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# The role of *Transformation* in the de-segmentation and re/production of academic labour, post-apartheid: 1986 – 2012.

Kezia Lewins

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

10 November 2017.

Abstract

The recent student-led struggles for the *De-colonisation* of higher education have been premised on the lack of *Transformation* within the sector. This study, focuses specifically on how some of these underlying issues have been of concern to permanent academic labour within public higher education institutions. It explores the extent to which there has been racial, gender, and educational de-segmentation in access to academic labour between 1986 and 2012. In conjunction, the experiences of academic staff, within two cases study institutions, on different post-apartheid trajectories is also documented. The role of *Transformation* within these change processes was specifically explored. Here, *Transformation* is used to encompass a variety of state, institutional, and activist-initiated interventions, namely restructuring, employment equity, and symbolic and socio-cultural transformation. Through the use of the mixed method approach, the study finds a range of incongruities between the goals and outcomes of change processes. The study finds that de-segmentation inevitably raises fundamental questions of the re/production of academic labour. Despite numeric de-segmentation, *Transformational* processes themselves often re/produce patterns of exclusion, inequity, and re/racialisation.

The study's core argument is mapped and unfolds throughout eight comprehensive chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the purpose and aim. Chapter 2 thematically reviews a broad scope of existing literature in which the study's main argument is positioned. Chapter 3 engages the potential, challenges, and reflections of the mixed method at the heart of the research. Descriptive statistics generated from the HEMIS data base, analysis of 113 in-depth qualitative interviews across two case study institutions, and policy analysis were the core methods. Chapters 4 through 7 provide the research findings. The former two chapters, meticulously detail numeric de-segmentation across the sector and within the case studies. The latter two chapters, engage the rich texture, nuance, and contradictions of the academic condition in the face of *Transformation*. Lastly, Chapter 8 provides a summative discussion of the findings within the context of key literature. This thereby highlights the main contributions, and concludes the study through consideration of its significance, implications, directions for future research, and recommendations to improve academic labour conditions.

**Key words: *Transformation*, restructuring, employment equity, de-segmentation, academic re/production, decolonisation, academic labour, racism, sexism, and institutional culture.**

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy to the Faculty of Humanities at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination to any other university.

_____

Kezia Lewins

10th day of November 2017.

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# Chapter 1: Introducing the research and thesis

## 1.1. Background

*Transformation*[1] is one of the quintessential keywords of the new South Africa and yet the higher education sector has been remarkably slow to change. Nowhere is this more evident than within the professional academic labour market and the professoriate in particular. In 2012, of all full professors of all nationalities in permanent employment in universities in South Africa, 23.5% were Black. Of these, 14% were African and only 2% were African women (Van Wyk, 2015)[2]. Furthermore, Professor Habib, Vice Chancellor of the University of the Witwatersrand, disclosed that only 33% of all Wits' professors were South African. Of these, only 18% were Black and of the same, 8% were African[3] (Smalhorne, 2014).

Higher education, like all professional sectors, labour markets, and workplaces in South Africa, emerged and developed under Apartheid and is struggling with transformation from the social, political, economic, cultural, and ideological effects thereof. The importance of *Transformation* in and of the higher education sector is perhaps one of the most salient, given the role that universities play in the production, and arguably the reproduction, of vast sections of the professional and skilled classes[4] and their effect on social transformation in general.

The higher education sector developed to provide skilled labour to manage the expansion of the colonial, apartheid, and more recently, democratic bureaucracy. Although legislated, employment colour bars were never formally applied to institutions of higher education.

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[1] Reddy (2008: 209) has extensively discussed the historical contestations and uses of the concept of transformation in South Africa. This thesis adopts a specific use of the term that encompasses both the material and symbolic. More on how *Transformation* is used here can be found in Chapter 2.

[2] In this thesis, unless otherwise stated, African, Coloured and Indian are collectively referred to as Black. These categorizations along with White are used as descriptors of 'race' as per the Employment Equity Act (1998). The EEA typically only refers to South Africans by such categorizations. However, here these categorizations are used to refer to both South African and international staff respectively. Nationality is stated where relevant.

[3] This refers to both Full and Associate Professors.

[4] In Chapter 2, re/production is also defined, suffice to say here, that this study is concerned with the range of ways in which academia contributes to the continuing longevity of itself as a labour market as well as other key professions in the political-economy and society of the day.

However, an examination of sectoral and institutional statistics throughout the period distinctly demonstrates the racial and gendered bifurcation of higher education employment (See Chapter 4)[5].

Furthermore, the effects of the application and extension of the policy of 'Bantu education' to higher education, with the Extension of University Education Act in 1959, effectively established higher education institutions as segregated places of study. This further entrenched the segmented academic labour market. Even at the democratic transition in 1994, many institutions could be described as typical apartheid workplaces where the academic staff component was often 95% White, and a few had yet to employ any Black academics at all (Lewins, 2006; Makobela, 2000).

Post-apartheid, the higher education sector has been subject to numerous centralized (state) and decentralized (institutional) policies that have attempted to conceptualize and give effect to *Transformation*. Numerous wide-ranging and broad-based documents[6] and policies have attempted to give voice to the kinds of change that will bring about a transformed sector, institutions, and opportunities for all who come to work and study in higher learning. Within the higher education sector, and taken cumulatively, transformation has become known as an umbrella concept that can include any or all of the following: a single coordinated system; equity of access, opportunity and participation[7]; cooperative governance; goal-oriented funding; efficiency and effectiveness; standardization, alignment and differentiation of regulated qualifications; reform and redress; and democratization, social justice and institutional culture (See for example 'NCHE Report: A Framework for Transformation', 1996, 'Education White Paper 3: A Programme for the Transformation of Higher Education', 1997, 'Higher Education Act No. 55 of 1997', and 'Transformation and Restructuring: A New Institutional Landscape for Higher Education Landscape', 2002).

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[5] Apartheid legislation made the general provision of colour bars a reality in all sectors through the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act of 1956 and whilst sector specific legislation such as the Extension of University Act of 1959 and its amendments did not specifically apply job reservation to higher education, institutions formally and/or informally operated closed shops. The case of Archie Mafeje at the University of Cape Town appears to be the only case where direct state pressure was brought to bear on the level of appointment of a Black member of the academic staff.

[6] In excess of 35 pieces of higher education policy have been processed and promulgated by and through the department, since 1994 (Hay & Monnapula-Mapasela, 2009: 6).

[7] This includes demographic representivity at multiple junctures.

Many have written on the content, contribution, consequences and shortcomings of such policy, which has in turn created entire fields of policy scholarship around education, higher education, labour and science and technology, and such. See for example: Badat (2009), Odhav (2009), Sehoole (2005), Ntshoe (2004), Kraak (2004), Ensor (2004), Boughy (2003), Jansen (2002), Peet (2002), Cloete and Maasen (2002), Kraak (2000), Cloete and Bunting (2000), and Tapscott (2000). Unfortunately, rather than a proliferation, this has meant that there is somewhat of a lacuna in the application of labour studies to higher education, and to the de-segmentation of the academic profession in particular. This tendency for key areas to fall off the radar or between the interstices has previously been identified by those studying joined up and cooperative government (see for example: Davies (2009)).

Despite this, the Employment Equity Act (EEA) (1998) specifically addresses the de-segmentation of workplaces and occupational categories. In the 18 years since it was ratified, research has attempted to examine its implementation and efficacy in various industries and workplaces, including higher education. See among these: de Wet and Erasmus (2013), Featherman, Hall and Krislov (2010), Badat (2010), Bezuidenhout, Bischoff, Buhlungu and Lewins (2008), MacEwen, Louw and Dupper (2005), Cassim (2005), Cross (2004), Fiske & Ladd (2004), Dupper and Garbers (2002) & Subotzky (2001).

Furthermore, a great number of scholars have been interested in understanding how factors such as race, gender, sexuality, disability and HIV status, among others, play out in the higher education sector. As an environment that has a constantly fluctuating student cohort but a relatively stable staff cohort, as well as all that an academic institution offers and claims to be (in intellectual terms), it provides an interesting site for the study of the diversification of ideas and practices. Some of the regular and sustained contributors to the conversation on 'race' in the higher education sector include: Erasmus (2012), Naidoo (2010), Badat (2010), Pillay (2009) and Jansen (2009), whose work will be further discussed in Chapter 2.

Many of these have shown that there is indeed more continuity and less change than some policy makers and certainly activists would like to see. Studies that have revealed a degree of change are often those conducted at institutions that underwent expansive structural transformation (or mergers) and had less institutional control over the pace and direction of change. Despite the importance of these case studies for both conceptual and practical learning, there have been surprisingly few in-depth studies. See Reddy (2007), Sehoole (2005) and Jansen (2002) for notable examples of published research on merger experiences.

A few centralized and decentralized studies have been commissioned on the basis of institutional and sectoral incidents, flare-ups, and crises that have called attention to the tensions permeating the surface. In 2008, the Reitz Incident[8] led to a Ministerial Commission and the release of an extensive report on 'Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education Institutions' in that year. The recent and nationwide #Feesmustfall movement of 2015/16 calls into question the legitimacy of many existing practices within higher education, the state's (lack of) investment in and prioritization of higher education, and internal institutional practices including the very discourse of *Transformation* which the movement has replaced with *Decolonization*.

### 1.2 Research aims and objectives

This study has two broad yet fundamental aims. The primary aim is to provide a comprehensive overview of the de-segmentation of academic labour as an occupational category under transition. The transitions that form part of the study variables are collectively and cumulatively referred to as *Transformation*. However as is delineated in Chapter 2, these are also variously understood as restructuring, employment equity, and transformation[9]. In a context in which *Transformation* is commonplace, in rhetoric if not in practice, I attempt to deconstruct how race, gender, and the academic workplace are understood, conceived of, given meaning, reconceptualised and/or resisted within higher education institutions across both time and space. Arising out of the resultant overview of the sector, the secondary aim is to develop a relevant empirically driven explanatory model of academic staff transformation.

[8] Young White male students at the University of Free State subjected elderly African women working in outsourced positions at the University to degrading and demeaning acts of depravity and subordination with highly racialized, gendered, and classist over and undertones. After a film clip went viral, the events received mixed responses with considerable condemnation. The University's Black Rector (VC) took a particularly liberal and lenient position in the name of reconciliation which led to further debate within and beyond the institution.

[9] This thesis refers to both *Transformation* and transformation. The former is all encompassing whilst the latter refers more narrowly to social justice, democratic participation, and institutional culture oriented initiatives. Chapter 2 further deconstructs and clarifies the use of these concepts further.

Given the interdependency of these aims, their realization was dependent on common objectives. The conceptualization and praxis of the research was an interconnected process that was mutually reinforcing by necessity, in order to successfully accomplish the study's goals. This research utilized mixed methods by drawing on both quantitative and qualitative methodologies and techniques in order to extract large patterns and trends from numerical data, and in-depth meaning from narratives of academics' perceptions and experiences, in order to answer the research problem at all levels: macro, meso and micro.

The first objective was the development of key concepts which were instrumental in providing insight into the explicit and implicit state and institutional intention (ideology) driving *Transformation*. The core components of the *Transformation* processes were then 'measured' in and by the statistical data. In addition, an evaluation of academics' perceptions and experiences was then conducted. These determined the implementation and effectiveness of de-segmentation and the extent of re/production.

The second objective was to critically appraise the scope, scale, and pace of *Transformation* using existing quantitative data. Whilst existing institutional historiographies provide perceptively rich, albeit partial, accounts of staffing, their quantitative contributions have been piecemeal. Few studies have attempted a serious national or institutional demographic overview of academic staff in South Africa. Notable exceptions may be found, for example, in the work of Govinder and Makgoba (2013), Badat (2009), Lewins (2010), Cooper and Subotzky (2001), and Mabokela (2000). This present study revisited secondary quantitative data (in the form of HEMIS data)[10] in order to ask, and find answers to, the hard macro and meso questions of *Transformation* (within and across the sector) as well as of institutions.

The third objective was to gain in-depth and contextual insight into the micro perceptions and experiences of academics' everyday working lives and workplaces. This was achieved by selecting two case study institutions where extensive fieldwork was conducted. This part of the study was also designed, through the constant comparative method, to ensure that theory generation was sufficiently grounded in and tested by the complex empirical realities of the academic workplace. This allowed for insight into academics' *Transformation* meaning

[10] Higher Education Management Information Systems (HEMIS) is the database kept and utilized by the now Department of Higher Education of statistics on the sector, including in this case demographic data on staffing.

making and highlighting specificities of the generalized transitional context, specific institutional realities, individual and group racialized, gendered, and discipline-specific experiences. Deliberative and purposive sampling and the use of the constant-comparative method in data analysis (as further explained in Chapter 3) ensured that the emergent conceptualization from the case studies achieved theoretical generalizability and had substantive qualitative merit.

Primarily as an academic project, the importance and significance of this research topic and its potential conclusions have to do with 'race', 'gender' 'racism', 'sexism' and 'de-segmentation' or, in other words, the removal of socially-constructed labour distinction, separation, segmentation, and discrimination in the academic workplace.

This study brings together multiple strands of *Transformation* as well as multiple modes of measurement (of such) in order to comprehensively understand and chart the role of *Transformation* in the race and gender) de-segmentation of the academic labour market and the re/production of academic staff over the last 25 years. Its insights extend beyond the selected institutions in the case studies and have relevance for the sector as a whole. It raises pivotal questions, new directions for exploration, and some preliminary conclusions about the state and extent of academic staff transformation and thus makes a significant contribution to knowledge in this field.

## 1.3 Statement of the problem

The core 'problem' that was investigated was whether there was substantive change in the academic staffing component, post-apartheid – nationally, institutionally, and within academics' disciplines – such that race and/or gender segregation, segmentation, and discrimination were lessened and/or removed from the workplace.

This research utilized mixed methods by drawing on quantitative and qualitative methodologies and techniques. Numerical data allowed for the generation of national and institutional trends between 1986 and 2012 whilst, interviews conducted at the case study institutions, yielded detailed narratives that provided insight into institutional, disciplinary, and personal experiences of *Transformation*.

## 1.4. Rationale

### *1.4.1. The (overall) argument made in the thesis*

This thesis argues that the de-segmentation of the academic labour market has not been a national, institutional or professional priority, post-apartheid. However, the de-segmentation of the academic labour market should be of more concern to all as questions of the re/production of academic labour are inherently embedded in questions of Transformation. It is likely that the inability of academics to conceive of themselves, and to be conceived of as a 'profession', is one of the pre-dominant factors limiting both the re/production of the academic labour market and academics own engagement with Transformation. This lack of professional, collective, or common stakeholder identity is not unusual but potentially deeply problematic for the future of the profession and for higher education at large.

By focusing on case studies, the study demonstrates how and why national policies are effected and experienced differentially (at both the meso and micro level). This thereby offers explanations that go beyond the simple question of implementation. Therefore, further nuance is presented to the national and academic debate on institutional Transformation. By highlighting professional and/or disciplinary-specific patterns, the study also illustrates the diversity of academics' experiences. The challenges and/or shortcomings experienced in trying to implement a universalized response to the need for Transformation are depicted. Furthermore, examples of nuance or best practice where seen in the research field are also highlighted.

### *1.4.2. Key contributions made*

Throughout the thesis, I argue for a distinctly sociological approach to higher education studies and more specifically to the study of the Transformation of Higher Education. The case is made for what Sociology as a discipline can add as a distinct field of inquiry to this specific research topic, by way of its combined focus on the micro and macro social worlds as well as

its focus on interactional processes of meaning-making, fluid power relations, and the construction of negotiated shared social realities. That is, the (re)-negotiation of the academic workplace and academic labour power in transitional context(s).

Sociology proves adept with the conceptual complexity of Transformation, which requires extensive (un)mapping and deconstruction of the theoretical and conceptual terrain. This is unpacked and explained extensively in Chapter 2. Suffice to say here that Transformation is conceptualized expansively so as to include key components of transformation, restructuring and employment equity. The empirical convolution of these components of Transformation is testament to how such realities emerge, unfold, and are engaged in practice, as well as how they are perceived and experienced by the actors themselves. This in itself required methodological insight and practical rigour as is discussed in Chapter 3.

In conceiving of Transformation as I do, the contingency and co-determinacy of the processes of transformation, restructuring, and employment equity can be demonstrated. These processes are seen as sub-components of Transformation that are often implemented in sequence, with relational philosophies and pragmatics. These are collectively conceived and implemented as a form of 'structural pragmatism'. However, as chapters 4 through 8 particularly demonstrate, the relation between these components is not always simply one of mutual reinforcement and enablement but is sometimes one of (un)intentional divergence, unintended consequences, unfulfilled potential, and/or unrealized goals. It is in this context that the contemporary mobilization around Decolonization rallies actors to forge ahead with pursuing the reality of a dream that can be deferred no more.

By taking a multi-faceted approach and exploring the intent and/or action of multiple stakeholders, the study demonstrates the concurrent and intersectional effects of the state, and institutional and individual actors[11] and their relationships of, with, and to Transformation. It therefore shows how at multiple levels there is some coherence and convergence despite multiple agendas and practices that do at times exist and work in divergent and even opposing ways; all of which reflect the complexity of social relations: from affirmation and support, to competition and contestation. This enables the reader to more easily identify where points of

[11] Keeping in mind that all bear a diverse range of racialized and gendered identities, histories, and politics.

convergence and divergence exist and where continuity, complementarity, and change can be found within the sector.

The major contribution of the study is the evaluation of Transformation among academics through assessing its impact on the academic workplace and the labour market per se. The study assesses the extent of de-segmentation over a 25-year period, both in quantifiable and qualitative terms. In terms of demographic reproduction/transformation, an evaluation as to race-based and gender-based change is provided, which reflects on national, regional, and institutional dynamics. While the potential of such an enquiry can still be further developed, none-the-less, a solid foundation has been laid. In addition, this is complemented by rich insights by academics themselves into the complexities and contradictions of working in transitional contexts.

Over and above the rich and insightful individual perceptions and experiences; the findings also point to strength areas as well as areas of concern for both institutions as well as for particular professions. This is particularly significant given the re/production of current and future cohorts of academics both vertically and horizontally within and across institutions across the country. Conceptually this refers to more than statistical/demographic reproduction/transformation but also has implications for curriculum and pedagogy in terms of teaching, research and writing. More broadly, it provides insight as to how the academic profession is located within the university as a whole, how the Transformation project comes to bear on the university, and the location of academics and the academic project within such. This also has implications for academia as a profession, occupation, labour market and even as a socio-political project.

Lastly, this study examines whether and how race-based and gender-based Transformation were effected simultaneously at the national and institutional levels. Perhaps unsurprisingly, little intersectional knowledge and application in practice was found. Despite an overwhelming focus on race-based change, more nuance and complexity was also revealed within the trends nationally and within institutions. Several (singular) siloed identity-based interventions that reflect best practice were found. These could be considered a gateway for more complex interventions although at present they tend to be universal (accessible to Black and/or women academics) or specific (accessible to only Black academics or women academics) without adequate consideration for intersectionality. Furthermore, at present different equity beneficiaries tend to be approached as competing rather than complementary.

### *1.4.3. The importance of the study and the audience for whom this thesis has been written*

The study is important for five key reasons, with respect to the contributions outlined above, in that at conception, it sought to address conceptual and theoretical knowledge, methodological, pragmatic, policy and activist gaps and/or lags as far as 'academic transformation' or the 'de-segmentation of academic labour' were concerned. As is common with PhD work, both my own understanding has greatly developed as part of the course and the socio-political terrain has also changed in the recent present, within the very spaces and sites of research. Nonetheless many of the original aims, objectives and rationale for the study remain pertinent today, upon its completion.

Primarily, this thesis and its crafting, is important for academic knowledge. It critically engages and enriches our understanding of Transformation and the relationships between the sub-components of transformation, restructuring and employment equity. In particular, its combination of both macro and micro dimensions' advances understanding as to the effects of Transformation and the (un)intended consequences that these processes have at the structural and systemic level as well as at the individual and interactional level. It therefore contributes by advancing and refining our thinking of such.

The study provides an answer to the extent to which the national, regional, and specific institutions' labour markets have become de-segmented; insight as to the pace of change; and how race-based change versus gender-based change has fared (especially in the post-apartheid context). It also provides some insight into institutional best practice as well as areas of concern. The study thus speaks to researchers and activists in policy, monitoring and evaluation and shows how the question of the re/production of academic labour is inherently embedded and entangled in questions of Transformation. Furthermore, the study considers how the in/ability of academics as theorists, activists, collective professionals or occupational 'sympaticos', working in conjunction with or at odds with institutional managerial and state elites, students, and workers, may determine the future of the profession through their actions or inaction. Therefore, academics at large should have an interest in the study.

