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His previous appointments were:

- Director-General of the civil service college, PALAMA;
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- Professor in the Faculty of Management at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg; and
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His PhD was in quantitative sociology, on changes in students' political perceptions during the overthrow of apartheid. He has written, co-authored or edited some fifty journal articles, chapters and books. His degrees are from the University of the Witwatersrand, Oxford and Sussex.