. Like the gardener, a leader must take responsibility for what he cultivates; he must mind his work, try to repel enemies, preserve what can be preserved, and eliminate what cannot succeed' (1994a, p. 426). ("Nelson Mandela quote: In some ways, I saw the garden as a metaphor...")

Compared to the shepherd and draughts playing metaphors, the gardening metaphor is more general and less revealing. Mandela's decision to initiate talks with the government during his solitude at Pollsmoor echoes the line about a leader taking responsibility for what he cultivates. It would be irresponsible for him to neglect the fruit at the very moment it ripened, after so many years of advocating negotiations with the government, and threatening violence to compel negotiations.

4.6.2 Charismatic leadership style

Max Weber defined charismatic leadership as a form of authority, characterised by devotion to an individual's exceptional sanctity, heroism, or exemplar character and to his normative patterns (Weber 1978, p. 215). A longer list of characteristics has been added to explain charismatic leadership. These include the vision of the leader, selflessness, willingness to take risks, close attention to followers' own needs and interests, and capacity to produce in one's followers a sense of connection with the leader and internalisation of the leader's values (Conger 2004, p. 1568). The problem with charismatic leadership theory (as Weber himself recognised) is that followers may attribute qualities to leaders they do not actually possess.

Even though the concept of charisma may have merit in describing some forms of leadership, its application to Mandela is limited. In *Long Walk to Freedom*, he discusses leadership generally and his own style of leadership. Nowhere in his leadership did he suggest 'charisma' or anything akin to it. Video footage of Mandela's public addresses shows he was thoughtful and dignified, but not charismatic in the classic sense. Some of the characteristics of charismatic leaders can be applied to Mandela; others cannot. In his speeches, Mandela stressed the need to study the needs and interests of followers carefully. The aim of his autobiography, which he began writing while imprisoned on Robben Island, was to remind people of what they had fought for and continue to fight for (1994a, p. 415); he invited identification in that limited sense.

While charismatic leadership in the strongest sense of the word is characterised by "self-transcendence and complete identification of followers with leaders," he never requested or expected it. He neither 'ordained' nor 'revealed' a new political order; he had to bargain and negotiate it into existence. A key characteristic of charismatic leadership is a willingness to take risks, but many anti-apartheid activists also demonstrated this trait.

His strategy of deliberately risking his reputation to jumpstart negotiations distinguished him from other anti-apartheid leaders. He became a world-recognised symbol of resistance to apartheid because of serving 27 years in prison and on his release, the public responded as if Moses had handed down the Ten Commandments (Glad and Blanton 1997, quoting journalist David Ottaway). After leaving prison, Mandela's legendary status might have faded and he could have become a political fossil from a bygone age (Mandela 1994a, p. 437). In any case, he did not expect uncritical respect for his leadership from his ANC colleagues. As pointed out above, he assumed that, if this risky step failed, he would be renounced for his judgement in inviting talks with the government. It was even more challenging for him to influence many anti-apartheid organisations besides the ANC following his release from prison. It is unlikely that he would have enjoyed such standing among most white South Africans, even if he had enjoyed 'charismatic' authority within the resistance movement. The willingness of the leaders to give up power rather than resort to civil war is also a factor to consider. Nelson Mandela's reputation as a charismatic leader, based on his success in ending apartheid, tells us little about his actual leadership style.

4.7 Leadership concept of the two icons' selected text

4.7.1 Leadership is responsibility

Both leaders share this view and has been demonstrated in several texts that have been used in the study. Sam Nujoma's descriptions of how he grew up, echoed the same comments that for one to be a leader one has to be responsible for what has been assigned to them. The

text in italics below shows the importance of responsibility for any leader, which is that of providing protection and assurance to those that are being led.

“grew in strength and learned responsibility in herding my family’s cattle and guarding them against natural predators the lion, leopard and jackal” (p.7).

Similarly, Mandela also drew the same thoughts about leadership as he concluded his autobiography, *“I have walked that long road to freedom. I have tried not to falter; I have made missteps along the way. But I have discovered the secret that after climbing a great hill, one often finds that there are many more hills to climb. I have taken a moment here to rest, to steal a view of the glorious vista that surrounds me, to look back on the distance that I have come. But I can rest only for a moment, for with freedom come responsibilities, and I dare not linger, for my Long Walk is not yet ended” (p. 751).* (“Nelson Mandela > Quotes > Quotable Quote - Goodreads”)

4.7.2 Leadership is about representing the rights of the oppressed

Mandela had several encounters that led him to be a representative of persons that had been oppressed in the same way as Sam Nujoma. The first of such encounters was that of first year university students at Fort Hare who were often humiliated by their seniors by demanding that they do embarrassing tasks.

“In the end, the warden decided not to intervene. We had remained firm, and we had won. This was one of my first battles with authority, and I felt the sense of power that comes from having right and justice on one’s side. I would not be so lucky in the future in my fight against the authorities at the college” (p. 40).