Given the recent renewed interest in questions of Transformation of higher education, this thesis is timely. The Decolonization movement has sought to name and redress the ongoing legacy of, particularly, racism in South African higher education by over-coming structural,

systemic, and socio-cultural discrimination and prejudice. It has also sought to prioritize the redress of economic exploitation and inequality: all of which have been firmly put back on the agenda. As this study speaks to a number of these concerns from the vantage point of academics' own experiences within their scholarly and professional lives, in the South African academy, this thesis will be of interest to both education and social movement activists seeking to reform or revolutionize the sector.

The study will also be of interest to trade unions and professional associations seeking more insight into the perceptions and experiences of constituencies in order to organize and improve the working conditions and daily realities of academic labour. University management will also gain holistic insights into the complexities of organizations and hear academics' evaluations of the workplace. Much of this research draws on evidence that speaks to 'everyday experiences' of academic work and professional life – which are replete with examples of exclusion, the most insidious of those being characterized by racism and sexism. This thesis is therefore important for anyone and everyone with an interest in the present and future of the South African academy and its transcendence to a place of social equality and social justice.

The thesis shows both the myriad of complexity as well as the simplicity of the everyday in the ways in which such exclusion pervades the experiences of academics. It is also central to understanding how and why interventions thus far have had limited effectiveness.

## 1.5. Research Questions

### *1.5.1. What is the overall research question and its subsidiary questions?*

The primary research question that this study addresses is: "To what extent have restructuring, and employment equity, and transformation created a de-segmented academic labour market, post-apartheid? A case study of Reconciliation Bay and Nxele Valley Universities"[12].

In order to make the research question feasible and implementable, a series of subsidiary questions at both the generalized and case study level were formulated to provide focus and direction for the data collection and analysis. In line with accountability and transparency, these have been presented in their entirety as formulated at the time of the research proposal.

### *1.5.2. At the generalized (sectoral) level:*

- What is the nature of the national professional academic labour market in South Africa?
- How has the national professional academic labour market changed over time, particularly post-apartheid? (Can this change be described as de-segmentation: how and why?)
- What roles have transformation, restructuring and employment equity played in this change process?
- To what extent has the conceptualization and implementation of multiple forms of de-segmentation been carried out to the benefit of all groups concerned, and to what extent has this multiple focus been mutually reinforcing? and
- What have been the output and the outcomes (both intended and unintended) of workplace transformation?

[12] At the request of one of the universities, both have been provided with pseudonyms.

### *1.5.3. At the case-study (institutional) level:*

- What is the nature of these internal professional academic labour markets?
- To what extent have internal professional academic labour markets been transformed so as to remove race and gender segmentation and discrimination?
- What roles have transformation, restructuring and employment equity played in these processes?
- What role have higher education institutions, management, organized labour and academic labour itself played in these processes? (To only be explored on a need-to-know basis).
- To what extent has there been continuity and/or change in terms of the racialized and gendered nature of academics' experience?
- How do the selected case study institutions compare? What accounts for similarities and differences?

## 1.6. Consideration of literature

In line with the approach taken in this research, literature was sourced and reviewed on an ongoing basis throughout the study. An initial literature review was done at the time of the proposal and forms the foundation of Chapter 2. This was further built upon during the course of the research and final chapter write up, particularly the addition of the policy section (which was initially going to be a standalone chapter). In addition, more focused conceptual and theoretical arguments, as well as empirical research, were included in Chapter 2 to further enrich the study. Once in the field, literature specifically relevant to the case study institutions was sourced and utilized. This literature is discussed in the chapters where it is relevant to the discussion at hand (mostly chapters 5 and 6) but has not been incorporated into Chapter 2. Due to the institutional anonymity request, the disclosure of some references has been modified accordingly.

## 1.7 Outline of remaining chapters

Chapter 2 positions the thesis relative to most pertinent sections of the field by providing an overview of existing relevant academic literature and scholarship. In particular, the study is located within debates on labour market theory and specifically the academic labour market. The extensive field of *Transformation* is mapped by drawing on key theorists and positioning the study relative to significant post-apartheid policy. The range of South African empirical research on the topic is acknowledged with greater focus given to studies that directly inform it. Lastly, the conceptual framework presents the definitions of key concepts as they are utilized in the thesis.

Chapter 3 explains the methodological decisions that underpinned the approach that the study took. It reflects on the conscientious attempts to capture macro trends and to obtain definitive 'tested' answers through analysis of secondary quantitative data, whilst at the same time gaining privileged access and understanding to the insights of the micro everyday work world of academics. Through utilizing these mixed methods, conceptual rigour, clarification, and complementary findings arose and were tested. The strengths and weaknesses of each approach and their combined use, the skills of the researcher, and the ethical concerns are also appraised.

Chapter 4 presents the macro quantitative data and utilizes primarily the HEMIS database to provide an answer to: 'Has there been de-segmentation of academic labour?' An overview of national and institutional trends with regard to race and gender is presented. The impact of time, mergers, and the EEA are also depicted. This chapter is fundamentally important in setting the national (macro) scene, thereby identifying broad trends and patterns from which policy can be evaluated and case studies compared.

Chapter 5 connects chapters 4, 6, and 7 by examining the regional academic labour market that Reconciliation Bay and Nxele Valley are located within. It also provides an overview of both the demographic and academic indicators of change for the two case studies relative to the regional academic labour market. Thus, the subsequent chapters focus exclusively on the qualitative findings.

Chapter 6 presents the case of Reconciliation Bay, a university that underwent all components of *Transformation* including large-scale restructuring (merger). This case provided a rigorous test of the emerging conceptual framework due to its complexities and contradictions. It

demonstrates how ‘structural pragmatism’ is itself limiting and can be counter-intuitive to *Transformation* in its entirety. It also simultaneously revealed examples of best and worst practices with regard to the re/production of academic labour.

Chapter 7 presents the case of Nxele Valley, a university that for much of its history has been able to chart its own course outside of and separate from the national agenda. Nonetheless, it has had its own home-grown form of *Transformation*. Latterly, it has also begun to seriously address questions of employment equity and the de-segmentation of academic labour. In addition, it exposes much complexity and contradiction, although often of a different kind to that experienced at Reconciliation Bay.

Chapter 8 serves the dual purpose of discussing the findings and bringing the thesis to its conclusion by definitively answering the research question. The effect of *Transformation* on the de-segmentation of academic labour and the de-racialization and de-gendering of the academic workplace are discussed along with the implications for the re/production of academic labour. The significance and implications of the study are then considered as an academic subject, an area of professional concern, and a subject of social and political justice.

# Chapter 2: Literature review

As explained in Chapter 1, the research seeks to explore the extent to which restructuring, employment equity, and transformation have led to the de-segmentation of the academic labour market post-apartheid. The purpose of the literature review is to position the research relative to the most significant conceptual and theoretical scholarship, and contemporary empirical studies.

In so doing, five key conceptual clusters are addressed: 1) labour market segmentation theory is used as a means to assess workplace experience; 2) academia is conceptualised both as a unique profession and labour market; 3) South African state conceptualizations of *Transformation* are discussed; 4) South African empirical research on *Transformation* is profiled and 5) the conceptual framework guiding this thesis is outlined.

## 2.1. Conceptualizing labour market segmentation theory as a means to assessing workplace experience

The purpose of this first section is to lay the conceptual foundation for thinking through questions of academic labour. Key contributions to labour market segmentation theory are reviewed. These are subsequently used to explain and locate this study. A brief introduction identifies four key theoretical characteristics, and the discussion then proceeds to specifically focus on that which is most pertinent to this study.

### *2.1.1 A brief introduction*

The fundamental assertion of labour market segmentation theory[13] is an insistence that labour and the processes that determine the positionality of labourers are inherently shaped by the 'social'. Collectively, political economists, industrial sociologists, and human geographers have demonstrated how disadvantage, discrimination, and segmentation are endemic within and also reproduced by labour markets, contra to orthodox free market economists who claim that under advanced capitalism, labour functions (or could function) as any other commodity.

Peck (1996), analysing a twenty-year period, identifies four distinctive characteristics in *segmentation theory*, each rooted in the works of Doeringer and Piore (1971). This signals the complexity and variable basis along which labour market differentiation itself occurs and the increasing responsiveness, sophistication, and explanatory power of segmentation theory.

Firstly, it is important to clarify what these theorists generally understand by a *labour market*. According to Doeringer and Piore (1970: 9), labour markets are defined or distinguished by the shared mechanisms through which the "pricing, allocating and training" of labour occurs[14]. Initial conceptualisations held that economic and technological determinants placed people in the labour market (Jary & Jary, 1995: 353). However, the core contribution of this scholarship was its focus on how these mechanisms operate in ways that extend beyond the economic realm. It is therefore through the very rules and practices that govern labour allocation and distribution that a connection is made between individual and collective life chances, thereby determining and reproducing (and potentially challenging) the status quo, particularly with regard to class-based inequalities.

As a consequence, this set of mechanisms, which unequally places people on and within labour markets, ultimately produces systematic and structural effects in the 'labour market' as a whole and is therefore inherently social and political. The *dual labour market* is its central effect.

[13] From here on simply referred to as segmentation theory.
[14] However, they attribute the first use of the definition to Dunlop (1966).

Doeringer and Piore (1971) are also accredited with this conceptualization, which influenced much early thinking on labour segmentation.

Jobs in the primary labor market tend to be highly skilled and highly paid, have clear lines of advancement, and offer greater than average degrees of training and job security to workers. In contrast, jobs in the secondary labor market tend to be low in pay, prestige, and security, and offer little opportunity for advancement. They also typically have a high turnover. (Crossman, 2016)

Harrison (1972 in Peck, 1996: 6) reflects on the primary (or core) labour market and the secondary (or periphery) labour market as differentiated by skill level, job and income security, and the degree of permanence needed for and offered by the job. The distinctiveness of labour markets, especially traditionally blue and white collar work, meant that they effectively remain separate and their respective structural conditions systematically reinforced, with few options for workers to transfer between them. In fact, at the macro level the structural differentiation in conditions between the primary and secondary labour markets were understood as core to the overall functioning of the labour market system as a whole (Jary & Jary, 1995: 353).

Further differentiation within the primary labour market led to theoretical revisions and the use of terminology of the *segmented labour market theory* (Piore, 1971; Reich, Gordon & Edwards, 1973). More recent scholarship on the duality of labour markets has extended such parallels to formal and informal work. Debates on 'precariazation' consider whether cognitive, or 'immaterial', labour is the most recent form of labour market segmentation to succumb to duality or whether it may yield the possibility for the actualization and realization of a political project of 'the commons' (see for example Fuchs (2010), Federici (2008), Hardt and Negri (2004) and Castells (2000) for varying positions on this debate).

Thirdly, Doeringer and Piore (1971) were credited with conceptualizing the notion of the *internal labour market* (ILM). Doeringer and Piore (1971: 1-2) defined the ILM as "an administrative unit, such as a manufacturing plant, *within which* the pricing and allocation of labour is governed by a set of administrative rules and procedures", (emphasis added). This seemingly simple distinction between the (external) larger pool of labour and that within an (internal) autonomous worksite or workplace allowed for the generation of analyses into the operation of particular workplace/organizational cultures, labour practices, and power structures. This thereby provides further explanations for the dissonance between the

meritocratic claims of macro-economic theory and the actual micro-level experience at industrial plants and in organisations.

Therefore, ILM's real theoretical value was its ability to account for workers' differentiation in employment experience within a workplace. This has multiple implications. It explains why and how occupations are characterised as vulnerable or sheltered employment and identifies the roles internal actors played in facilitating employment experiences. Research into ILMs has the potential to show how internal organisational dynamics play and have played a role in reproducing and/or challenging both internal and external segmentation patterns in the labour market.

Initially labour market segmentation theory concentrated on illustrating the connections and inequality within labour markets, work and occupations, by socio-economic class and status. However, this unfolding conceptualization of *labour differentiation* also lent itself to an analysis of racialized, gendered, and nationality-based inequalities. It should be noted that feminist and critical race theorists have often criticized the extent to which mainstream labour market segmentation theory works from a universalised basis of human experience. For example, Federici (2008), Halvino (2008), and Acker (2000) argue that the study of labour markets in general does not acknowledge the pervasive nature of race and/or gender-based inequalities. Subsequently, the discussion shall examine these dimensions. Suffice to say here that by focusing on differentiated labour experiences, *labour market segmentation theory* has conclusively shown that the centrality of the social could no longer be subverted to economics.

According to Peck (1996: 11), the social regulation of labour markets is immensely complex due to labour markets' individual specificity and variability. They can be shaped by labour legislation, socially sanctioned norms, employer's positive and/or negative discrimination, and union in/action. Therefore, a *labour market perspective* lent itself well to studies that placed context and case specificity at the centre of analysis.

Furthermore, building on Giddens, Peck (1996: 4-5) notes that

> [t]he conflicting motivations, goals and strategic practices of different groups in the labour market – which divide not only capital and labour but also social fractions within these aggregates – call for a conception of the labour market as a *socially constructed and politically mediated structure of conflict and accommodation* among contending forces.

Hence, Peck draws our attention to the fact that whilst labour markets may exhibit generalised segmented patterns, there is no guarantee of homogenous interest-based action and that the

resultant actions provide no guarantee of furthering group or collective interest or even of being directed towards organizational functionality (Peck, 1996: 14-15).

None-the-less, keeping all of this in mind, the concept of ILM enables one to study labour at a level of analysis that appreciates the differentiation, conflict, power, and contradictions as well as the commonalities, patterns, and trends that establish continuity and reproduction over time and within spaces or sites that become distinctive as ILMs (Peck, 1996). This enabled Peck to make the case for both a *history and a geography of labour markets*, in particular for *case specific ILMs*.

As will be demonstrated below, and throughout the thesis, these four characteristics make segmentation theory, and case specific ILMs in particular, an apt conceptual and analytical framework for this study. Not only have the theoretical insights of labour markets, the labour market perspective, and the historical, geographic and case specificity of ILMs enriched and informed this study's analytical framework; but the concept of ILMs has also been influential in shaping the chosen methodology.

### *2.1.2 The functioning of internal labour markets*

As is evident above, the conceptualization of labour markets has steadily grown in sophistication taking into account the complexity of the workplace. As will be further elaborated on below, ILM theory had its roots in the consensus perspective but grew in complexity with the recognition that ILMs can be inherently conflictual and/or defy definition in their complexity. It is useful to elaborate on Doeringer and Piore's (1971) original conceptualization (of ILMs) in order to understand how the concept is envisioned to be of use in this study.

Initially the potential of organizations[15] to yield an ILM was not conceived as universal but as particular: often confined to workplaces where workforces were skilled, where on the job

[15] Doeringer and Piore first developed their theory from industrial plants, but organizations have been used here to broaden the applicability to all sectors and workplaces.

training was needed, and where there was distinctive 'customary law'[16]. Thus, labour and management had the potential to take on a different relationship, with different characteristics and dynamics of power. Doeringer and Piore (1971) explain that workplace rules and practices became characterised by negotiation, accrual of mutual benefits, and 'compromised settlements'. They argue that this process is shaped by structural, systemic and cultural 'allocative structures'. Structurally, the degree of openness to the external labour market and the size, shape, and scope of the internal labour market are often also significant. Culturally, the rules, opportunities for, and patterns of worker mobility have a systematic impact on the distribution of workers among jobs. Therefore, they all impact on the different rates of 'allocative efficiency' within ILMs.

For Doeringer and Piore (1971) the distinctiveness of 'customary law' and the success of 'compromised settlements' are fundamental in distinguishing a 'protected' and 'insular' ILM from external labour markets which are more responsive to economic ebbs and flows. Whilst, Doeringer and Piore's conceptualization was mostly workplace-based; they also noted the importance and potential power of the 'craft' in determining or asserting professional or occupation-based interests in ILMs.

Conversely, the inability of occupation-based interests to form in an environment where interests are fractured or competing or where particular interests dominate may make ILMs more similar to or divergent from the external labour market. It is important to keep this in mind, as it has implications for the assumed nature and characteristics of ILMs as harmonious, mutually beneficial, or homogenously supportive of workplace and/or group interests. This is elaborated on in the next section.

[16] Doeringer and Piore's conceptualization of 'customary law' may today be better understood as institutional culture.

### *2.1.3 Positioning race and gender within labour market theory*

Doeringer and Piore (1971) also considered how race and class came to operate and be reinforced within labour markets. Reflecting on conditions in the USA, they observed that both Black and working class labourers were typically found in the secondary sector of the dual labour market with poor working conditions, low status, and low rates of remuneration. They thus extended the original theory of segmentation to incorporate the additional aspects of race- and gender-based disadvantage and discrimination.

Reich, Gordon and Edwards (1973, 1975)[17] conceived of four ways in which the labour market was *segmented*. Reich et al argued that segmentation by 'race' utilized social prejudice which led to the "race-typing" of jobs (regardless of their sectoral location). The reproduction of race-based differentiation within job and market practices thus became established. Segmentation by 'sex' was also noted. The explanation for 'sex-typing', which predominantly saw women in servile roles, was explained by adherence to social sex roles learnt from primary and secondary socialization agents, namely the family and school (Reich et al, 1973: 360)[18].

Reich et al (1973: 360) also drew attention to the fact that segmentation could be both vertical and/or horizontal. *Vertical segmentation* refers to the differential location of workers within the same occupational grade according to sex or race-typed jobs and *horizontal segmentation* to the differential location on the occupational hierarchy according to sex or race-typing that determines the concentration of 'groups' of people. These classifications further demonstrated the outcome of discrimination and separation in labour markets, workplaces and/or organisations.

[17] These works built on earlier work by Piore (1971) that further sub-divided the primary labour market thereby giving rise to the conception of a segmented (as opposed to dual) labour market. Reich, Gordon and Edwards (1973: 360) use the terms 'subordinate' and 'independent' to refer to segments within the primary labour market with their key difference being the personality characteristics each engenders in workers: the latter being that of rule-adherence and disciplined dependability whilst the former is more inclined towards self-directed creativity and innovation.

[18] Gender segmentation is discussed later in this section.

Reich et al made two astute observations. Firstly, they account for the systemic and organizational exploitation of racism and sexism as a management tool to divide workers. Secondly, they point out that segmentation itself exists and continues to exist, because it is functional to the capitalist system (Reich et al, 1973: 364). The contribution here is that explicit recognition is given to the ways in which race, gender, and class are structurally re/produced as part of labour market processes.

Despite these insights, Reich et al fail to acknowledge the material reality in which cumulative disadvantage is disproportionately borne, in particular by Black working class women. Furthermore, the agency of workers themselves who utilize discriminatory elements to exclude 'other' 'out' groups and privilege themselves as 'in' groups is also insufficiently articulated at this point. These criticisms are taken up later in section 2.4 as put forward particularly by Bonilla-Silva (2015) and Crenshaw (1989).

The overall perspectives put forwarded by critical race theory, in particular the works of Omi and Winant (1986) and Bonilla-Silva (2001; 2015), guided this research[19]. Numerous empirical studies have demonstrated the existence of racial discrimination in the labour market, showing inequality in access to or participation in specific kinds of jobs; reduced or lack of opportunity for promotion and/or workplace-based training; inequalities in remuneration and workplace and labour related benefits as well as experiences of racial prejudice. As a result of their histories, there are significant literatures on cases from the United States of America (USA) and South Africa.

Nonetheless, the global scope of racial segmentation should be acknowledged. Tri-continental countries; countries with imperial, colonial, and/or apartheid histories; and countries where migration is of significance in the current political and economic climate have all experienced labour segmentation by race/ethnicity/nationality and the like. (see: Pager and Shepherd (2008), Sole and Parella (2003), Kaufman (2002), Albelda (1985), Cummings (1980) for a few

[19] The discussion here focuses explicitly on the interconnections between segmented labour market theory and critical race theory. In section 2.4, the discussion will unpack more of the central tenets of critical race theory as it pertains specifically to the experiential dimensions of higher education.

global examples and reviews)[20]. Therefore, the scope of race and gender-based segmentation is global despite rhetoric that seeks to limit and locate these debates within particular geographies and/or politics. Nonetheless, the discussion here will focus mainly on the South African case and its 'specificities' due to its relevance for this research.