Sam Nujoma acted in the same way and used his personal savings in ensuring that a boy who had been whipped by his white master to be given a shirt and used his influence to ensure that the boy gets treated and escape from his cruel master.

“I personally witnessed the results of the cruelty of white employees while working at the railway station in the late 1940s. It happened one day, early in the morning, that I found a young boy of about 15 years who had been dropped off at the station by a train that had come in from the south. This boy was paralysed as a result of having been beaten with a whip by his white master. He was naked and had only a sack which he carried in his arms. I rode my bicycle home and fetched a shirt which I gave him. Afterwards, I saw to it that he was taken to hospital by the railway police. Luckily, he was young and able to recover from his wounds. His master reported to SWANLA that the boy had run away and demanded, therefore, to be supplied with another worker, Nujoma, 1990, p. 32”

4.7.3 Leadership is about commitment

This concept is about commitment and dedication to the cause of liberation over a period of time.

Sam Nujoma and many other liberation war heroes spent the greater part of their lives in danger and committed to the cause of independence for a period of almost 20 years. There are several sections in the book where the commitment and hardships endured demonstrated that they were willing to die for what they believed in. Sam Nujoma had this to say:

"I became a participant dedicated and committed to the political and military struggle for freedom and independence that has long been the story of Namibia" (p.10).

He goes on to say that he had to quit his job so that he could focus on politics; "In 1957, at the age of 29, I resigned from the South African Railways (SAR)with the purpose of devoting my time to politics. However, I had to face the problem by law, an African not employed or in the service of a white man would not be allowed to stay in Windhoek" (p. 44).

4.7.4 Leadership is trained and observed

Both Sam Nujoma and Nelson Mandela grew up in close contact with the royal court where most leadership discussion took place and were highlighted in text by both leaders. For example, Nujoma was proud of being born from a royal lineage,

"My parents, both father and mother like my grandfather and many generations before them, were also born in Uukuambi, and were both from the royal families of that region. My father was Utoni Daniel Nujoma " (p. 19).

Further to this, Sam Nujoma appreciated the tough training that he received through his father for the leadership journey ahead:

"My Father made sure that I was properly trained and prepared both mentally and physically. I had to go through all the ethnic and tribal rituals, with a clear purpose that as a man I would be able to understand initiatives and succeed in the most difficult missions. My father often told me that I must be responsible and be able to look after myself even if he was not there to take care of me." (p. 28).

Even Mandela also reported similar experiences based on his upbringing on the royal court and this was explained in the following sentiments:

"As a leader, I have always followed the principles I first saw demonstrated by the regent at the Great Place. ("Long Walk to Freedom - Regent") "I have always endeavoured to listen to what each and every person in a discussion had to say before venturing my own opinion." ("Nelson Mandela quote: I have always endeavoured to listen to what each ...") "Oftentimes,

my own opinion will simply represent a consensus of what I heard in the discussion." ("Leadership Traits in Nelson Mandela - Pennsylvania State University") "I always remember the regent's axiom: a leader, he said, is like a shepherd." ("Nelson Mandela - "I always remember the regent's axiom: a... | Facebook") He stays behind the flock, letting the most nimble go out ahead, whereupon the others follow, not realising that all along they are being directed from behind". (1994a, pp. 18–19)

All Nelson Mandela's biographies stress that his leadership was influenced by and modelled after how his guardian, Chief Jongintaba, conducted village meetings. It has been repeated so many times that it has become unquestionably true. Several major biographies will suffice to illustrate how easily their authors fall into this repetitive mode. According to Sampson (1999), the regent listened silently and impassively for hours before finally attempting to reach a consensus at sunset. Similarly, the regent's leadership style served as a model for Mandela's leadership as President: President Mandela would always remember Jongintaba's advice that a leader should be like a shepherd, directing his flock from behind by skilful persuasion' (Sampson, 1999:35).

Meredith (1997) similarly argues that the regent's patient, inclusive style 'made a profound impression upon [Mandela]'. Limb (2008) also ascribe Mandela's democratic leadership to tradition: Mandela was exposed to African tradition of leadership and conflict resolution through consensus during his time at the Great Place - democracy in its purest form.

According to Bonner (2015), traditional inspiration can also be found in the following:

His observation of Chief Jongintaba's behaviour and demeanour as a boy would also have a profound influence on Mandela throughout his life. Mandela was left deeply impressed by the regent's manner at court, where he listened to all sides with regal impassivity, reflecting and weighing the points, before finally deciding and declaring a decision.

Similarly, Brown (2015) describes Mandela's leadership using this template. A major influence on South Africa's future president was the regent's style of leadership, which (as Mandela remembered it) was more collective than individual. Scholars of decolonisation, even radicals, claim that African societies are infantilised by the chief as paterfamilias. Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Ngcaweni (2018) write that: Mandela's formative political consciousness was influenced by his experiences at the Great Place (royal place) of Chief Jongintaba, the acting regent of the Thembu.