As previously explained, labour markets are shaped by relations of power including capital, labour, and the state. In South Africa, there is a strong tradition of appreciation for and conceptualization of racism as fundamental to capitalism. See for example Wolpe (1972) for an early and prominent account of how "racial ideology" both "sustains and reproduces capitalist relations of production". Historians and Economic and Labour Sociologists have long argued that labour market segmentation by race, gender, and class gained widespread formal legitimacy through "colonial conquest, migrant labour, and residential segregation" (see for example, Beinart and Dubow, 2003). These cheapened and proletarianised Black labour whilst the practices of "job reservation and closed shop" protected and bolstered the class position of White labourers (Kraak, 1996). In addition, legislation such as 'Bantu Education' and the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act endorsed educational and labour discrimination and served to cement labour market segmentation as state policy (Nzimande, 1991: 100)[21].

Therefore, the racialized politics of the state, as crystalized through apartheid, meant that racial discrimination became a formalized and legally entrenched aspect of the workings of both the external and internal labour markets. The concept of the *apartheid workplace regime* (AWR) came to signify the generic characteristics of the resultant racially segregated and racially discriminatory ILM that was strictly enforced (Von Holdt, 2005: 48–52). In particular, this regime was characterized by: "the racial division of labour, racial structure of power, racial segregation of facilities, migrant labour, and the location of workplaces in a bifurcated geography" (Bezuidenhout, 2004: 76-89). This description aptly shows that the AWR typifies the workings of a segmented ILM with race and class as the central axes around which segmentation operates. At the end of apartheid, these characteristics were structurally and

[20] There are also strong literatures located within the fields of psychology and the health sciences that explore racial discrimination from a self-report, behavioural perspective, the impact on health and wellness, etc. However, these have not been directly engaged with here as their focus is less immediately relevant to this research.
[21] State conceptualizations are discussed more fully in 2.3 below

culturally embedded within the South African workplace and labour market to such an extent, that this necessitated the recall and reformulation of labour legislation virtually in its entirety.

Nonetheless, post-apartheid, segmentation continues to exist. Furthermore, for many who find their work defined as informal, precarious, casual, non-core, and the like; not only is there continuity, but a racialized re-segmentation of the labour market has taken place (see for example, Kenny and Webster, (1998) for an early account that identified this trend). More recently, Von Holdt and Webster (2005) as well as Bezuidenhout (2005) conceptualized the *post-apartheid workplace regime* (PAWR) signifying both the enduring characteristics and elements of change in the nature and functionality of labour markets within the post-apartheid political dispensation.

Bezuidenhout's (2004) research into the 'white goods industry', identified that

> i) the incapacity of the state to completely enforce equity legislation, provides space for an informal wage colour bar and an upward floating colour bar to continue, ii) racial despotism as a form of worker control continues through the use of market forces and neo-liberalism to coerce and enforce discipline amongst workers, and iii) the predominance of fixed term contracts has the same effect as migration, as it leaves workers vulnerable to exclusion (Bezuidenhout, 2004: 92-94).

Therefore, whilst changes are noted in the actual *mechanisms of racialization* post-apartheid South Africa, its ultimate effects continue.

Given the overwhelming similarity of the (macro) socio-political environment and thus the enduring continuity within workplaces, recent analyses have begun to apply similar theoretical frameworks to understanding professional sectors. See for example: Canham (2014), Lewins (2010) and Mabokela (2000). As a macro perspective, these accounts of the AWR and PAWR in dialogue with the ILM provide a useful basis for thinking through the ways in which racialisation continues to pervade the South African labour market through both internal and external dynamics[22].

Furthermore, there is also some research that examines the interconnections between these. For example, Kraak's (2008: 197) research into the field of engineering and technology revealed

[22] Scholarship from the perspective of critical race studies has provided insight into the workings of the post-apartheid state and legislation questioning whether this effectively tackles race-based discrimination. Some of these arguments will be engaged later in this review.

that whilst access to labour market opportunities opened up for Black people, post-apartheid, their actual access to employment per se lessened because of structural incoherence between the education and employment systems.

Whilst there are many studies from which to take direction with regard to race and segmentation, not all of these sufficiently grapple with the question of gender. At this point, it is useful to turn the focus to some of the literature that has engaged questions of labour market segmentation and gender. Initial labour market theorists came under criticism for either being altogether devoid of a gender analysis or for attributing gender segmentation purely to external (i.e. social) 'sex roles'. Kessler-Harris (1975) argued that the intersection between gender role, family ideology, and political-economy was largely responsible for the rates of female participation in the workforce throughout nineteenth and twentieth century USA (Kessler-Harris in Edwards, Reich & Gordon, 1975: 217-235). However, explanations that focus on gender ideology as the sole determinant for gendered inequality were subsequently thought to be overstated. Feminists such as Acker (1990) and Walby (1997) argued that labour markets themselves contained and reproduced gender inequalities.

Acker (1990: 145-6) argues that

> … [t]he structure of the labour market, relations in the workplace, the control of the work process, and the underlying wage relation are always affected by symbols of gender, processes of gender identity, and material inequalities between men and women.

Through her argument, Acker utilises *organisational theory* to demonstrate the ways in which organisations are not only experienced differently by men and women but are also continually shaped, contested, and reshaped according to *everyday processes of gendering*. Thus, Acker shows how ILMs themselves are embedded in and reproduce gender. Of particular value is her conceptualization of *disembodied worker* and her analysis of *gender-neutral* policy and tasks. She argues that despite being labelled gender neutral, jobs with responsibility, power, and influence were symbolically written for men, whilst those jobs that reflected low levels of power and influence were effectively written for women.

Acker (1990) shows how notions of power and influence are socially constructed to conform to and reinforce socially gendered expectations and norms. Of interest, the rigidity of these designations was such that the gender of the incumbent had little or no bearing on whether the job was designated as a "man's" or a "woman's" job. Nonetheless, Acker observed that patriarchal and masculinist norms served to fundamentally exclude and disproportionately,

negatively affect women both in everyday work life and when workplace change such as restructuring occurred. This illustrates the importance of critically evaluating the effectiveness of approaches and interventions that *appear* to be gender and/or race-neutral (and even those specifically formulated to produce change). Acker's (1990) research demonstrated that it is possible for organisations to reproduce the status quo and further an ideology directly opposite to that which is their 'stated' aim.

Walby (1997) has also done considerable work to show how, despite the apparent successes of the first and second waves of feminism and the widespread claim of 'equality discourses', patriarchy is still pervasive within and beyond organisations. In particular, her concern with the ways in which women's work and life chances are structurally and systemically limited continues to have relevance today. Similarly, Davies (1996) notes that due to the masculinisation of the professions, women entering them are often assigned what she terms 'adjunct' positions of lesser value, status, definition and recognition. Acker, Walby and Davies' accounts all point to a reluctant tolerance to women's presence in the workplace and to various strategies used within ILMs to limit women's individual and collective advancement.

Furthermore, Bolton and Muzio's (2008) concerns over long term delegitimation in what they term the 'established', 'aspiring' and 'semi-professions' (i.e. law, management, and teaching) shows *gender-closure*. Their research shows that although each sector underwent its own specific labour shifts, each profession underwent a process of *delegitimation* of the work done, especially by women.

Bolton and Muzio (2008) found that in all three sectors there were disparities in income, status, and area of specialty held between men and women. In law, they noted that access to the profession and its most valued positions moved from external to internal mechanisms of control as the masculine elite closed ranks to defend their turf (Bolton & Muzio, 2008: 286-288). Meanwhile in management, similar trends to what Acker (1990) had found were noted. On the one hand, in order to succeed women had to "appropriate masculine processes of professionalism" (i.e. act just like men) and in other cases, so-called feminine skills were seen as a strategic advantage that could assist women to advance but mostly in soft and less prestigious specialties (Bolton & Muzio, 2008: 288-291). The teaching profession, long recognized as a more feminized 'semi-profession', recently underwent a simultaneous process of de-professionalization and professionalization with work bifurcating into that of the "surrogate mother" versus the "professional educator" (Bolton & Muzio, 2008: 293).

The implications of these various forms of delegitimation are significant for studies on de-segmentation. They illustrate that despite increasing numeric/statistical representivity, experiential and substantive change may be failing to take place. Therefore, qualitative experiences for women and/or Black people may actually be becoming more complex and more problematic as a result of enduring gendered (or racialized) features of the LM.[23] Therefore, segmentation itself may prove more enduring even in the face of cosmetic change and substantive change may remain a goal yet to be realised.

One should, however, always be sensitive to the complexity that may exist in reality. Wilz's (2001) research reveals the ways in which an insurance organisation simultaneously exhibited both gendering and non-gendering processes. For example, Wilz demonstrates how through a system of shared meanings in dialogue, the value and positioning of gendered subjects was at times legitimated (meaning: there was no gender-specific segregation in everyday work) and other times de-legitimated (when organisational vertical segmentation developed as a result of men and women being valued differently by the manager). Therefore, gender was not always expressed and experienced as omnipresent or oppressive. Instead its significance was context-dependent and contingent on other co-factors (Wilz, 2001).

Wilz's study shows that segmentation can simultaneously exist at some levels within an organisation whilst being absent in others. Furthermore, its presence and effects can be more or less diffuse depending on, for example, meaning systems, metaphors and language use, relationships between actors, the enactment of power, and the like. Wilz's study acts as a useful reminder against reductionism, the importance of considering the roles of both structure and agency, and being mindful of the cultural acts of inclusion and exclusion through organizational (ILM) acts of rules, practices and procedures.

In addition, the position of women themselves are not homogenous within the labour market. As with other post-colonial countries, in the South African case Black women are located at the intersection of race, gender, and often class, disadvantage and discrimination. Several scholars have conceptualized this cross-cutting *intersectionality,* with Crenshaw (1989) and Hill-Collins (1990) being two of the leading global specialists. South African scholars have

[23] We are here reminded of Bezuidenhout's (2004) upward floating colour bar as well as the historical trend for (gendered) professional control within certain fields of medicine and the health sciences.

also reflected the diversity of the continuum of discrimination, with some utilising an additive approach (such as Shackleton), whilst others have utilised theories of intersectionality to bring experiences of multiplicity to the fore, such as Mama (1995) and Gqola (2001; 2010).

Standing, Sender and Weeks (1996) provide a useful starting point for a discussion on intersectionality. Whilst their theory does not explicitly attempt to directly engage intersectionality, they have conceptualised discrimination somewhat generically in a way that can be applied to race and/or gender as well as race and gender together. Therefore, their theory would be reminiscent of those taking an additive or cumulative approach depending on the rigour of the user. Standing et al (1996) have been included because they put forward practical guidelines that enable thinking about intersectionality. They belong to a diverse group of scholars who have tried to explicitly draw out the connections between social roles, socio-cultural ideologies, political economy, and labour markets. Their analysis has two distinctive elements: a focus on *labour market disadvantage* and a focus on *workplace disadvantage* (Standing, Sender & Weeks, 1996: 384-385).

Standing et al (1996) stress that *labour market disadvantage* is intricately embedded in social relations and functions in an accumulative manner. They identify a number of factors that contribute to the 'accumulation of disadvantage' such as: access and opportunities to schooling; recruitment discrimination; differential work status; access to training practices; and industrial segregation (Standing, Sender & Weeks, 1996: 385). These factors both produce and are themselves differentially impacted by the effects of employment restructuring, occupational segregation, different opportunities for occupational mobility, differential earnings, and differential effects of labour surplus conditions (especially in cases such as redundancy) (Standing, Sender & Weeks, 1996: 385).

As argued by segmentation theorists, these facets of the labour market have both direct and indirect implications on the life chances on both the individual and collective. These effects were historically entrenched through race-based discrimination under apartheid and resulted in symbolic and substantive violence for the majority of people. This provides some insight into how Black people, the working class, and women experience disadvantage prior to entering the labour market, directly on the job, and long-term as a result of labour market participation. Furthermore, one can use these as 'guidelines' to think through how the position of an African woman may, for example, be different to that of a White man, particularly with regards to higher education institutions in post-apartheid South Africa. Whilst Standing et al (1996) have

been concerned with mapping processes of disadvantage, their practical guidelines also reveal insight about processes of advantage.

The second contribution made by Standing et al (1996) is related to *workplace disadvantage*. They argue that discrimination and workplace disadvantage are intricately related and conflate to yield specific workplace regimes in which segmentation in one form or another is entrenched. They identify the following types of discrimination: pure discrimination; psychological discouragement; statistical discrimination; impositional discrimination; workforce induced discrimination; social policy induced discrimination; priority discrimination and job segregation discrimination[24] (Standing, Sender & Weeks, 1996: 384). Therefore, through the enactment of these practices, an ILM is constituted (for example, a case-specific PAWR). Standing et al's (1996) approach is useful as it spells out in great detail the characteristics and relational effects of cumulative disadvantage that accrue to specific workers in a segmented labour market by detailing effects of cumulative disadvantage across both the external and internal labour market. This is also of use for intersectional scholars who can apply these very specific points to the highly-particularised experiences such as those of African women.

Hill-Collins (1990) and Crenshaw (1989) are specifically well known for their conceptualisations of *multiple interlocking matrices of disadvantage* and *cumulative disadvantage*[25] that effectively challenged the prevailing notion of disadvantage as additive. The intersection of race and gender is particularly salient with regards to labour market studies where White men's cumulative privilege and Black women's cumulative disadvantage is clearly amplified. These reflect particularly in their oppositional experiences of the type of labour accessed, rewards for labour, and the experience of direct and indirect discrimination within the labour market. The importance of intersectionality as a theory is its ability to

[24] With respect to job applicants, these refer to: direct and deliberate exclusion of candidates based on racialized assumptions; reluctant inclusion of candidates in such a way that discourages applications by creating an impression of failure; exclusion of candidates from short lists based on group tendencies or past experience as opposed to the actual candidate's merit; exclusion of candidates through the imposition of criteria beyond those required for the job or specific inclusion of criteria to raise the likelihood of particular candidates being included; exclusion of candidates on the basis of peer discrimination; exclusion of candidates on the basis of the availability of other opportunities. The last two types refer to discrimination by agencies whereby a lower priority is given to applicants from a specific group and/or the sending of applications for specific types of jobs only, etc. (Standing, Sender & Weeks, 1996: 384).

[25] Also known as the multiplier effect.

recognize and give voice to the distinctive, specific, and cross-cutting experiences of each positionality within the interlocking matrix. In South Africa, with a history (and legacy) of intersectional, racialized and gendered hierarchy, the theory of intersectionality is particularly useful.

Hill-Collins (1990) also identifies the complexities of positionality such that one can simultaneously be located at the *intersection of a node of privilege and disadvantage*, as in the case of White women and Black men whose experiences are a complex combination of beneficiation and disadvantage. The contribution of intersectionality as a perspective is its awareness of the complexities of positionality that are pivotal in understanding and surfacing the diversity of competing and contradictory interests and positions.

For example, according to Hill-Collins (1990: 229)

> Although most individuals have little difficulty identifying their own victimization within some major system of oppression – whether it be by race, social class, religion, physical ability, sexual orientation, ethnicity, age or gender – they typically fail to see how their thoughts and actions uphold someone else's subordination…Oppression is filled with such contradictions because these approaches fail to recognize that a matrix of domination contains few pure victims or oppressors. Each individual derives varying amounts of penalty and privilege from the multiple systems of oppression which frame everyone's lives.

Integrating this insight into this study will give expression to the nuance of people's actual experiences and prevent race and gender reductionism. Du Bois' (1903) concept of *double consciousness*, although, making a substantially different point, will also be kept in mind for its potential explanatory power in this study, which seeks to hold the complexity and contradiction of real life perceptions and experiences.

Crenshaw (1989), uses case law to demonstrate how anti-discrimination legislation is formulated with a single beneficiary category (i.e. women or Black people) in mind. She shows how it repeatedly fails to articulate and protect the intersectional experience of Black women. This thereby reinforces the point that legislation itself is conservative – ideologically, systemically, and in outcome. This will also need to be kept in mind when reviewing national and institutional policies.

It is worth noting that possibly due to limitations of existing approaches to theorizing and/or the scope of existing empirical research, most scholarship tends to maintain a narrow focus as to what the 'subject' of discrimination and/or segmentation will be. Therefore, research though empirically rich and detailed, is most often specific to a single standpoint, rather than multiple

standpoints. It will be a test of this research as to the extent to which multiplicity can be effectively represented, conceptualised and analysed.

This part of the overview has engaged: labour market theory, internal and external labour markets, the segmented labour market, the post-apartheid workplace regime, and the intersectional effects of particularly race and gender to demonstrate the utility of labour market theory in order to understand workplace structures, workplace relations, and workplace functioning.

This discussion has thus set the context for understanding the workplace environment as both generalized and specifically segmented in time and place. ILMs have been shown to be productive, reproductive, and reflective of resistance against the predominant cultural, structural, and systemic use of social stratification and social inequalities. Attention will now shift to examining the utility of labour market segmentation theory to the professional academic labour market (PALM); and then to key debates around the 'academic profession' per se.

## 2.2. Conceptualizing academics: the professional academic labour market (PALM), the academic profession, and professional academic(s)

This section specifically considers the applicability of the concept of 'labour markets' to the academic profession. It engages literature that has attempted to do just this, specifically utilizing the concept of the professional academic labour market (PALM). This conceptualization is then applied in broad brushstrokes to the South African case to contextualize the research field. Literature that has grappled with the 'professionalization of academic labour' is then considered to problematize the notion of a homogenous academic profession. This section concludes by considering implications for the conceptualization of academic labour in South Africa.

### *2.2.1. Conceptualizing the professional academic labour market (PALM)*

Studies of the *professional academic labour market* (PALM) itself are few and far between and mainly emanate from scholarship in the 'West'. PALMs have been a subject of enquiry mainly for economists who have largely been concerned with questions of wage inequity along the lines of race, gender, marital status, and age (See for example: Renzulli, Grant and Kathuria (2006), Barbezat and Hughes (2005) and Toutkoushian (1998)). However, the explicit concern here is the theoretical contribution of social scientists to the study of academic labour markets and the nature of the bifurcation or segmentation of the PALM[26].

As discussed previously, the nature of ILMs provides some internal insulation against market forces, particularly for professional work. Traditionally, academic labour has come to mean tenured jobs or 'positions for life'[27]. A number of other features distinguish the PALM from other more generic professional ILMs. Firstly, Roemer and Schnitz (1982) argue that higher education institutions are protected from replacement costs (that would otherwise be incurred if there was a high staff turnover) as their very purpose is to train highly skilled workers who, by and large, would be suitable candidates for their own ILM (Roemer & Schnitz, 1982: 524). Furthermore, in most cases the "training costs [of new labour] are non-existent since academic workers arrive at the institution with their training for research and teaching completed" (Roemer & Schnitz, 1982: 524-525).

Writing from the American context, where the majority of academic staff have already completed PhDs whilst graduate students, the academic labour market effectively externalizes the cost of its own staff's professional training. This externalization is often borne by the potential applicant who has been responsible for his/her own studies either in terms of gaining scholarships or taking out student bursaries and/or personal loans. In addition, public

[26] It must also be acknowledged that the central intention here is to think through questions of academic labour in generalist terms; conceiving of commonalities and common denominators which can then be applied specifically to the South African context and to the study's case study institutions, in particular.
[27] Although, of course, it must be acknowledged that the casualization of academic labour and precarity have also increasingly come to define academic work.

institutions in America are also partially sustained (in the everyday sense) by both company and individual taxation.

Student funding has become a substantial concern worldwide. The National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NFSAS) in South Africa states that it has assisted over 1.5 million poor and working class students with R50 billion in funds since 1991 (NFSAS, 2015). However, many post-graduate students are dependent on higher education institutions themselves or on private sources for scholarships and bursaries; often academic staff pursuing higher degrees are no different.

In South Africa, the Masters qualification is generally the entry qualification in to the PALM. According to HEMIS records, in 2009, 35% of all academics in public institutions had a PhD or equivalent qualification; by 2012 this had increased to 39% (HEMIS, 2009; HEMIS, 2012). Therefore, in South African higher education institutions (HEIs) a large proportion of academics are in full time academic employment whilst simultaneously working towards their PhD and the cost of their doctoral studies is absorbed by the institutions they work for.[28]

In addition, South African institutions often experience fairly high staff turnover rates when compared internationally. Hence, when drawing comparisons between South Africa and other contexts, one must keep in mind that the individual and institutional 'costs', constraints and pressures are further compounded. This has implications for both the social and economic aspects of the PALM and is reflective of both sectoral (external) and ILM dynamics, as will be elaborated on later.