4.7.5 Leadership is not a result of educational qualifications

Mandela, unlike Nujoma had a formal university education. Mandela was surprised that great leaders such as Walter Sisulu never went beyond standard six but demonstrated leadership skills for which Mandela as a university graduate lacked at the time. This showed that leadership was responding to the needs of the community and solving problems.

“I had been taught that to have a B.A. meant to be a leader, and to be a leader one needed a B.A. But in Johannesburg I found that many of the most outstanding leaders had never been to university at all. Even though I had done all the courses in English that were required for a B.A., my English was neither as fluent nor as eloquent as many of the men I met in Johannesburg who had not even received a school degree” (p. 51). “Although I intended to finish my degree and enter law school, I learned from Gaur that a degree was not in itself a guarantee of leadership and that it meant nothing unless one went out into the community to prove oneself” (p. 53).

4.8 Summary

This chapter presented the findings of the study based on the research objectives which were set out in the first chapter. Synopsis of both *Where Others Wavered* and *Long Walk to Freedom* were given first followed by a detail discussion of text from the selected text and this also included the several themes that emerged from the text. The next chapter provides a summary, recommendations and conclusion of the study.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the main findings of the study are summarised, which were presented in the previous chapter. As mentioned in the first chapter, the study's findings are based on the research objectives. Furthermore, the chapter concludes and recommends the study based on its findings.

The study sought to achieve the following objectives:

- To examine the roles played by Sam Nujoma and Nelson Mandela in their pursuit for independence as reflected in the two autobiographies.
- To analyse the leadership styles of Sam Nujoma and Nelson Mandela as reflected in the two autobiographies.
- To explore how the leadership concept is represented in the two autobiographies.

5.1 Summary of major findings in relation to the objectives

This section outlines the summary of the findings which were based on content analysis of selected autobiographies. The findings are outlined separately for each objective and recommendations then follow afterwards.

5.1.1 Objective 1

The study sought to investigate the roles played by Sam Nujoma and Nelson Mandela. The study established that Sam Nujoma had several leadership roles which included networking, planning and problem-solving roles as the front-line leader for SWAPO in the fight for independence for Namibia. This was clearly articulated in the book, *Where Others Wavered* and presented. Equally, Nelson Mandela had several roles such as supporting, planning, networking and advocating for change through the activities of the ANC Youth League. Nelson Mandela took several roles as given in the *Long Walk to Freedom*.

5.1.2 Objective 2

The second objective was focused on establishing the leadership roles taken by Sam Nujoma and Nelson Mandela in the two autobiographies. Nelson Mandela was defined as a largely transformational leader whose style demonstrated charismatic leadership style as presented in *Long Walk to Freedom*. Sam Nujoma hugely demonstrated an authoritarian leadership style as outlined in *Where Others Wavered*.

5.1.3 Objective 3

The third and last objective focused on articulation of the leadership concept from both leaders. It was established that leadership is defined by commitment, training and observation, representing rights of the oppressed and responsibility. These concepts were shared by both Nelson Mandela and Sam Nujoma as highlighted in Chapter 4.

5.2 Recommendations

- The present study utilised post-colonial theories which were postulated by Bhabha and emerging African leadership theories. Future studies should utilise the same theory in conjunction with other theories of leadership.
- The study analysed *Where Others Wavered* and *Long Walk to Freedom* as key texts for the study. Future studies should focus on autobiographies of other African leaders such as Robert Mugabe, Kenneth Kaunda, Samora Machel, Fredrick Chiluba just to name but a few.
- The study was geographically placed in South Africa and Namibia. Future studies can compare countries that share regional boundaries such as SADC and ECOWAS in order to bring out an enhanced picture of African leadership.

5.3 Conclusion

The study analysed concept of African leadership based on *Where Others Wavered* and *Long Walk to Freedom*. The study concluded that the leadership roles for Sam Nujoma and Nelson Mandela in their struggle for independence of Namibia and South Africa were not much different as their roles included supporting, planning, advocating for change, networking and problem solving. The study also further established that Nelson Mandela used largely a transformational leadership style whilst Sam Nujoma adopted a largely authoritarian leadership style. In terms of the leadership concept, they shared the same values, as indicated that leadership is defined by commitment, training and observation, representing rights of the oppressed and responsibility.

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TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.

I am writing to certify that a thesis titled “**THE CONCEPT OF LEADERSHIP IN TWO AUTOBIOGRAPHIES, *WHERE OTHERS WAVERED AND LONG WALK TO FREEDOM: A POSTCOLONIAL READING***” was presented to me by **RICHARD MUNKULI STUDENT NUMBER: 212107119** for LANGUAGE EDITING.

Neither the research content nor the author’s intentions were altered. The content guarantees the quality of English Language in this paper. The editor’s track changes were accepted and further changes made by the authors were checked and a final version of the thesis was sent to the authors for submission and examination.

Do not hesitate to contact me if you have any queries. Thank you.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Mhene'.

Dr Max Mhene

(Lecturer: English, Literature and Communication)