Enders (2002) writing from the standpoint of 'PhD as Humboldt'[29] cautions against current global trends that seek to professionalize the PhD. He argues this has the effect of making the degree more marketable to a wider spectrum of professions but lessens its suitability as the sole entry qualification into academia. Whilst the PhD may be less exclusive than in the past, academics still constantly 'network' with potential future academic workers who are graduate

[28] It must, however, be acknowledged that in an effort to be competitive, both globally and locally, many institutions have revised their employment policies to now require a PhD as the base qualification for lecturers.
[29] A standpoint in which the PhD is the quintessential trade mark of only scholars and intellectuals and is their magnum opus; as compared to the growing trend where it is becoming more of a widespread qualification serving instrumental and strategic means in the professional certification and accreditation of a wide range of professional fields.

students in their own classes (at least in the South African case). Thus, Bourdieu and Passeron (2000: 197) note that universities are in the unique position of being one of the few professions to have sole discretion over its own reproduction. On this basis, according to Enders (2002), the social reproduction of the PALM should not be problematic, and yet it is. This is particularly where the explanatory frameworks provided by labour market segmentation theory and ILMs prove to be useful in understanding this apparent contradiction.

This is particularly apparent in the South African case, where PhD graduates are in relatively short supply, where there is a nett brain drain of academics with PhDs (Koen, 2006) and where the average age at graduation for a doctoral graduate is 40 years old (Council on Higher Education, 2009). Furthermore, as Ramphele (2008) argues, the difficulty in attaining excellence and equity in a context where political economy (material) constraints are high also confines the reproduction of a new generation of academic scholars.

There is some disagreement as to whether PALMs are *a dual or a segmented labour market* amongst American scholars. Roemer and Schnitz (1982) argue that the excessive supply of doctoral graduates, in the USA, from the 1970s onwards is partially responsible for the emergence and entrenchment of the dual labour market in academia. Roemer and Schnitz (1982) sought to theorize short term contract posts as the development of a *second tier of academic labour* in the American academic labour market. The emergence and proliferation of short term contract posts were termed *precarious labour* because these contract posts were non-tenure track. Thus, staff, in these positions, could not expect their posts to become tenured (effectively permanent) positions.

According to Roemer and Schnitz (1982), those in the *secondary labour market* were similarly qualified to those in the primary labour market except that they were competing for entry level jobs for which there had been an over production (supply), causing the development of the secondary market. Furthermore, Roemer and Schnitz (1982) argue that the secondary labour market exists because it is functional to the overall system and to those in the primary market. Meanwhile, those in the secondary market are affected by a self-fulfilling prophecy as they are stigmatized and find it difficult to break out of the secondary labour market.

There are undoubtedly parallels particularly with respect to work terms, conditions and rewards. The essential difference between the original dual labour market (DLM) conception and how it is used in academia is the similarity or at times even parity in training and qualifications between those in each LM. Nonetheless, divergence within academia has itself

contributed to the continued use of this formulation of the DLM, despite the existence of more 'puritan' applications within the sector as well.

More recent research by the University and College Union (UCU) found that in 2005/2006, 38% of all academics in the United Kingdom were employed on fixed-term contracts. The majority worked in research only jobs, whilst a significant proportion only taught (Court & Kinman, 2008: 7). This illustrates the significance of the 'duality' of labour markets (in both scale and scope) and the working conditions within academia.

The American and United Kingdom's experiences are very different to the South African case, and point in the former to an abundant supply of academics, which is not the case in the latter. Nonetheless, contract labour within the South African higher education sector (SAHES), including contract academic labour is also an historic and contemporary feature. The contextual factors responsible for this and the intended and unintended consequences are worth exploration. Of particular salience for this study is how such processes relate to racialization and gendering, and shape (and/or are shaped by) vertical and horizontal labour processes within and across higher education institutions. The South African ALM is briefly introduced at the end of this sub-section. It is then further described, explained, and evaluated as part of the findings in chapters 4 through 7.

In *The Mobile Professors*, Brown (1967) had already begun to apply the concept of the labour market to the American professoriate. However, he described the academic labour market "not as a single [or dual] market but as *many markets* differentiated on numerous characteristics, including rank, salary, academic specialty, the type of institution doing the hiring, and geographic location" (as summarized in Roemer and Schnitz, 1982: 520, emphasis added). We are reminded, here, of the importance of not over-generalizing and thinking of academics as a single, homogenous *craft* but retaining the initial focus on site-specific academic workplaces as ILMs.

Beyond an acknowledgement of differentiation, Clark (1986) and Finnegan (1993) also identify historic institutional type, disciplinary location, and individual preference for research or teaching as some of the most influential factors shaping the segmentation of the academic labour market in the USA. They see them as the pivotal factors bifurcating academics' experience. As will be discussed in chapters 4 through 8, they were also found to be significant in this study. In fact, Clark (2008: 444, emphasis added) states that institutional location and disciplinary context are:

> …the primary matrix of induced and enforced differences among American academics. These two internal features of the system itself are *more important* than such background characteristics of academics as class, race, religion, and gender in determining work-centred thought and behaviour.

Clark conceives of these two positional factors as also being reproductive in the sense that they "widen and deepen the matrix of differences that separate American academics from each other" (Clark, 2008: 452). Whilst a study such as this (PhD) would necessarily debate the undervaluation of race and gender in the aforementioned proposition; its value nonetheless, is its perceptivity with regard to the heterogeneity of the PALM and the acknowledgement of the role that 'positionality' plays in reproduction. The ways in which these factors come to interact and intersect with each other, and either reinforce or challenge notions of cumulative advantage and disadvantage, would be of further interest for the present study.

Cooper and Subotzky (2001) and more recently Cooper (2015) have mapped the institutional diversification within the South African higher education sector. Whilst their studies have paid more attention to student transformation and staffing with respect to research and publication productivity; their conclusions distinctly point to the centrality of institutional type across SAHES. Whilst the specificity of the South African context is further elaborated in section 2.4, it is worth mentioning here, that *institutional type* reflects a core distinguishing component of higher education ILMs. Therefore, this study is concerned with the features, specificity, and implications of the case study institutions per se and their positionality as institutional types.

Finnegan's (1993) account on Comprehensive Universities (CU) in the USA provides a unique perspective by elaborating on the context-specificity of academics' experiences[30]. Finnegan (1993: 623) stresses the importance of institutional type in determining segmentation. Further, she considers that most academics chose to work within the sector and that their careers developed through a combination of cumulative incidents with the external labour market as well as interactions with colleagues hired both before and afterwards (within the ILM). Therefore, Finnegan concludes that academics' careers are intimately contingent and context-dependent on both structural, interactional, and agentic choices made possible because of their

[30] Whilst the term comprehensive university has slightly variable meanings across the globe, in America, it is generally used to refer to institutions that initially developed to "serve a single population or to deliver a single type of curriculum"; but are now 'utilitarian', multi-purpose' regional or state colleges or universities that deliver mostly bachelors and masters qualifications (Finnegan, 1993: 623-4). The meaning in the South African context will be elaborated later when these are introduced into the discussion.

being faculty in a CU (Finnegan, 1993: 623). What she brings to this existing debate is a reminder of the role of agency and the dynamic interplay between individual choice and structural factors. In the overall consideration of cumulative advantage and cumulative disadvantage, this then encourages us to think of the role of actors in facilitating, reproducing, or resisting institutional and symbolic justice, reform, apathy and/or violence.

Therefore, this short overview has shown that there is both an existing academic tradition of conceptualizing academic labour using the framework of LMs, especially drawing on both dual and segmented labour theory. Furthermore, there is also scholarship which points to the specificity and particularity of academic labour – most notably its internal variation – that warrants its conceptualisation as distinctive space, site and discipline-based ILMs. Briefly, I utilise Bunting (2006) to consider this in the South African case.

### *2.2.2. Thinking through the South African ALM*

Taking these initial and general conceptual deliberations on the heterogeneous nature of PALMs, we can begin to delineate what the PALM in South Africa might look like. Literature on labour markets and on the academic profession underscores the necessity of including the historical context (temporal account) and geographical location (spatial account) in addition to professional, occupational (craft) and institutional (specific/internal) dynamics in order to fully understand any PALM.

South Africa with its history certainly necessitates such analytical rigour. The ways in which the PALM is embedded within, re/constituted by, and itself reproduces, and/or transforms racialized and gendered regimes is the focus of this study. This discussion initially flags general components of the PALM. Existing scholarship on racialisation and gendering, in particular, is then further elaborated in section 2.4.

Bunting (2006) notes that pre-1994, the higher education system had three fundamental characteristics. Firstly, institutions were set up to cater for different racial categories and were thus administered by different organs of state according to their designation. Whilst the process of racialisation was decades in the making and reinforcing, Bunting (2006: 36) argues that the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1984) formally re-entrenched the racial

segregation of higher education by officially declaring each institution 'for the exclusive use' of only one racial category. This had been the intention of the Extension of Universities Act (45 of 1959) that required Black students to apply for Ministerial Permission to study at the formerly 'Open Universities'. The separate and unequal nature of higher education was clearly evident in that 19 institutions were declared for White people only, two for Coloured people only, two for Indian people only, six for African people only, and a further seven, located in the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei (TBVC) states also for African people only (Bunting, 2006: 36). Therefore, it was abundantly clear who was set to benefit from higher education. Where education was extended to all, it was fundamentally separatist. As much as the racialisation of higher education was meant to keep students separate from each other, it also functioned to keep academics separate from each other.

Secondly, the role of higher education was bifurcated according to institutional type. Bunting (2006: 37-38) argues that the apartheid state created the distinction between the 'university' and the 'technikon' of which the former was to be concerned with the development of (scientific) knowledge whilst the latter with the (technological) application of such knowledge. This bifurcation was to be maintained through 'separate but equal' qualification structures (Bunting, 2006: 38). These were designed to keep student populations apart and to minimize articulation across the system, and hence to further limit opportunities for inter-racial interaction and education. However, it is also my contention that this served to keep academics separate and effectively meant that under apartheid there were two distinct academic labour pools: one for technikons and one for universities. As a result, this reinforced the development of separate labour markets reflecting the academic/vocational binary as much as the students each taught.

Thirdly, eight broad organizational types with similar institutional cultures, modes of functioning, and relationship with the state were discernible and were largely determined by whether the institution was designated 'historically Black' or 'historically White' (Bunting, 2006: 39-51). The classificatory scheme utilized by Bunting is useful in illustrating the variation within institutional type and how by design and functioning, institutions became overlaid by racialisation. The classification has been summarized below in figure 2.1 and will be further utilized in my own analysis of the broad academic staff trends in chapters 4 and 5.

Figure 2.1. Historical institutional type

| | Historical classification | Constituent institutions |
|---|---|---|
| Historically disadvantaged institutions | | |
| 1 | Historically Black Universities within RSA | University of Durban-Westville (Indian), Medunsa University (African), University of the North (African), Vista University (African), University of Western Cape (Coloured) & University of Zululand (African). |
| 2 | Historically Black Universities within TBVC states | University of Fort Hare, University of Transkei, North West University & Venda University (all African) |
| 3 | Historically Black Technikons within RSA | ML Sultan Technikon (Indian), Mangosuthu Technikon (African), Technikon Northern Transvaal (African) & Peninsula Technikon (Coloured) |
| 4 | Historically Black Technikons within TBVC states | Border Technikon, Eastern Cape Technikon & North West Technikon (all African) |
| Historically advantaged institutions | | |
| 5 | Historically White Afrikaans medium Universities within RSA | University of the Orange Free State, University of Port Elizabeth, University of Pretoria, Potchefstroom University, Rand Afrikaans University & University of Stellenbosch |
| 6 | Historically White English medium Universities within RSA | University of Cape Town, University of Natal, Rhodes University & University of the Witwatersrand |
| 7 | Historically White Technikons within RSA | Cape Technikon, Free State Technikon, Natal Technikon, Port Elizabeth Technikon, Pretoria Technikon, Vaal Triangle Technikon & Technikon Witwatersrand |
| 8 | Distance education institutions (University & Technikon) | University of South Africa (Unisa) & Technikon South Africa (TSA) (open to all) |

(Bunting, 2006: 49-51).

The designation (of now) 'historically Black' and 'historically White' was used to refer to both student and staff bodies, under apartheid. As per Bunting's (2006) classification, institutions were classified by racialisation, by institutional type, and by organisational distinction. To some extent, these reflected both external and internal labour market trends with respect to race and gender labour relations. At different historical junctures and as applied specifically to

particular institutions, differential working terms, conditions, and pay applied to men and women, as well as to people employed within higher education, depending on 'race'. As discussed above, this reflects that in the past a combination of external and internal forces resulted in the racial and gendered segmentation of the PALM in South Africa.

From this brief introduction, the contemporary PALM in South Africa is unlikely to be an integrated and generalised labour market; instead a more fragmented, particularised and institution-type specific pattern is likely to still predominate. This further provides the motivation and empirical grounding for this study's focus on the ILM as the appropriate theoretical and conceptual tool with which to approach this research.

A Foucauldian inspired interpretation would also prioritize the value of looking at academics as members of 'disciplines'[31]. On a number of occupational, professional and labour terms, conditions and statuses, academic labour has also, traditionally, been further differentiated along disciplinary lines. For example, depending on whether the discipline was a 'profession' (for instance, law, medicine, accounting) or whether it was deemed purely 'academic' in nature (as often argued about the sciences, arts and humanities). This is also further emphasised by Bolton and Muzio's (2008) study which observed differential patterns of gendering within and amongst semi-professionals and professionals.

### *2.2.3. The academic profession*

Just as whether labour market theory is a useful theoretical lens to make sense of the higher education sector, so the nature of the 'academic profession' has also been the subject of much debate. Amongst other key issues, it has been debated whether academics are in fact professionals; what determines that 'professionalisation', whether professionalism is a status, a socio-economic class indicator and/or indicative of political positioning. For example: whether academics' class position and/or status is bourgeois or whether they are or have

[31] A Foucauldian analysis would also be interested in the role that academics as 'discipline'-based agents play in society. This is of interest regarding the broader political-economy of academic labour.

become proletarianised; the extent to which they are 'free-floating' (independent) agents; or whether they are a conservative force or contain reformatory or revolutionary potential (See for example Roggero (2011), Bourdieu and Passeron (2000), Gramsci (1971), Merton (1968) and Manheim (1940) for a range scholars who take different positions on the socio-political significance of the academic profession).

As a collective, debates on the socio-political positioning and role of academics are of vital importance for a study that concerns itself with questions of academic *Transformation* and/or reproduction. These invoke questions as to how academics conceive of their 'roles' and 'jobs' as well as what they do or do not see as their 'responsibility' and what public(s) they would consider themselves 'accountable' to? The multitude of actual socio-political ideological positions that exist amongst academics themselves also needs to be acknowledged. This discussion will be returned to later in chapters 6 to 8. The focus here is to raise the key the conceptual debates around '*academics as professionals'* and '*professional academics'*.

Burton Clark (1984: 107 in S. Clark, 1986: 25) views academia as "the key profession, the one that trains all [professional] others". Meanwhile Light (1974) emphasises the importance of recognising the existence of a non-homogenous category of *academic professions*. He differentiates between *faculty* (largely undergraduate teaching staff), *scholarly professionals* (those engaged in academic publishing and researching), and *academic professionals* (professionals located within higher education institutions who teach, publish and research). Meanwhile, Dill (1982: 261) speaks of the *academic role set* that includes a set of core activities (including research, teaching and service) and influential constituencies to whom academic professionals are accountable (including supporters of research, institutional colleagues, members of the academic discipline or field, clients of service, institutional administration, students, and external constituencies).

The majority of these theorists seek to identify and position the *category of academics as professionals* by their: organisational location (within a university), higher education qualifications, social status, their knowledge advancement, and their educative function. This instrumentalist conceptualisation implies that academics are generally structurally similarly positioned and do similar work whilst acknowledging that there are some discipline-specificities.

However, numerous scholars have disputed the homogeneity that this characterisation implies, instead noting that 'the profession' is characterised by considerable differentiation. A part of

this criticism acknowledges academics own occupational and professional practices and their agency in enacting their labour and advancing their careers. Another part recognises that various positions (vertically and horizontally) within the academic hierarchy itself have different roles, responsibilities, expectations, demands and privileges. Dowd and Kaplan (2005) have classified academics on the basis of their academic position as well as their 'career style'. In the process, Dowd and Kaplan (2005) acknowledge that the position and experience of academics' changes throughout their academic work course (career).

Further, Dowd and Kaplan (2005: 705-710) suggest that one's own perception of one's career as boundary-less or bounded leads to four ideal types of academic namely the maverick or probationer at junior levels and the connector and conservationist at more senior levels. They distinguish between the self-driven academic whose priority is to the profession and/or discipline and who see themselves and their networks and responsible for career advancement; in comparison to the context-loyal academic, whose priority is the institution, and who views the employer as responsible for career development and advancement (Dowd & Kaplan, 2005: 710).

Dowd and Kaplan's (2005) contribution demonstrates the exercise of individual agency and intra-individual changes with one's one work course or career. However, their argument is potentially limited by assumptions of meritocracy within the PALM which may fail to give adequate recognition of the structural and systemic collective effects on one's career. Nonetheless, an integration of these viewpoints allows for consideration of the wide range of experiences that may be more reflective of the heterogeneity of everyday experiences.

Using a Bourdieu type analysis, we are able to consider the ways in which those who have the 'cultural capital' to succeed within HEIs and PALM may more easily and readily be assimilated into its modus operandi and continue to benefit from cumulative advantage; whilst the converse is likely to be true for those experiencing cumulative disadvantage. For example, see Lewins (2006) for an application of Bourdieu's capital to staffing in higher education.

Burawoy (2004: 1-11), using his home discipline of Sociology, has also sought to differentiate academics according to whether their scholarly contributions are instrumental or reflexive in

nature and whether their primary audience is academic or extra-academic[32]. These accounts explicitly identify *scholarly role differentiation* and in some instances, imply a differentiated 'status' position amongst academics. Analysing this from a more political perspective: academics relations to stakeholders, sponsors of research, and research constituencies, participants and the like, also potentially conveys something of their social positionality and indirectly potentially their socio-economic 'class' position. This not only illustrates internal categorical differentiation but also demonstrates differential access, experience, and interest areas of academics with respect to their individual, professional and social location.

This reminds us of the work of Dominelli and Hoogvelt (1996) who sought to update Gramsci's (1982) notion of *traditional and organic intellectuals* during the contemporary ascendency of globalisation and neo-liberalism within higher education and the state more generally. Dominelli and Hoogvelt (1996) conceptualise the role of professional academics in relation to globalisation, professional intellectual work, and academics' relationship to class-formation. Their resultant schema sees the emergence of a further four ideal types of academic each with different ideological and structural positions. These again reinforce the heterogeneity within, and amongst academic professionals, and therefore also allow us to begin to consider the differential significance and implications their work has.

Dominelli and Hoogvelt (1996: 207-209) developed the following typology namely: the privatised professional intellectual (the academic 'tenderpreneur'); the petty bourgeois intellectual (further divided into the comprador [those who 'mediate'] and the distanced [those who 'opt out'] of the privatisation of academia); the counter-hegemonic intellectual (those committed to change and to one's own role as a change agent); and the post-modernist intellectual (those committed to change but who locate the intellectual project within the individual rather than the collective realm).

This discussion highlights, two key aspects of the PALM. Academics are undoubtedly heterogenous based on their professional work role (occupational subject role). This therefore produces, but in turn is also facilitated by, heterogenous labour conditions. This last set of discussions also points to the heterogeneity of academics according to their professional and

[32] Burawoy's (2004) schema identifies the professional, critical, policy, and public sociologist.

political role. For academics, we can adapt the feminist missive to ask '*is the personal both professional and political?'; 'is the personal, simply professional?*'; or return to: *'is the professional, political?'*

This also leads us to recall Althusser's (1970) conception of the *ideological state apparatus* and to question academia's role as part of the (state and/or society's) educative project. This questioning of the role of education per se and the contributing role of academics as those 'central' to the academic project has been one of the key concerns raised globally by critical race scholars and Black feminists, and most recently by the contemporary Decolonisation movement within the South African higher education sector.

This was also the central argument put forward by Bourdieu and Passeron (2000) who considered the role of education in general; but also, more specifically, the role of academics, conceived as members of the petty-bourgeoisie, in the reproduction of society and the perpetuation of the existing social order (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2000: 194-211). In de-colonial and post-apartheid contexts, the question is of course, what is the role of academics in the transformation of society? It is a modified version of this question that this research has sought to answer. Whilst attention has periodically been given to radical and oppositional intellectuals and spaces (see for example Moss, 2014), and the institutionalisation of opposition has become normative in certain 'liberal' institutions (see for example, Vorster and Bozzoli, 1975), the focus here was more on the 'institutional everyday' spaces, practices, perceptions and experiences of academics employed in 2011 in the institutions that participated in the case studies.

This brief section has shown that a study on *Transformation* clearly needs to engage key issues of the heterogeneity of academic labour, how it is embedded within and itself reproduces power, and the significance and implications of this for society at large. This is because of the type of work academics do, their occupational, professional, and educative role in society, and their own professional identification (for some if not all). This debate necessarily intersects with questions of race, gender, and the like, and will therefore be examined in section 2.4 and in chapters 6 through 8.

### *2.2.4. Conceptualising professional academics*

Brown, Finnegan and Light's description of the American academic labour market allows us to make initial sense of the South African PALM. However, the complexities of the apartheid social and educational policy are such that these scholars do not go far enough in accounting for our contextual particularities. This extends to an explanation of the experiences of those included and excluded from the various academic labour markets as well as to initiatives to transform post-apartheid society. Hence, this study seeks to address some of these gaps by particularly exploring specific, empirical aspects of the South African context and by being conceptually grounded within the South African literature, which the discussion turns to next.

In conceptualising *professional academics,* for this study, it is argued here that it is most useful to define academics as professionals by virtue of their occupational location. Professional academics, within the external labour market, are thus conceptualised as the cumulative total of academics employed within public higher educational institutions (both within academic departments and research entities/units). This conceptualisation is broad enough to encompass the range of academics employed within the diversity of institutions identified by Bunting (2006); academics as heterogeneously considered in the above discussion according to the variety and diversity of work done, their collective and individual institutional, hierarchical and disciplinary location and own personal politics. Furthermore, by using occupational location as the lowest common denominator, this conceptualisation can easily be operationalised to allow empirical measurement. By focusing only on permanent employees, the parameters of the HEMIS database as recorded by the Department of Higher Education and Training (DoHET) and measured yearly on the 31st of March, can be meaningfully used to measure professional academics.

Professional academics, within the internal labour market (ILM), are then the total number of permanent academics employed within the specific case study institution as determined by the HEMIS database on the 31st March of a specific year. This then applies for both the institutions in the case studies. Where any differential measurement indicators are utilised this will be noted in the relevant findings chapters (4 to 8).

## 2.3. State conceptualization as per policy discourse

*Transformation* as here conceived is expansive and includes restructuring, employment equity, and transformative initiatives designed to bring about democratisation and social justice[33]. The *Transformation* of SAHES is shaped and influenced by state discourse and action at the central and decentralized (departmental) levels, in particular through the work and participation of the Departments of Higher Education and Training (DoHET), Labour (DoL), and Science and Technology (DST). Chapter 9 institutions also ensure constitutional provisions are upheld. There are entire fields of scholarship dedicated to the appraisal of education policy, especially higher education policy (See for example Sehoole, 2005; Kraak, 2004; Cloete, 2002; Badat, 1995 and Wolpe, 1995). Instead of replicating such extensive work, a few pertinent aspects of this scholarship and relevant policy will be engaged with in this review.

The discussion will consider the extent to which the selected policy conceptualizes, indicates, commits to, and specifies deliverables for *Transformation*. State policy was thus read for intentionality with respect to national and departmental frameworks for action, including the stated ambit, possibilities, goals and objectives of change, as well as the implications for the prescription, circumscription, and constriction of change. The key purpose was to note state articulations of *Transformation* and how these changed over time.

It is acknowledged that in this presentation, both concepts and policy processes appear more coherent and seemingly uncontested than they are in reality. Thus, the governmental, sectoral, stakeholder, and constituencies representation of the *public good* is presented with an overly unified, consensual voice that may not adequately capture the ideological variance, nuance, and tensions that exist. What is attempted, though, is a reflection of the changes represented in policy documents per se; both temporally and across different departments. Furthermore, an attempt was made to keep Jansen's (2002) theory of political symbolism as a 'mechanism of policy craft' in mind in order to depict the multiple functions policy serves beyond its pronounced service articulation and delivery.

[33] This is further unpacked in the conceptual framework in section 2.5.

### *2.3.1. General observations*

It is helpful to note some general observations that pertain to this set of policy before delving into a more detailed discussion. Firstly, although key concepts are widely used in legislation, they are for the most part not defined. Secondly, this leads to conceptual ambiguity and conflation. This is particularly the case with *Transformation*. There are cases across and within policy, where it is used synonymously with restructuring, where it is used as employment equity, where it is used as a catch-all phrase, and where it signifies other, very specific meanings. In addition, there is a definite change in the use of all three key sub-components (i.e. restructuring, equity, and transformation) within policy documents over time. The transition can be conceived as a change from a more ideo-political phase to an implementation phase. The latter is signified by the increasing use of more instrumental, technicist, and outcome-oriented language. This is most evident in DoHET policy where concept use and the general approach shift from political commitment, to redress, to the pragmatics of actual implementation.

Thirdly, the conceived relationship between the various *Transformation* sub-components is also variable, ranging from: no specified relationship, to a rhetorical relationship, and/or to an increasingly essentialist relationship. This is apparent across both centralised state and department-generated policy. However, this also means there are often differing (and potentially contested) understandings and approaches to *Transformation* across different departments and over time.

These three observations signify a de-politicisation of *Transformation* discourse. This is significant, given the state's overwhelming power to define and to enact (or not) *Transformation*. This is significant as policy rhetorically packaged as *Political*, has in practice become *de-politicised*, evinced by its own transition from revolutionary encasings to pragmatic, neo-conservative reform. This will be demonstrated in the discussion of actual policy in section 2.3.2. The implication of this with respect to policy implementation will be returned to in Chapter 8, based on the findings of this research.

### *2.3.2. Puzzling together 'the state's' Transformation discourse*

Through the process of nation-building, Binder (1971) argues that a nation experiences successive crises that need to be overcome in order for the nation to cohere and unify. In the post-apartheid context, it has been imperative to address these concerns and this has resonated with how the state has conceived of *Transformation*.

Binder (1971) argues the five crises that need to be overcome are of: identity (establishing a collective identify as a nation), legitimacy (the authenticity and authority of the state), penetration (the ability of the state to represent the expanse of the nation), participation (active involvement by the citizenry in the workings of the nation), and distribution (resources that groups within the nation can access from the state) (Binder, 1971 in Roskin, Cord, Medeiros & Jones, 1991: 31-32). Through an overview of key centralized and decentralized policy, the various state conceptualisations of *Transformation* shall be presented.

An overview such as this cannot do justice to all relevant policy. Therefore, the most feasible approach was to first list the most significant policy, grouped into four general categories, according to level of specificity, area of focus, and type of intervention specified (2.3.2.1 to 2.3.2.4). Afterwards, a highly selective and more detailed analysis of specific key concepts and issues, chosen from particular policies, highlights key aspects of state discourse (2.3.2.5 to 2.3.2.7). The section is brought to a close with a summation (2.3.2.8).

#### 2.3.2.1. List of centralised state directives

Documents and policies that address the macro level, operate at the central level of the liberation movement, post-apartheid government, and/or the state, and that address *Transformation* as an all-encompassing concept, include: *The Freedom Charte*r (COP, 1955), *The Reconstruction and Development Programme* (RDP) (ANC, 1994), The ANC's *Yellow Book* (ANC, 1994), *The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* (RSA 108 of 1996), *Growth, Employment and Redistribution* (GEAR) (RSA, 1996), *Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa* (AsgiSA) (RSA, 2004), and the *National Development Plan 2030* (NDP) (RSA, 2013).

These documents outline a holistic position on *Transformation*, at the national level[34]. However, these macro-oriented documents do not have a homogenous articulation of *Transformation*. GEAR in particular has the most concentrated neo-liberal approach in contrast to earlier more Keynesian approaches. Latter approaches, especially the NDP, are more critical and reflexive about change, whilst remaining committed to local and global priorities. The content of selected policies will be discussed in 2.3.2.5. These policies range in focus but generally speak to the full scope of Binder's (1971) nation-building tasks.

2.3.2.2. List of decentralised state labour directives

Subsequent departmental policy expectedly drills down into particular areas of change. Meso level policies most relevant to the *Transformation* of the academic labour market (ALM) would be those that specifically focus on substantive equality and affirmative action. The Labour Relations Act (LRA) (RSA 66 of 1995) and The Basic Conditions of Employment Act (BCEA) (RSA 75 of 1997) were instrumental for initially reconstituting labour and employment relations, and the fundamentals of workplace rights, responsibilities, and duties, post-apartheid.

Policy that came after this was specifically designed to address equity and equality in the public and private sectors. It included: The Public Services Act (RSA 103 of 1994), *The Green Paper: Policy Proposals for a New Employment and Occupational Equity Statute* (RSA 804 of 1996), The Employment Equity Bill (RSA, 1997), the *White Paper on Affirmative Action in the Public Service* (1998), The Employment Equity Act (RSA 55 of 1998) and its various Amendments (2014), The Skills Development Act (RSA 97 of 1998) and The Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act (Pepuda) (RSA 4 of 2000).

Several of these fall under the jurisdiction of the Department of Labour (DoL). With a specific focus on labour per se, these policy documents should be sufficiently specific to direct and facilitate change within the ALM. However, until recently, the DoL had woefully inadequate influence over and within SAHES. Part of which may be due both to national EE trends as well as other extensive changes within SAHES that led EE to assume secondary importance.

[34] It is undeniable that GEAR is the least holistic of all the aforementioned policy documents in that it has the narrowest macro-economic view. Nonetheless, it is included amongst this collection of policies as it meets the other criteria for inclusion, and is important at the national level.

The imperative for workplace rights and EE is also supported by national policy documents. It is particularly well expressed within the RDP and the NDP. Furthermore, substantive equality is also upheld in the Constitution (108 of 1996). This set of policies addresses both the state's legitimacy and allocative (distributive) abilities.

2.3.2.3. List of decentralised state higher education directives

In 2009, the Department of Education (DoE) was divided into the Department of Higher Education and Training (DoHET) and the Department of Basic Education. With jurisdiction over SAHES, the DoE and then DoHET formulated numerous and wide-ranging policies to address aspects of the sector viewed as most in need of urgent attention.

With respect to *Transformation*, key policies and documents include: The National Commission on Higher Education's (NCHE) Report entitled *An Overview of a New Policy Framework for Higher Education Transformation* (1996), *The Green Paper on Higher Education Transformation* (1996), and *The White Paper 3: A programme for Higher Education Transformation* (1997). These reflect the ideo-political phase of state policy as they reflect firm commitment to both political and ideological redress, broad-based participation and consultation, and emphasize the need to re-engage the international context (Jansen, 2002). There is a close conceptual association between these documents and the national documents of the period from 1994 to 1996. These documents perform a range of the work that Binder (1971) mentions as necessary in solidifying the identity, legitimacy, and participation of the nation. Nonetheless, the role of state as change agent is very evident within them and comes distinctly to the fore in the next set of documents.

The implementation phase is largely when the conceptual phase moved into the action phase, when the state sought to actively change its distributive mechanisms, and when the Council for Higher Education (CHE) as an independent statutory body became involved in them. The restructuring of the sector became the dominant phase of *Transformation*. This change in approach is evident in the following policies and documents: The Higher Education Act (RSA 101 of 1997), The CHE's Towards a New Higher Education Landscape: Meeting the Equity, Quality and Social Development Imperatives of South Africa in the 21st Century (CHE, 2000), the National Plan for Higher Education (RSA, 2001), the National Working Group's (NWG) report 'The Restructuring of the Higher Education System in South Africa' (National Working Group, 2001), the promulgated Transformation and Restructuring: A New Landscape for

Higher Education (2002), Higher Education Restructuring and Transformation Guidelines for Mergers and Incorporations (DoE, 2003), as well as various gazetted government notices of the proposed mergers and the resultant acts that brought the 'new' institutions into being. In this phase, the state is clearly directive whilst also engaging in cooperative governance.

After the Reitz Incident[35], the 'Report on the Ministerial Committee on Transformation and Social Cohesion and Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education Institutions' (DoE, 2008) was released. It specifically explored issues of transformation across the sector. Subsequently, the *Green Paper* (DoHET, 2012) and *White Paper* (DoHET, 2014) *for Post-School Education and Training: Building an expanded, effective and integrated post-school system* specifically addressed the gap post-apartheid in further education and training. For department-specific policies, this collection of policies reflects considerable variation in *Transformation,* both in conceptualization and implementation. This will be unpacked in 2.3.2.6.

2.3.2.4. List of centralised and decentralised state justice directives

Lastly, in respect of symbolic, socio-cultural, and social justice transformation, the Constitution (RSA, 1996), Pepuda (RSA, 2000), and the *Green Paper Towards a Gender Equality Draft Bill* (Ministry of Women, Children and People with Disabilities, 2011) do the most to actively address this component of *Transformation*[36]. These pick up and address specific components of equality and dignity that are often neglected when attention focuses on macro and meso level change. These policies resonate at the national level, particularly with The Freedom Charter, the RDP and the NDP, and within higher education with The White Paper 3 and the 2008 Ministerial Report. These specifically aim to ensure that, amongst other, dignity is fundamental to, part of the process of, and facilitated by *Transformation*.

It is important that *Transformation* is engaged with centrally and that there are a number of organs of state and associated institutions that ensure policy is followed through and/or

[35] Afrikaner male students at the University of Free State gave elderly African women, who worked as cleaning staff in their residence, food to eat which the students had allegedly urinated on. This was filmed and distribute on social media, generating a national response.

[36] These are the responsibility of the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development as well as the Department of Women, Children and People with Disabilities.

implemented. However, without direction, coordination, and integration across departments, these initiatives could be at best separate and disparate or at worst, ineffectual and counter-productive and pull in opposing directions. South African policy on *Transformation* as it pertains to SAHES is not uncoordinated, but policy on the de-segmentation of academic labour per se is reliant on cross-cutting inputs from different departments. The White Paper 3, though, has attempted to connect these and demonstrate their relevance and applicability for SAHES. Nonetheless, conceptual ambiguity and conflation as well as the sheer amount of policy itself may lead to a sense of being both overwhelmed and fatigued.

Sections 2.3.2.5 to 2.3.2.7 provide an overview of state conceptualization of *Transformation*, restructuring, employment equity, and transformation as selectively excerpted and analysed from key documents listed in sections 2.3.2.1 to 2.3.2.4.

2.3.2.5. Centralised conceptions of *Transformation*

At the national level, *Transformation* is most clearly articulated and/or inferred within the Freedom Charter, the RDP, the Constitution (1996), and the NDP. Whilst the Freedom Charter and the Constitution do not actually use the word 'transformation', they both provide a vision and framework for *Transformation*. A frequency search on key terms shows how policy documents use *Transformation* and its sub-component concepts (see Figure 2.1). An analysis shows that *Transformation* is used in a myriad of ways to refer to material, structural and symbolic change.

Figure 2.2. Results of frequency word search on key policy documents

| Policy document | Transformation | Restructuring | Employment Equity / Affirmative action |
|---|---|---|---|
| Freedom Charter | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| RDP | 21 | 35 | 7 |
| Constitution | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| GEAR | 4 | 25 | 6 |
| NDP | 69 | 7 | 29 |
| EEA | 0 | 0 | 45 |
| White Paper 3 | 47 | 4 | 34[37] |

The Freedom Charter (ANC, 1955) as a collective aspirational document set the parameters for change, with *Transformation* a long-term goal for the democratic nation. It envisioned radical structural changes to existing political, legal, and socio-economic systems[38]. It positioned restructuring as the central mechanism of *Transformation*. Symbolic transformation was also deemed necessary to realise democratic and social justice as the lived experience of all[39]. Education was seen as an important facilitator of this kind of change[40].

Formal equality was extended on the grounds of race, colour, sex, culture, and belief. However, substantive equality was only present in embryonic form. There was almost no discussion of affirmative action[41]. That said, two clauses are of interest: "Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work" and "[t]he colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished"[42]. These specifically identified the need to structurally address gendered and racialized segmentation of the labour markets and other areas of social life.

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[37] In the White Paper 3, equity as opposed to employment equity or affirmative action was used.
[38] Including the right to self-determination and governance, equality before the law, economic equality, land redistribution, land rights, access to education, and access to housing to security (http://africanhistory.about.com/od/apartheid/a/FreedomCharter.htm)
[39] Generalised rights aimed to confer and ensure equality, humanity, dignity and respect for all. Protection against discrimination, the repeal of all apartheid-based laws and, provision for the means of cultural, linguistic and religious diversity and integrity were ensured. However, education was amongst those singled out where the colour bar had to be abolished (http://africanhistory.about.com/od/apartheid/a/FreedomCharter.htm)
[40] For example, education was seen as instrumental in inculcating "the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace" (http://africanhistory.about.com/od/apartheid/a/FreedomCharter.htm).
[41] Here affirmative action is used rather than employment equity simply to acknowledge that such interventions referred to extend beyond the sphere of employment.
[42] (http://africanhistory.about.com/od/apartheid/a/FreedomCharter.htm)

The Freedom Charter, as it pertained to labour and education, generally reflected a liberal notion of *Transformation* that prioritised formal equality. Its positionality on 'deservedness' was also reflected in the use of words such as "talent" and "merit". As was typical of the time, education was considered along with the likes of culture and sport[43]. However, in other areas such as land and resource ownership and service provision, the Freedom Charter reflected a more substantive notion of equality. It envisioned an active state that was instrumental in effecting change, and an engaged, participatory citizenry. [44].

In post-apartheid South Africa, the Constitution (1996) particularly (although not exclusively) provides meaning to, and guarantees the rights of, its citizens. Chapter 2 of the Constitution incorporates 'The Bill of Rights', which is fundamental in establishing dignity, equality, and freedom. Formal equality is extended, beyond that envisaged in the Freedom Charter, to the prevention of unfair discrimination on any of the following grounds: "race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language, and birth" (RSA, 1996: s9 (3)). As per the RDP, the Constitution also provides for substantive equality, thereby ensuring that socio-economic redress is meaningfully enacted, "To promote the achievement of equality, legislative and other measures designed to protect or advance persons, or categories of persons, disadvantaged by unfair discrimination may be taken" (RSA, 1996: s9 (3)). Importantly, much of the rest of the Constitution ensures that organs of state and independent institutions function to uphold and deliver on its rights and provisions.

As the ANC prepared to govern, the RDP (1994) was its blueprint for the first democratic elections and governance. The debate between growth and development, typical of post-colonial regimes at the time, was resolved with a commitment to both. Structural change was deemed necessary for socio-economic stability, which itself relied on participatory democracy. *Transformation* (in addition to reconstruction and development) was used frequently to refer

[43] (http://africanhistory.about.com/od/apartheid/a/FreedomCharter.htm)
[44] (http://africanhistory.about.com/od/apartheid/a/FreedomCharter.htm)

to the overhaul of existing material conditions, the inclusion of social justice, and symbolic dimensions of change. Detailed plans for key sectors were provided[45].

Interestingly, education was not identified as a basic need but was categorised as instrumental for human resource development. As a lengthy document, the RDP gave consideration to the effects of inequality and discrimination on society in general as well as on labour in particular. The state envisaged human resource development as being characterized by "the principles of democracy, non-racism, non-sexism, equity and redress to avoid the pitfalls of the past" (ANC, 1994: s3.3.3). This conceptualization of labour is fundamental to individual, group, and societal wellbeing. Therefore, in terms of redress, the recommended interventions go beyond formal equality and equality of access.

The RDP categorises equity as a redistributive and forward looking mechanism to ensure socio-economic conditions and political relations that are substantively more equal by levelling the past and current 'playing fields'. Particular interventions designed to give effect to this are sustainable economics; social welfare; revised national human resources development strategy; intra and regional socio-economic and trade reforms; representation and participation of (what would later become known as) 'previously disadvantaged groups'. Equity is often accompanied by a suite of other social justice or symbolic transformation descriptors such as non-sexism, non-racism, democracy, and such.

Affirmative action was firmly placed on the agenda as a mechanism to "unlock boundless energies and creativity suppressed by racism and discrimination" (ANC, 1994: s (1.4.6)). Its potentiality was stated as:

> A programme of affirmative action must address the deliberate marginalization from economic, political, and social power of Black people, women, and rural communities. Within this programme particularly vulnerable groups such as farm workers, the elderly, and the youth require targeted intervention. (ANC, 1994: s (2.2.6)).

[45] These included the five key plans: "meeting basic needs; developing our human resources; building the economy; democratizing the state and society; and implementing the RDP" (ANC, 1994).

Affirmative action was envisaged to "end discrimination on the grounds of race and gender, and to address the disparity of power between workers and management, and between urban and rural areas" (ANC, 1994: s4.8.13). In several places, additional and specific reference was also made to the need to address sexism, gender inequality, gender oppression, and sexual harassment (ANC, 1994: s3.3.13.2; s1.4.6 & s4.8.13). It should also be acknowledged that as a general strategy of advancement, affirmative action was also extended to other key groups such as people with disabilities (ANC, 1994: s2.13.4.2). In this way, affirmative action was conceptualised as having the capacity to advance group interests and to disrupt the structural (power) relations within the workplace and society at large. Thus, affirmative action was a core intervention in the *Transformation* of society and labour markets.

In order to be effective, affirmative action (AA) was conceptualized with an accompaniment of supporting strategies and interventions. These included: mass education and training; individual, group, and community empowerment; development of hiring and promotion strategies that would facilitate formal and substantive equity; collective bargaining to address inequalities; provision of job security for pregnant women and childcare opportunities; an emphasis on the development of expertise amongst citizenry; monitoring of implementation of affirmative action by an ombudsperson/service; prohibition, education, advocacy and complaint mechanisms for sexual harassment; ratification of ILO conventions; restructuring of the labour market institutions; and human resource development with improvement in living standards (ANC,1994: s4.8.13 & s4.8.17).

These would, therefore, ensure AA was rolled out proactively, substantively, meaningfully and without negative consequences to the functioning of workplaces. However, the reception factor: how people would receive and engage the new multicultural reality that would begin to define workplaces, was not explicitly discussed.

Of additional relevance to this study, the RDP also called for a higher education commission to investigate and report on all facets of higher education including "capacity building and affirmative action in academic and administrative appointments" (ANC, 1994: s3.3.13.2). The specific highlighting of SAHES and its staff is important both for the centrality of education as an agent of change, as well as what did or did not take effect with respect to this constituency.

Whilst education is a sector that could potentially be variously positioned, its placement within human resource development signals something of an instrumentalist approach. Education was explicitly viewed as a gatekeeper institution. Its legacy as an unjust, "fragmented, unequal and

undemocratic" sector (ANC, 1994: s3.1.2) provided the rationale for its complete overhaul at both the material and symbolic levels. In order to meet the need for equal access, expansion was asserted; in order to overcome its segregated nature, a singular and unified system with quality service provision improvements was recommended. This included an integrated qualifications framework, a statutory qualifications authority, curriculum change, finance and governance system changes, as well as fundamental changes to each level of education and training (ANC, 1994: s3). Thus, the RDP laid the foundation for key directives to be undertaken by the then Department of Education.

More generally, within the RDP, the state conceived of its role in the economy as one of leadership and enablement. It stressed the importance of restructuring state assets and improving public service so as to ensure effectiveness, efficiency, and service delivery (ANC, 1004: s4). Comprehensive de-racialisation of business ownership and control through Black Economic Empowerment was mentioned. Whilst vital, it was scaled down in application. The RDP also acknowledged the importance of advancing the position of women in society, particularly in science (ANC, 1994: s4.4.8.5).

A commonality of the RDP and Freedom Charter, was that a lot of the work of *Transformation* was deemed possible through restructuring. The Freedom Charter spoke of a future, wherein a people unified through economic dispossession would benefit from land, resource, and workplace distribution. The RDP evoked restructuring for several main reasons. It claimed it would enable redress (undo the racialized and sexist structure, functioning and ideology of institutions); enable democratic participation (reflect diversity, enable integration, and provide for collective participation); improve service delivery and governance (better meet needs, become service oriented, enhance responsiveness, and accountability); enable new directions for economic growth and social development as a result of technological advancement (bring institutions in line with international standards and improve regional dynamics); and improve economic viability (decrease costs, improve effectiveness and efficiency, increase sustainability, remove duplication, sell off state assets, and apportion funds to those most in need) (ANC, 1994).

As can be seen, a fairly standard structural solution was presented for a wide range of issues with a plethora of causative explanations. Furthermore, restructuring was largely a structural mechanism to give effect to change, particularly at the level of organisations, institutions, and the state itself. It referred to 'how' change would occur. However, the way in which state

discourse was written meant that it was not easily detachable from the intentionality or outcome of *Transformation* per se.

For example, in the RDP, restructuring was most typically used to refer to processes of rationalization, improving coordination, minimising costs, improving technological capacity, and improving efficiency, effectiveness, and accountability. Nonetheless, these were couched in language that signalled 'the good' in terms of access, service provision, public participation, and meeting requirements. For example, education restructuring was articulated as the "rationalization of complex, racist, fragmented, existing structures" (ANC, 1994, s3).

Furthermore, restructuring was used synonymously with *Transformation*, blurring the lines between structural and social change[46]. Whilst there was little focus on the restructuring of the more 'professional' sectors, the RDP did acknowledge that "professional boards should better reflect South Africans"[47]. This thereby invoked changes in labour practice, reminiscent of EE or suggesting greater national retention of Black professionals as an outcome of restructuring. Within the RDP, there was some tension between the actual need for restructuring and various competing ideologies advocating restructuring.

Finally, with respect to the symbolic dimensions of transformation, the RDP extensively engaged the impact that apartheid had on the country as a whole and on the capacity, ability, and opportunity for citizens to enjoy quality of life. It stressed the need for broad-based democracy, with substantive participation by empowered citizens, non-discrimination in a wide range of areas. It underlines the importance of equality in an expansive range of areas. However, despite its acknowledgement that participatory democracy should extend beyond institutional provisions and beyond institutionalized stakeholder involvement, this was essentially the extent of the scope of symbolic or socio-cultural transformation (ANC, 1994: s5, s5.2.1, s5.2.9 & s5.9).

[46] For example, by: meeting the needs of all; community participation; reflecting experience; recognition of prior learning; lifelong learning; multiple entry and exit points; developing (through restructuring) an integrated education system, including adult basic education, formal post-standard 7 education, and higher education; and making evidence-led decisions through consultation with civil society and that are evidence led.

[47] The RDP contains detail on the restructuring of many more sectors; the focus has purposefully been kept narrow here.

Participation through access to the means and mechanisms of social, political, and economic life are thus deemed sufficient to effect deep meaningful change. Whilst this may be sufficient for a policy of macro orientation, there is a danger that without guidance and direction, this important dimension of *Transformation* could fall through the gaps.

The RDP has been thoroughly engaged given its stature as the post-apartheid policy framework for reconstruction. It formed the basis of a number of policies enacted by, amongst others, the education and labour departments. It also brought two radically divergent sets of thought about 'the economy' and 'society' together to craft a middle road to the new South Africa that decisively and meaningfully broke with the past. Thus, *Transformation* was downscaled to specific kinds of transformation, for specific sections of society. In terms of material transformation: political transformation for all was guaranteed; social transformation was expansive yet likely to be variable in effect; economic transformation remained wholly limited in scope and scale; whilst symbolic transformation remained a commitment, backed up by proposed constitutional provisions but with little beyond the goodwill of citizens to translate it into action. With the overwhelming focus on material transformation, restructuring was asserted as the central modus operandi. Affirmative action was introduced and was explicitly conceived and detailed as an essential mechanism to effect labour market and workplace change.

Using the reasoning evidenced in the RDP, The ANC's *Yellow Book* (1994) focused especially on education and training with an appreciation of the devastation wreaked on the education system by apartheid. It also noted that education held the potential to dismantle the apartheid labour market. This use of *Transformation* can be summarised in seven key words: response, relevance, redress, development, access, social justice, and democracy. Whilst this kept the goal of education in focus, the language of efficiency, limited resources, management and governance also gained prominence.

*Transformation* was also used to refer to the restructuring of institutions with the by-line 'in the interests of all'. The *Yellow Book* was explicit in calling for a "single national system" that was economically sustainable, and included the qualitative upgrading of education and training. Key mechanisms specified included: the revision and restructuring of the funding formula to redress institutional inequalities, incentive-driven support, and the use of management as a tool for organisational restructuring (ANC, 1994). Lastly, on higher education, it focused on the

contribution to development, growth, democracy, cultural enrichment, and intellectual production. This would also form the launching pad for other education initiatives.

Whilst the RDP focused mostly on social development, GEAR (1996: 1) focused on "rebuilding and restructuring the economy". Thus, GEAR has virtually no explicit reference to *Transformation*. Where it does occur, it refers only to economic growth or financial restructuring as a result of *Transformation*[48]. It does make extensive mention of restructuring. In neo-liberal language, GEAR speaks of optimal organisational functioning, fiscal austerity to cut costs and "sharpen redistributive thrusts", asset and administrative restructuring; realigning of the government public service, devolution of line departments, downscaling or relegating services to the private sector to save costs; economic restructuring, income distribution, and a review of social policies. Education was amongst those sectors to be "re-prioritised". However, there is little said about public higher education institutions per se. There is some generic discussion around functioning, rationalization, and the increasing role the private sector could have. Nonetheless, the explicit logic that informed GEAR would become evident within later education policies.

The National Development Plan (NDP) Vision 2020 (2013) is the most recent of the macro-economic policies. It uses *Transformation* extensively: 69 times, in at least 10 different ways.

Some of the ways *Transformation* is used in the NDP include: further structural changes (institutional, organisational and state restructuring); smoother functioning (greater efficiency and effectiveness); greater access (greater accessibility and service provision; including change to yield education provision, poverty alleviation, and state capacity); technological potentiality (of science, technology, ICT and a knowledge-driven society and economy); representivity (especially regarding employment equity or affirmative action), and often in the context of ownership, skills, knowledge, and positions in the labour market. Specific calls for representivity in science teaching, research and academic communities (with regards to both race and gender) are of particular relevance

[48] One can ask how *Transformation* was to be afforded if the ideological conceptualization of change and financial planning of such were conceived and conducted as two inherently separate processes.

Furthermore, additional uses include: calls for social justice; greater use of the Constitution (1996) and constitutional provisions, and active participation by the citizenry in the transition to democracy. *Transformation* is also acknowledged as a challenge of the times and balancing countervailing forces. For example: delivering social and public goods without affecting economic capacities; balancing internal needs and external demands; requiring state responsibility and leadership; moving towards a future characterised by modernity, urbanity and globalization; facing environmental challenges and crises; as well as making use of the humanities and social scientists to address social problems and challenges.

This suggests that the NDP uses *Transformation* in a similar vein to how it was used in the RDP. Its use is also all-encompassing, encapsulating what might otherwise be referred to as restructuring, employment equity, socio-cultural transformation, etc. Although released after the period of research (1986 -2012), the NDP is an important policy to consider. It is both critical and reflexive about past policy strengths and weaknesses, and utilizes them as the basis going forward. It remains ideologically committed to social transformation whilst recognizing the existing limitations of political, legal, and economic transformation thus far. It is also grounded within the national and global economic context. As such, it acknowledges how these both constrain, and provide new opportunities for, *Transformation*. Lastly, it is one of the few policy documents to actively consider the role of academics as knowledge, research and science professionals.

Finally, despite extensive discussion on *Transformation*, the NDP contains a more circumspect discussion on restructuring per se. Where used, it refers to: government's responsibility to capacitate; the way in which structural reform and review should better ensure it; and how in practice this has often focused more on process than on actual quality outcomes, efficiency, effectiveness, and service delivery. Thus, there is evidence of the potential of restructuring whilst its discussion is less ideologically heavy, and there is acknowledgement that in practice its implementation needs to be better.

This catalogue of national policy documents shows that *Transformation* is used in numerous ways. Three major strands run through these central policy directives, referred to here as material, structural and symbolic *Transformation*. There is tension between the material (macro-economic) and structural (meso). Fairly early stability over fundamental change becomes apparent. Such reform is instituted through various mechanisms of restructuring in which the state is both a target of and a key actor in the facilitation of change. This is reflective

of arguments that the ANC's *transformation agenda* increasingly moved from one of revolution to reform (See for example: Terreblanche (2012), Reddy (2008), Bentley and Habib (2008), Picard (2005) and Cloete (2001) for varied analyses on this transition). Symbolic transformation was spelt out and various state departments required to ensure the protection of equality whilst its primacy was upheld by the Constitution (1996).

Furthermore, Jansen (2002)'s argument can be extended to argue that the ambiguous use of *Transformation* concepts, and the resulting conceptual conflation, enables the state to claim incontestable legitimacy through its policy. This thereby furthers Jansen's argument that policy is symbolic irrespective of whether actual service delivery is intended or not. Moja, Muller and Cloete (1996) also argue that the state increasingly recasts its role from direct intervention, to steering, coordination, and regulation. This is akin to a form of "cooperative governance" with "state supervision" (Cloete, 2001: 54). It thereby also changes the relationship between the state and societal constituencies (i.e. HEIs) as well as the grounds for and mechanisms of accountability.

2.3.2.6. Decentralised conceptions of Affirmative Action, Employment Equity, and Equality

Ahead of the transition, four factors had already paved the way for sustained national engagements on affirmative action:

> The state of civil unrest had become untenable in many parts of the country, or at the least appeared an unrelenting pressure cooker to a growingly weary Apartheid police state;
>
> The macro-economic situation no longer 'made sense' out of the elitism of racial division and racial hierarchy and the system was already beginning to implode on itself due to the weaknesses it suffered from keeping black people out of the labour market and advancing poorly-skilled white people on the assumption of 'race'-entitlement;
>
> A range of international statutes provided some solid guidance for a conceptual way forward in thinking about discrimination, equality, and affirmative action; and
>
> There was already some practical empirical evidence for affirmative action models in the Sullivan code and Black Management Forum's application of affirmative action as well as broad-based commitment to the principles of equality and non-discrimination (Lewins, 2013: 5-6).

As seen in the previous section, both the RDP and the Constitution (1996: s (9)(2)) provided the grounds not only for *formal equality* but also for *substantive equality*, and made it the responsibility of national legislation to ensure these were enacted. The Labour Relations Act (LRA) and the Basic Conditions of Employment Act (BCEA) replaced apartheid labour legislation and laid the foundation for new labour rights, responsibilities, and duties. This

established fundamentally just workplace and labour market relations, and the Employment Equity Act (EEA) (1998) could lend its focus to the advancement of substantive equality.

The policy enacted in 1998 was incredibly important although conceptually less extensive than its own Green Paper (1996) and less prescriptive than AA as applied in the public sector. It had to appeal to an appreciably broad base of constituencies. Nonetheless, in being confined to formal contexts of work and workplaces, the potential for AA envisaged by the RDP is somewhat limited and does not include specific socio-economic classes, youth, or rural people as specific groups protected or advanced by the policy. Instead, it focuses on more generic categories of people who have historically experienced labour market disadvantage and discrimination. Nonetheless, both locally and internationally, the EEA is a significant piece of policy in both aim and scope.

The EEA states that its purpose is to

> Promot[e] equal opportunity and fair treatment in employment through the elimination of unfair discrimination; and
>
> Implement… affirmative action measures to redress the disadvantages in employment experienced by designated groups, in order to ensure their equitable representation in all occupational categories and levels in the workforce (DoL, 1998: s2(a)(b)).

The EEA does provide a number of definitions of concepts that are core to its functioning. It is applicable to *designated employers*, defined as those with a workforce of 50 or more employees, or an annual turnover above a designated threshold. *Designated beneficiaries* are Black people (African, Coloured and Indian), women, and people with disabilities. The EEA sets the parameters for the application of the act as it further defines 'suitably qualified' and what constitutes an 'employee' and an 'employment policy or practice'.,

In effect, the EEA is applicable to all workplace policies and practices besides those of independent contractors. Importantly, *suitably qualified* would apply "as a result of any one of, or a combination of that person's formal qualifications, prior learning, relevant experience, or capacity to acquire, within a reasonable time, the ability to do the job" (DoL, 1998: s (1) & (20)(3)).

As noted, the EEA also seeks to prevent unfair discrimination. In this respect, it surpasses the Constitution (1996) with its list of grounds on which people cannot be directly or indirectly, unfairly discriminated against. Included in this list, along with those of the Constitution, are: family responsibility, HIV status, conscience, and political opinion (DoL, 1998: s (6)). The

EEA also considers that, "harassment of an employee is a form of unfair discrimination and [thus] is prohibited on any one, or a combination of grounds of unfair discrimination listed in subsection (1)" (DoL, 1998: s (6)(3)). Furthermore, s60(1)-(4) places responsibility on employers to bear responsibility for the actions of their employees, whilst at work, and not turn a blind eye to any (unfair) discrimination that occurs in the workplace. Furthermore, in cases where an employer's action is questioned, the burden of proof is on the employer to prove any discrimination was in fact fair (DoL, 1998: s (11)).

In the main, the EEA is the legislation that specifically enacts substantive equality within the workplace. In s(6)(2)(a) & (b), using the same reasoning evidenced in the Constitution, it explains why AA measures themselves do not constitute (unfair) discrimination. Section 15 details what it is that AA seeks to do. This is quoted at length as it is deemed important to have a precise grasp on the state's articulation in its own right and as a comparative basis for chapters 6 to 8.

S15:

> Affirmative action measures are measures designed to ensure that suitably qualified people from designated groups have equal employment opportunities and are equitably represented in all occupational categories and levels in the workforce of a designated employer.
>
> Affirmative action measures implemented by a designated employer must include –
>
> Measures to identify and eliminate employment barriers, including unfair discrimination, which adversely affect people from designated groups;
>
> Measures designated to further diversity in the workplace based on equal dignity and respect of all people;
>
> Making reasonable accommodation for people from designated groups in order to ensure they enjoy equal opportunities and are equitably represented in the workforce of a designated employer;
>
> subject to subsection 3, measures to -
>
> Ensure the equitable representation of suitably qualified people from designated groups in all occupational categories and levels in the workforce; and
>
> Retain and develop people from designated groups and to implement appropriate training measures, including measures in terms of an Act of Parliament providing for skills development.
>
> (3) The measures referred to in subsection (2)(d) include preferential treatment and numeric goals, but exclude quotas.
>
> (4) Subject to section 42, nothing in this section requires a designated employer to take any decision concerning an employment policy or practice that would establish an absolute barrier to the prospective or continued employment or advancement of people who are not from designated groups (DoL, 1998: s (15).

As is evident, the EEA specifically outlines the ways in which it envisages substantive equality will be realized and how formal and substantive equality should work together to prevent discrimination against anyone in the workplace.

The EEA is a policy that requires active monitoring and evaluation within places of employment as well as reporting to the state via the Department of Labour. Employers, in consultation with employees, are required to develop Employment Equity Plans (EEPs) every one to five years in which EE objectives, AA measures, numerical goals, timetables, strategies to address under-representation, monitoring and evaluation mechanisms, intervention strategies, and accountability mechanisms are engaged (DoL, 1998: s(20(a)-(i)). This then also corresponds with the Employment Equity Report (EER) that is due to the Department of Labour on an annual or biennial basis, depending on organizational size. Additional accountability and reporting requirements are made for the public sector (DoL, 1998: s (21)(22)). Despite being institutions of public higher education, SAHES and HEIs are not regarded as part of the public service. Therefore, only the generic EEA applies to HEIs.

The Commission for Employment Equity (CEE) is made up of representatives of multiple stakeholders who advise the Minister of Labour on policy matters in respect of the EEA including matters of regulation and advice on the EE Codes. The CEE also produces annual reports based on the EERs received to monitor and evaluate EE (DoL, 1998: s (29)-(33). Employers are legally obliged to comply with the EEA and Chapter 5 of the Act specifies the process that will be followed, resulting potentially in fines should an employer be found in contravention of the Act (DoL, 1998: s (34)-(52).

The EEA is also supported by a range of Codes of Good Practice and Technical Assistance Guidelines which provide employers advice on the preparation of EEPs, the mainstreaming of EE, and the handling of sexual harassment cases, etc. A number of amendments, most recently in 2014, have been made to the EEA since its inception. These have clarified specific definitions, areas of applicability, refined measurement criteria to ensure that employers report on equity amongst South African citizens and permanent residents, and have strengthened enforcement and recourse available to the DoL in cases of employer non-compliance.

The EEA is also supported by the Skills Development Act (RSA, 1998) and more recently Pepuda (RSA, 2000). The Skills Development Act (SDA) facilitates the upgrading of employees' skills in an effort to ensure that past and current inequalities are addressed. It therefore seeks to realise meaningful substance from claims for substantive equity. The SDA

has often been associated with sectors other than education, especially higher education. This is partly because the aim of the Act, namely to make the workplace a learning environment, is already assumed to be true for institutions of higher education. However, the financing of training through the Skills Development Levy (that all employers contribute to) has increasingly been used within SAHES for a wide range of training initiatives, demonstrating its applicability and utility.

The aim of Pepuda (RSA, 2000) is to ensure that discrimination is prevented and equality facilitated in all spheres in and beyond the workplace, since the EEA is limited to workplace discrimination and inequality. Therefore, it uses the Constitution (1996) as its point of departure with the aim of ensuring "equal enjoyment of all rights and freedoms for all persons" (RSA, 2000: s(2)(a)). Like the EEA, it only focuses on unfair discrimination on the grounds of race, gender, and disability. It does not provide definitions of these concepts and its provisions and examples suggest a combination of typical and progressive usage of them.

Nonetheless, importantly, Pepuda seeks to determine the circumstances in which discrimination would be considered unfair (a gap in the EEA); then extends these to a prohibition of hate speech and harassment; calls for the state and public institutions to partake in public advocacy on all aspects related to the Act; and seeks justice, to provide remedies, and to develop measures to advance people affected by unfair discrimination (RSA, 2000: s(2)(a)-(g)). Notably, it provides specific guidance as to how the state could and should enact its duty and responsibility to promote equality (RSA, 2000: s (25) (1)(a)-(c)). Pepuda also provides that High Courts act as Equality Courts and that only judges and magistrates who have undergone specific training may act as presiding officers over cases it governs (RSA, 2000: s (16)(2)). This aims to raise their management profile and ensure better resolution in the court system.

*The Green Paper Towards a Gender Equality Draft Bill* (Ministry of Women, Children and People with Disabilities, 2011) proposed the need for a specific bill that prioritized women's empowerment and gender equality, society-wide. It was, however, negatively received, in the main, due to its duplication of functions of other existing legislation and other departments and chapter 9 institutions. It did highlight the overall weaknesses and challenges faced in addressing both gender-based discrimination and facilitating gender equality. However, even this proposal failed to consider the complexities of gender beyond narrow essentialist masculine/feminine binaries and conceptions.

Whilst the EEA has much potential to advance substantive equality through affirmative action, challenges such as the reification of identity categories; the lack of consideration of the impact of intersectionality on discrimination and inequality; unintended consequences such as a hierarchy of EEA beneficiaries, and systemic inequality and institutional cultural limitations, are a few of the factors that have beleaguered its implementation. Subsequent policy to extend Constitutional mandates across society appear to have been well-intended but have potentially encountered further complexity and limitations in the process.

2.3.2.7. Decentralised conceptions of *Transformation* in Higher Education

The White Paper 3 (WP3) (1998) is the most useful higher education policy, in that it provides a consolidated overview of *Transformation* thinking at the time. It is based upon and takes direction from the RDP and therefore also used *Transformation* in a multitude of ways. It referenced the past and reflected on where the sector had come from. It acknowledged the limitations of the present and especially the inadequacies or deficiencies of the higher education system and what needed to change. It was also used to provide a vision of the future, in particular, what principles a transformed higher education sector would hold. Equality, dignity and freedom were to be realized through equity and redress, democratization, development, quality, effectiveness and efficiency, academic freedom, institutional autonomy and public accountability (DoE, 1998, s (1.17 -1.25)).

The key features envisaged were a singular coordinated sector, offering a diversity of quality programmes that were well articulated, including distance and open learning, offered in a non-discriminatory manner to a greater range of the population. It was envisaged that this would meet both the high skills needs of the country and the need for engaged and socially responsive citizens. This was envisaged as occurring whilst simultaneously developing the internal capacity of the sector, and responsibly managing, governing, and sharing available resources (DoE, 1998: s (1.27)).

In comparison to later policies, restructuring is hardly used at all in the WP3; it is used very specifically to infer infrastructural and programmatic change. In later policies, it is used more ubiquitously to describe institutional structural change (both intra- and inter-institutional), programmatic and qualification accreditation change, curriculum and pedagogic change, sectoral and institutional governance change, and changes to sectoral and institutional financial management systems. Whilst the WP3 was concerned with the political and conceptual work

of *Transformation*, shortly afterwards, most education policy redirected focus to the pragmatics of incorporations and mergers.

Equity received much attention in the WP3. For the most part, it was conceived as equal opportunity of access, to some extent equal opportunity (or at least increased opportunity) of participation, and the goal of opportunity of outcome (in places referred to as a fair chance of success). Equity was most often used in reference to students. There was however, fair consideration of particularly academic staff. A more detailed exploration of this aspect of the policy is provided given its relevance for this study.

The WP3 acknowledged the racial and gendered segmentation that affected academics' positionality (vertical and horizontal) in the academic labour market:

> There is an inequitable distribution of access and opportunity for students and staff along lines of race, gender, class and geography. There are gross discrepancies in the participation rates of students from different population groups, indefensible imbalances in the ratios of black and female staff compared to whites and males, and equally untenable disparities between historically black and historically white institutions in terms of facilities and capacities. (DoE, 1998: s (1.4)).

Therefore, the broad overall goal in relation to staff was:

> To develop capacity-building measures to facilitate a more representative staff component which is sensitive to local, national and regional needs, and is committed to standards and ideals of creative and rigorous academic work (DoE, 1998: s (1.27)).

The WP3 identified four core *Transformational* areas in need of rectification that would have direct bearing on academics. Three were common to most institutions: overall insufficient research capacity development, inadequate human resource development, and problematic institutional cultures. The fourth, systemic institutional inequities, reflected the differentiation between institutions and exacerbated the former challenges. The WP3 also offered some suggestions to address these challenges.

Research "capacity, distribution and outcomes" were specifically noted as a concern, given the overall function of higher education (DoE, 1998: s (2.83)). This concern was twofold, originating both within internal "deficiencies", and changes in the external context that required far greater flexibility, collaboration, and partnership with other stakeholders (DoE, 1998: s (2.84-2.87)). The internal limitations the DoE identified were:

> there is insufficient articulation between the different elements of the research system, and between the research system and national needs for social, economic, cultural and intellectual reconstruction

> there is insufficient research capacity in higher education, and existing capacity is poorly co-ordinated and not adequately linked to postgraduate studies
>
> there are stark race and gender imbalances in the demographic composition of researchers in higher education, research councils, and private sector research establishments
>
> the distribution of research capacity in higher education institutions is skewed: under apartheid, the development of research capacity in black universities was severely limited, and the HDIs have only recently integrated research into their core functions; and a research mandate has only in recent years been included in the institutional mission of technikons (DoE, 1998: s (2.83)).

Therefore, the proposed response was one that combined performance-oriented development and focused expansion with equity.

> The development of a national research plan which will identify national priorities for research and postgraduate training, processes for the identification and establishment of centres of excellence and niche areas, targets and performance indicators to achieve redress by developing a more representative research community, and incentives for collaboration and partnerships, especially at the regional level, in research and postgraduate training…
>
> For its part, the Ministry will request the CHE, in conjunction with the National Research Foundation (NRF), to provide early advice on the current state and future needs of research infrastructure and capacity, including institutional redress in the higher education system.
>
> Targeted expansion of the institutional base for research through redress funding for the HDIs, in line with national priorities and the overall development of an expanded and diverse higher education system. Earmarked funds for the development of the research capacity at technikons will also be considered.
>
> Prioritising access of Black and women students to masters, doctoral and postdoctoral programmes, and designing a human resource development plan for higher education (DoE, 1998: s (2.91)).

In addition, the WP3 explicitly stated that given the importance of research and the scarcity of funds, these "should not be spread across all faculties or schools in all institutions but should rather be concentrated in those areas where there is demonstrable research capacity or potential, in both HDIs and HWIs" (DoE, 1998: s (4.54). Thus, earmarked funds were directed to research excellence and research collaboration, particularly in Science, Engineering and Technology Institutions (DoE, 1998: s (4.54).

The WP3 was cognizant of the challenges the academic labour market as a whole faced and thus more generally recommended the development and improved articulation of post-graduate studies as a key mechanism to replenish the academic ranks:

> expanding enrolments in postgraduate programmes at the masters and doctoral levels, to address the high-level skills necessary for social and economic development and to provide for the needs of the academic labour market (DoE, 1998: s (2.24)).

The WP3 also explicitly engaged the need for what it conceptualized as internal human resource development, or the de-segmentation of the academic labour market:

> Human resource development for the higher education system is particularly important. Unlike the changing student profile, especially in undergraduate programmes, the composition of staff in higher education fails to reflect demographic realities. Black people and women are severely underrepresented, especially in senior academic and management positions.
>
> The Ministry recognises that the barriers to access are complex and that the building of human resource capacity poses the dual challenges of equity and development. The problem is broader than the redress of the apartheid legacy. In the case of women, it reflects deeply embedded sexist ideologies that cut across race and class. An enabling environment is needed which overcomes the social constraints that impede the mobility of women. These include inadequate or absent child-care facilities and inadequate maternity benefits (DoE, 1998: s (2.94-2.95)).

The WP3 then required HEIs to proactively reflect, plan and report their academic staffing needs and development processes:

> Institutions will be required to submit human resource development plans, including equity goals, as part of their three-year rolling plans. HRD plans will need to include:
>
> staff recruitment and promotion policies and practices
>
> staff development, including academic development, that is improved qualifications, professional development and career pathing, instructional (teaching) development, management skills, technological reskilling, and appropriate organisational environment and support
>
> remuneration and conditions of service, taking into account the increasing competition from the public and private sectors for well-qualified black people, and women
>
> reward systems, including sabbaticals, conference attendance, academic contact visits, and the transformation of institutional cultures to support diversity (DoE, 1998: s (2.96)).

As evidenced above, the DoE and DoL share much of the same foundational thinking with respect to how substantive equality should be realized. Repeatedly, throughout the WP3, several mainstream and funding initiatives require institutions to provide staffing profiles. These suggest HEIs should be critically engaged on staffing equity.

In the WP3, socio-cultural and symbolic transformation is largely framed through a discussion of the urgent need for democratic governance and respectful institutional cultures:

> The Ministry is seriously concerned by evidence of institutionalised forms of racism and sexism as well as the incidence of violent behaviour on many campuses of higher education institutions. It is essential to promote the development of institutional cultures which will embody values and facilitate behaviour aimed at peaceful assembly, reconciliation, respect for difference and the promotion of the common good.
>
> The Ministry proposes that all institutions of higher education should develop mechanisms which will:
>
> create a secure and safe campus environment that discourages harassment or any other hostile behaviour directed towards persons or groups on any grounds whatsoever, but particularly on grounds of age, colour, creed, disability, gender, marital status, national origin, race, language, or sexual orientation

> set standards of expected behaviour for the entire campus community, including but not limited to administrators, faculty, staff, students, security personnel and contractors
>
> promote a campus environment that is sensitive to racial and cultural diversity, through extracurricular activities that expose students to cultures and traditions other than their own, and scholarly activities that work towards this goal.
>
> assign competent personnel to monitor progress in the above-mentioned areas (DoE, 1998: s (3.41-3.42)).

The WP3 furthermore explicitly focused on how HEIs can work towards gender equity and introduce intervention mechanisms that provide examples of how formal and substantive equality can be enacted. These reflect cross-departmental insight and, potentially engagement. This is also the most comprehensive and focused engagement with these issues across the reviewed policy.

> The Ministry is committed to an institutional culture in which there is gender equity. Institutions have a responsibility for creating an equitable and supportive climate for women students and staff. Priority areas affecting women's participation include women's representation in senior academic and administrative positions and institutional governance structures, child care facilities at institutions, affirmative action for women's advancement, and mechanisms to draw women students into post-graduate studies and into science and technology. Institutional information systems should incorporate mechanisms for monitoring and collecting data on women students and staff.
>
> The Ministry deplores the many incidents of rape and sexual harassment on higher education campuses. Institutions are enjoined to develop and disseminate institutional policies prohibiting sexual harassment of students and employees, together with the establishment of reporting and grievance procedures incorporating victim support and counselling, confidentiality, protection of complainants from retaliation, as well as mechanisms for ensuring due process and protection for respondents (DoE, 1998: s (3.43-3.44)).

Many HEIs had also had versions of Broad Transformation Forums that had played important institutional *Transformational* roles up to and at the time of the 1994 transition. The WP3, therefore, motivates for the continuation and/or regeneration of these in the format of Institutional Forums, to aid with the overall *Transformation* agenda and project within HEIs (DoE, 1998: 3.36 -3.39). These were then given specific statutory mandates through the Higher Education Act (1998).

Lastly, the WP3 acknowledged the strengths and weaknesses across the system. It articulated the DOE's intention for institutions to offer differentiated programmes, and that institutional changes to the higher education landscape were planned[49] through closures and mergers:

> Institutional redress will play an important role in the planning process to ensure that inherited inequalities between the historically black and historically white institutions are not intensified, but diminished. This will require the Department of Education and the CHE proactively assisting institutions to develop planning capacity and appropriate institutional missions, as well as ensuring that new programmes are appropriately located within the existing institutional landscape. In this respect, redress funding will be allocated where needed to enable institutions to offer the agreed programme mix in an effective manner (DoE, 1998: s (2.19)).
>
> A vital task, which the Ministry will undertake in collaboration with the CHE, is to assess the optimal number and type of institutions needed to meet the goals of a transformed higher education system. Many institutions either require consolidation or retooling for new missions and goals. Narrow self-interest cannot be allowed to preclude planning which may lead to institutional mergers and closures, and the development of new institutional forms where these are necessary. The new planning and governance systems will enable appropriate investigations to be undertaken, and consultation at national, regional and local levels. The Minister will then be in a position to make informed decisions on these matters in terms of the Higher Education Act (DoE, 1998: s (2.45)).

As mentioned, most educational policy for the next four years focused overwhelmingly on the pragmatics of restructuring the higher educational landscape. The finalized arrangements were proposed in the *Transformation and Restructuring: A New Institutional Landscape for Higher Education* (DoE, 2002). The rationale was threefold based on social justice, global competitiveness in high end skills and human resources development, and the effective and efficient use of limited resources (DoE, 2002: s (1)).

There were five policy goals, first identified in the National Plan of 2001, that are useful to list here for comparative purposes with reference to Chapter 6 of this thesis.

> To increase access and to produce graduates with the skills and competencies necessary to meet the human resources needs of the country.
>
> To promote equity of access and outcomes and to redress past inequalities through ensuring that student and staff profiles reflect the demographic composition of South African society.
>
> To ensure diversity in the institutional landscape of the higher education system through mission and programme differentiation to meet national and regional skills and knowledge needs

[49] This is listed last here due to the study's focus being on academics per se. However, it should be noted that the WP3 itself addresses this issue almost immediately before the other points already discussed.

> To build high-level research capacity, including sustaining current research strength, as well as to promote research linked to national development needs.
>
> To build new institutional identities and organizational forms through restructuring the institutional landscape of the higher education system, thus transcending the fragmentation, inequalities and inefficiencies of the apartheid past and to enable the establishment of South African institutions consistent with the vision and values of a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society (DoE, 2001 s (1)).

The National Working Group proposed that the 36 HEIs be reduced to 21. The Ministry suggested a few modifications to these proposals but on the whole, they were accepted[50]. The mergers were both unitary and mandatory. A set of specific goals related to equity and access were required of merging institutions. Of specific interest here, are the following:

> Ensuring equity of access, especially in programmes in which black and women students are under-represented such as business and commerce, science, engineering and technology and postgraduate programmes.
>
> Addressing employment equity through measures to mentor, train and support young black and women academics.
>
> Sustaining existing, as well as building new research capacity (DoE, 2002: s (8)).

The DoE also emphasized the need for merging institutions to engage in substantive integration and noted the support that would be provided by the DoE (DoE, 2002: s (9.2)(9.3)). The latter is extensively detailed in the comprehensive handbook that was prepared to assist institutions through the merger process: *Higher Education Restructuring and Transformation Guidelines for Mergers and Incorporations* (DoE, 2003). Non-merging institutions were required to submit their three year rolling plans during this period in order that they also reflected, planned and advanced *Transformation* (DoE, 2002: s (8)).

In the interim, the National Plan (2001) also made a number of observations on *Transformation* and academic staff that are worth noting. It urged HEIs to pay urgent attention to the retention of qualified Black and women staff; acknowledged the diversity of initiatives HEIs had in place to meet their EEPs[51]; noted that alienating institutional culture directly impacted on EE but was

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[50] A list of subsequent mergers can be found at the end of section 2.3.

[51] Interventions listed included: "early voluntary retirement schemes, contract appointments, staff and management development programmes, staff post-graduate study opportunities both locally and abroad to enable staff to enhance their academic qualifications, provision of scholarships to encourage post-graduate students to pursue academic careers, the establishment of development posts and the appointment of employment equity officers" (DoE, 2001: s (3.3)).

on the whole neglected by institutions; encouraged HEIs to actively recruit from other African countries in the short term; and suggested HEIs improve salaries and the attractiveness of academia (DoE, 2001: s(3)). In conjunction with institutional demonstration of EE planning and compliance, the DoE stated it would also finance post-graduate scholarships and engage the Department of Home Affairs to assist with streamlining work permit applications (DoE, 2002: s (3.4.2)).

The review of DoE policies demonstrate that the department was actively involved and aware of sectoral and institutional specificities. It was directive with respect to, for example, high level decisions on the implementation of mergers. As restructuring became the core focus, it appears as though the oversight of human resource development waned. In 2008, The Ministerial Commission undertook to explore the extent to which transformation had taken root in HEIs. Soudien (2008) noted the disjuncture between institutional policy and staff and student experience.

Soudien (2008: 11) noted that transformation was a challenge for all institutions. HEIs' inconsistent response to the Commission was reportedly a reflection of capacity and resources as well as the depth of conceptual engagement. Nonetheless, most HEIs were reported to have an understanding in line with the WP3 (Soudien, 2008: 13). Generally, it was noted that HEIs understood transformation to apply to policy compliance, epistemological access, and institutional culture (Soudien, 2008: 36). Although gaps were noted with respect to the comprehensive implementation of the EEA and a feeling of discrimination on the various listed grounds was reported to be endemic at HEIs (Soudien, 2008: 13 & 50). Gaps between policy and practice were deduced to be a result of a lack of information, awareness, and institutional will (Soudien, 2008: 14).

Of immediate relevance was the recommendation for earmarked funding by the state for staff development, especially for the retention of Black academic staff. Recommendations for HEIs, that they also institute financial and other support mechanisms to retain Black academics particularly by linking initiatives to permanent posts, taking action on allegations of racism and sexism, clarify promotion guidelines, and increase staff's appreciation of the rationale and importance of EE (Soudien, 2008: 15-18). The Committee concluded with reflections on the impact the lack of social cohesion and pervasiveness of discrimination had. These were noted as costs to the individual, institutions, and society as well as a list of eight forms of discrimination that were endemic across the sector (Soudien, 2008: 115-117). The importance

of the Commission is that HEIs were required to participate, that it provided the impetus for institutional discussions at the time and afterwards, and that it generated further departmental interest in these and related issues.

#### 2.3.2.8. Policy summary

The discussion has shown how the basis of post-apartheid policy was rooted within the RDP. The implicit use and complex relationships between formal and substantive equality span a range of policy, although its core is upheld by the Constitution (1996). For, affirmative action, the EEA remains the most pertinent piece of legislation. The WP3 does a considerable amount to apply this to SAHES specifically. Furthermore, the WP3 is crucial in its conceptualization and application of socio-cultural and symbolic transformation. It also sets the foundation for restructuring, which is then further conceptualized and actioned through dedicated policy.

This collection of policies demonstrates how at both the central and decentralized levels, change is variously and sometimes ambiguously conceptualized as restructuring, equity, and transformation. More focused policy such as the EEA is able to retain an exclusive focus that avoids conceptual conflation, whilst other policy, such as national and educational, cannot escape the use of multiple terms. However, some do so more precisely than others. The extensive use of concepts (mostly without definition) suggests that their use also serves a political purpose. This is often substantiated by accompanying ideologically heavy discourse. This applies both to national and education policy but less so to labour policy.

Using Binder (1971) and Jansen (2002) together, it could be argued that this is because state discourse is engaged in extending its legitimacy, authenticity, and authority through policy. This then begs the question, when we seek to determine whether the EEA and WP3 specifically have been applied within SAHES, does the answer we receive reflect the state's power of persuasion and/or power of delivery and/or neither? Furthermore, what impact (if any) does the conceptual ambiguity and conflation have on institutions' engagement with these policies and with *Transformation* in general? As a result of this ambiguity, the precise uses of these concepts within this study are provided in the Conceptual Framework (section 2.5).

Figure 2.3: HEIs in South Africa pre and post the restructuring of the sector

| Institutions pre-restructuring | Designation | Institutions post-restructuring | Designation |
|---|---|---|---|
| University of Durban-Westville | HBU: I | University of KwaZulu-Natal | University |
| University of Natal | HWU: E | | |
| University of Zululand | HBU: A | University of Zululand | Comprehensive University |
| ML Sultan Technikon | HBT: I | Durban Institute of Technology | University of Technology |
| Natal Technikon | HWT | | |
| Mangosuthu Technikon | HBT: A | Mangosuthu University of Technology | University of Technology |
| University of the Western Cape | HBU: C | University of the Western Cape | University |
| Stellenbosch University | HWU: A | Stellenbosch University | University |
| University of Cape Town | HWU: E | University of Cape Town | University |
| Peninsula Technikon | HBT: C | Cape Peninsula University of Technology | University of Technology |
| Cape Technikon | HWT | | |
| Port Elizabeth University | HWU: A | Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (incorporated PE campus of Vista University) | Comprehensive University |
| Port Elizabeth Technikon | HWT | | |
| Rhodes University | HWU | Rhodes University | University |
| Fort Hare University | HBU: A | Fort Hare University (incorporated East London campus of Rhodes University) | University |
| University of Transkei | HBU: A | Walter Sisulu University of Science and Technology | Comprehensive University |
| Border Technikon | HBT | | |
| Eastern Cape Technikon | HBT | | |
| Pretoria Technikon | HWT | Tshwane University of Technology | University of Technology |
| Technikon Northern Transvaal | HBT: A | Vaal University of Technology | University of Technology |
| Vaal Triangle Technikon | HWT | | |
| University of Pretoria | HWU: A | University of Pretoria | University |
| University of the Witwatersrand | HWU: E | University of the Witwatersrand | University |
| Rand Afrikaans University | HWU: A | University of Johannesburg | Comprehensive University |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Technikon Witwatersrand | HWT | | |
| Medunsa University | HBU: A | University of Limpopo | University |
| University of the North | HBU: A | | |
| University of Venda | HBU: A | University of Venda | Comprehensive University |
| North West University | HBU: A | North West University | University |
| Potchefstroom University | HWU: A | | |
| North West Technikon | HBT | Incorporated into Tshwane University of Technology | |
| University of the Orange Free State | HWU: A | University of the Free State | University |
| Free State Technikon | HWT | Central University of Technology | University of Technology |
| University of South Africa | D | University of South Africa | Comprehensive University |
| Technikon South Africa | D | | |
| Vista University | HBU: A | Disbanded and campuses incorporated elsewhere | |

## 2.4. Critical race theory, Intersectionality and Higher Education in South Africa

This short section seeks to locate the study in the theoretical perspectives of critical race theory and intersectionality as well as to very briefly acknowledge the work already done, particularly, by South African scholars, on *Transformation* and the de-segmentation of academic labour.

### *2.4.1. Critical race theory: racial formation theory, racialization and critical-race-standpoint*

With respect to de-segmentation, the primary issue of concern is the racialization of academic labour. Therefore, particular attention is given to conceptualisations of race, racism, and racialization. This study positions itself in conversation specifically with critical race theory (CRT) and associated scholarship. In particular, the scholarship of Omi and Winant (1986), Bonilla-Silva (2001), and Erasmus (2010) were found to be helpful.

This study rejects any claim to a biological basis of race and utilizes Winant's (2000: 172) definition of race as a "concept that signifies and symbolizes sociopolitical conflicts and interests in reference to different[ly understood] types of human bodies". In the South African context race-based categories are highly contested and are themselves used inconsistently even across state departments and associated agencies. As the EEA is a key piece of legislation at the core of this field of inquiry, this study makes use of the racial categories that it uses, whilst recognizing that these themselves are highly problematic. Therefore, the study will refer to the categories as used by the EEA wherein Black people are referred to those who are categorised as African, Coloured, and Indian, and also to the category of White people.

Omi and Winant (1986) are the foundational thinkers on Racial Formation Theory. In summary, they examine how racialization can be understood as a process of racial socialization: Through which both individuals and groups come to understand themselves, and come to be understood by society at large (through socio-cultural and ideological processes and political and economic structures), as racially distinct and distinguishable, within the current social order.

It is worth mentioning a few essential key points. Omi and Winant (1986) note that the meaning and salience of race are never static and racialization is never a historically or geographically identical process or experience. The "social categories and the meaning of race are given concrete expression by specific social relations and the historical context in which they are embedded" (Omi & Winant, 1986: 60). Whilst racial categories are the bedrock of any racialized system, they are themselves in a state of continual flux and change. They are "formed, transformed, destroyed and reformed" through contestations of power that occur at both the individual and collective level (Omi & Winant, 1986: 61).

Furthermore, racialization itself becomes self-referential and is constituted with and by social structures defined in an inherently dialectical relationship. In other words, racialization is "a process by which social, economic, and political forces determine the content and importance of racial categories, and by which they in turn are shaped by racial meanings" (Omi & Winant, 1986: 61). Race, therefore, becomes 'common sense' and is a taken for granted as a means "of comprehending, explaining and acting in the world" (Omi & Winant, 1986: 62).

Therefore, at the macro level, race is structurally constituted and ideologically mediated. At the meso and micro level, these conceptualisations and 'realities' are further constituted and contested. This occurs through individual interactions in which meanings, awareness,

presentation of self, status differentiation, modes of conduct and engagement occur between individuals who understand themselves, and are understood to be, super-ordinate or sub-ordinate within the established racial matrix. Omi and Winant (1986) argue that it is through this continual mediation of the micro, meso, and macro levels that social structures 'harden' and reify into enduring features of the labour market, social and political context, cultural framework, and such. As a result, they become features of socialization and enculturation that shape everyone.

Omi and Winant (1986) are particularly helpful in the conceptualisation of racialization as a process that is very much embedded within the functioning of society; such as it is in South African society. Their theory also points to the multiple levels and processes at which racialisation operate, and is therefore helpful as an analytical guide in interpreting the qualitative findings. Omi and Winant's (1986) conceptualization also provides for the multiple ways in which individuals come to be reified in racially-defined, socially oppositional positions, Although perhaps the limitation of their conceptualization is its seemingly limited potential for fundamental social change.

In a more recent piece, Winant (2000: 183) concludes:

> Will race ever be transcended? Will the world ever get beyond race? Probably not. But the entire world still has a chance of overcoming the stratification, the hierarchy, the taken-for-granted injustice and inhumanity that so often accompanies the race concept. Like religion or language, race can be accepted as part of the spectrum of the human condition, while simultaneously and categorically resisted as a means of stratifying national or global societies.

There is also more optimism expressed regarding opportunities for change, through the various ways in which race is continuously shaped at the micro, meso, and macro levels (Winant, 2000: 182). Bonilla-Silva's (2001) work builds on Omi and Winant's (1986) conceptualization, but specifically seeks to conceptualise racialization. Furthermore, it is more grounded in materiality, conflict, and social action.

Two core aspects of the theory are similar to racial formation, namely the argument that "racialized social systems are societies that allocate differential economic, political, social and even psychological rewards to groups along [socially constructed] racial lines" (Bonilla-Silva, 2001: 44). In addition to, "social relations and practices [are] based on racial distinctions [that develop] … at all societal levels" and ultimately "races…become the effect of relations of opposition among racialized groups at all levels of social formation" (Bonilla-Silva, 2001: 44).

However, the core tenets of Bonilla-Silva's theory enable a deeper understanding of race-based conflict, the amorphous aspects of race itself, and race-based action. Bonilla-Silva argues, firstly, the differentiated objective conditions of 'racialized people' in a hierarchically arranged 'racial social system' will always lead to 'racial contestation'. Secondly, such racial contestation should be viewed as a normal outcome of a 'racially structured system', rather than a pathological feature. Thirdly, whether one speaks of covert or overt racism, or conscious, sub-conscious or unconscious racism, all acts can be analytically determined as 'rational' as they are performed in defence of, or in pursuit of, the said actor's racialized interests. Fourthly, contemporary racial phenomena are explained by the facets of the contemporary racial structure; and these will adapt and morph as the social structure itself changes. In this way, he accounts for the evidence and explains the reasons why racialized stereotypes, racialized ways of thinking, and racialized ideologies emerge, transform, and disappear over time (Bonilla-Silva, 2001: 45-47).

Bonilla-Silva's understanding of racialization and race-based action may be helpful in considering the continued salience and changing texture of race at the case study institutions. Although cognizant of the dynamism of racialization, Bonilla-Silva is of the opinion that revolution will be the only way to overcome race and racialization. His theory partially explains his conclusion but provides little scope for any other possibilities or alternatives. Whilst also seeking a post-racial future, Erasmus (2010) provides a conceptualization in which people themselves have an active role in working through race to the desired ends.

Erasmus's (2010a: 396) take on CRT is one in which scholarship, social justice, and liberation are intimately intertwined. Thus, she notes three fundamental tasks and provides refreshing ways of thinking and pursuing these. There is a need to think deeply about:

> … (1) the tenacity of ideas of race among both beneficiaries and survivors of its unjust effects; (2) the constantly changing complexity of racism(s); (3) its location as just one axis in a complex web of power configurations that sustain racism(s) (Erasmus, 2010a: 396).

Importantly, Erasmus (2010a:396) stresses the need to continually revisit "[one's] theories and practices to unearth their limits and to stretch their innovative possibilities in the face of reinventions of race". Furthermore, she suggests adopting a critical race standpoint, in which "studies be located in time, place, and messy lived realities" (Erasmus, 2010a: 397). This therefore, requires two refined skills of "listening more than looking" and a deeply self-critical reflection and engagement of the social in the self (Erasmus, 2010a: 397). She calls for both

"constituencies of conscience" and "communities of transformative practice" out of which she sees potential to

> …destabilize all racialized thought and group identities and to create new possibilities for belongings based not on racial, cultural, national, or other familial types of membership, but on social concerns and critical humanist values (Erasmus, 2010a: 397).

Erasmus' piece is refreshing in its understanding of "race work" that may need to be done as "Black race work", "White race work", and "alliance building work" in order to break the hold of race. In addition to its thoughtful ways of working through and at the ideological, cultural and social hold race has on all members of society, it is particularly helpful in respect of the methodological suggestions and as an analytical framework for making sense of interview data.

In a second article, Erasmus (2010b) succinctly outlines how critical-race-standpoint understands and analytically makes use of the category of race whilst seeking to disrupt it in the long term:

> …a critical-race-standpoint differentiates between the analytical conception of race as a social construct, race as an apartheid administrative category, and the effects of both such constructs and categories. It holds that we need race as socially constructed in order to name racialized inequalities that continue to live behind race categories which differentiated citizenship during apartheid; to understand what lives behind racialized identifications and challenge these where necessary; and to eventually undermine the idea of race. It further holds once we devise new indicators for the inequalities that live behind apartheid's categories, we might no longer need to use race as an administrative category (Erasmus, 2010b: 50).

This clarification is helpful in understanding and explaining the tension scholars, amongst others, face in researching race and its effects, whilst themselves being located in an ideologically/ politically conflicted position regarding the continued use of apartheid-based categories. Furthermore, in this study, race-based classifications were typically used in this manner in order to gain understanding of the topic at hand. However, as reflected in Chapter 3, this was not always successfully employed and/or interpreted as a "listening" technique.

The various inputs of Omi and Winant (1986), Bonilla-Silva (2001), and Erasmus (2010) combine to provide a way of thinking about racialization as an objective condition, a process of socialization, a standpoint, positionality and perspective, an ideology and a system of inter-relational dynamics that are distinctive as well as malleable. In reference to this study, cumulatively, they: 1) enable an observation and analysis of the meanings, salience, and experiences of racialization(s) within the case studies; 2) facilitate an understanding of the extent to which macro scale changes may have impacted on perceptions, experiences, and lived racial realities; 3) enable an assessment of the extent to which meso and micro changes have

produced changes in racialization(s) themselves; and 4) provide a means through which to explain these changes.

### *2.4.2. Intersectionality*

Whilst race is for many a formative status, and as the previous section has shown, core to understanding social relations, it is not the only mechanism through which people experience social de/valuation. One of the major challenges of social, political, and legal praxis is that race, gender, class, etc. are often treated as siloed experiences of dis/advantage and/or (positive/negative) discrimination. Numerous Black feminists as well as Black and/or queer[52] theorists have contributed to the development of intersectionality.

In summary, intersectionality refers to an understanding that people experience power, privilege and penalty variably as a result of their positionality along multiple axes of oppression (e.g. race, gender, class, sexuality, religion, age, etc.). These axes are interconnected and interlocking (Hills-Collins, 1990). Intersectionality has been crucially important for raising awareness that both feminist and nationalist projects are often limited and exclusionary, particularly regarding the needs and interests of Black working class women (See for example, Gqola (2001) and Mohanty (1988), amongst others). In ways similar to the critical race theorists outlined above, most intersectionality theorists write about the ways in which intersectionality plays out in personal biographies, communities and social groups, and at social and systemic levels (Hill-Collins, 1990).

Crenshaw (1989), also a critical race scholar, has shown how Black women in the United States were actively excluded by anti-discrimination legislation, precisely because of their intersectional experience as Black women. She argued that the law acted as a mechanism in defence of the racial status quo, based on its single entity focus. In the examples she cites, Black women were unfairly discriminated against on the basis that they did not represent all

[52] Queer is used here to refer to an expansive collection of people who choose to locate themselves within sex/gender/sexuality flexible and pluralistic frameworks, be these LGBTIAQ+ (Lesbian, Gay, Bi-Sexual, Trans, Intersex, Asexual, Queer/ Questioning and/or other non-binary constructions)

women or all Black people. Therefore, as Crenshaw points out, the law was unable to conceive of the specific locational experience of Black women themselves (Crenshaw, 1989: 150). She outlines the multiple ways Black women can be discriminated against. These are, on the basis of: 1) gender, in ways similar to White women; 2) race, in ways similar to Black men; 3) both race and gender, as the summative effect of both race and gender, and 4) both race and gender, as the cumulative/compound effect of race and gender (Crenshaw, 1989: 150).

This conceptualization is helpful in terms of thinking deeply about how dis/advantage plays out in intersectional ways. It also highlights the ways in which Black people's experiences can be differentiated, as can women's, as well as how these can be common. This is useful when considering the full range of positionalities that are possible and the differentiated experiences of dis/advantage that people may have. It also makes the case for critical analyses of legislation and policy that may, in practice, have exactly the opposite effect to their stated intention.

Green and Ellison (2014) take earlier intersectionality scholars' call to action seriously, in new ways that try to forge links between an ever-growing circle of people. This example is shared here as their concept of "tranifesting" (transformative manifesting) is potentially akin to Erasmus' (2010) call for "constituencies of conscience" and "communities of transformative practice" to potentially be combined. They consider identities "not as ends in themselves but as places from which to generate transformative politics" (Green & Ellison, 2014: 223).

They explain their key concept and the potential it yields for change:

> Tranifesting…calls attention to the epistemologies, sites of struggle, rituals, and modes of consciousness, representation, and embodiment that summon into being flexible collectivities. Flexible collectivities are those that are capable of operating across normativizing and violative configurations of race, gender, class, sex, and sexuality…To tranifest is to mobilize across the contradictions, divisions, and containment strategies produced by the state and other such large-scale organizations of power that work to limit our capacity to align ourselves across differences in ways that are necessary for social transformation (Green & Ellison, 2014: 222).

They further explain how this can be utilized to further their specific intersectional goals of enacting scholarship, activism, and politics differently: "re-writing of knowledge such that it is "availing to the needs of mankind…in ways that clear the ground for dreaming a different future, a future that keeps alive the liberatory potential of Black feminism and Third World solidarity and liberation" (Wynter, 1984: 21 in Green & Ellison, 2014: 223).

These conceptual accounts provide not only a possible analytical framework for understanding the qualitative data, but also provide potentially new ways of conceptualizing aspects of the topic itself. This discussion will be revisited in chapters 8 and 9.

### *2.4.3. The Transformation and de-segmentation of South African academic labour*

This very brief overview serves three purposes. It sets the context of de-segmentation of the labour market as a whole, and of professionals specifically. It then focuses on mainly empirical writings on highly selected key issues related to the de-segmentation of academic labour.

At the level of the generalised external labour market, Ackermann and Velelo (2015: 137) note that women now make up just under half (45%) of the labour force, 75% of whom are African, 11% Coloured, 2% Indian, and 11% White. However, women are, predictably, still concentrated in specific occupations, notably elementary, clerical, and sales and service work (Ackermann & Velelo, 2015: 162). In addition, specific types of work remain highly gendered. 97% of domestic workers are women and 86% are African women, and 70% of clerical work is done by women (Ackermann & Velelo, 2015: 162). In contrast, men comprise 89% of crafts and related trades, 86% of plant and machine operators, and 70% of management (Ackermann & Velelo, 2015: 162-163). However, women have equitable representation in the professions (Ackermann & Velelo, 2015: 162). This overview demonstrates that in the country as a whole, despite significant feminization, there is still significant horizontal segregation in occupations.

Casale (2004: 22) found that the feminization of the labour market was associated with women continuing to earn less than men despite having the same education, employment and occupation. White women earned more than African women and were the main beneficiaries of change at the top end of the occupational hierarchy (Casale, 2004: 22). In addition, whilst there was some expansion in African women in highly skilled occupations, the majority of growth was in unskilled, informal, self-employed, and domestic work (Casale, 2004: 22). Although this study is dated, it highlights two important points. Increased access and participation does not automatically equate to an improvement in conditions and benefits. In addition, the importance of intersectionality: as this study clearly reflects racialized differences in earnings amongst women themselves.

Academics have been conceptualized as professionals (as per section 2.2.3. and 2.2.4). It is useful, therefore, to examine broad de-segmentation trends within the occupational category of professionals. In 2012, a ten-year CEE reporting cycle had been completed and a subsequent review was produced. It focused only on the top four occupational categories and showed continuity and change in the racialisation and gendered hierarchy of the South African labour market as a whole. Men continued to dominate all categories with significant changes noted in the professions and semi-technical category. Black people made inroads into all occupations. However, representivity significantly tapered off from the base towards the top, most notably in senior and top management (Department of Labour, 2013: 9-12).

Focusing more closely on professionals: Black professionals increased from 31.4% in 2002 to 54.4% in 2012 (Department of Labour, 2013: 11). The proportion of African people increased from 52% to 63% (Department of Labour, 2013: 11). Meanwhile, the proportion of women increased from 30.9% to 42.4% during the same period (Department of Labour, 2013: 11). For the skilled technical occupational category, in 2002 56.9% were Black, 63% of whom were African (Department of Labour, 2013: 12). By 2012, this had increased to 73% and 76% respectively. Over the same period, the proportion of women decreased from 43.7% to 42.8% (Department of Labour, 2013:12). This category is closer to reaching demographic parity than the professions. However, it began from a more equitable basis at 1994.

Whilst conceptually the case has been made for considering academics as professionals, it has been determined that not all HEIs classify all academics as professionals for EE reporting purposes. Most use the EE required Peromnes classification system[53] to determine job grade. The result has been that more junior academics, such as lecturers and below, are classified 'as academically qualified semi-professionals'. However, this classification is not consistently used, as some institutions categorize all academics as professionals. This shows potential ambiguity within existing data, statistics, and the research produced therefrom. Nonetheless, whilst acknowledging these short-comings, there is a basis against which sectoral data can be compared.

[53] Paterson's Job Grading Scheme used widely in South Africa to grade jobs. It is a 21-point grading scheme, on which all jobs are graded on the same eight criteria. Jobs are then categorized into seven categories from 1++ denoting the most senior executives and specialists nationally to the unskilled at 19 (www.patersongrading.co.za/about-peromnes/).

Scholars have increasingly begun to explore issues of EE in the workplace. Dupper and Garbers (2009) and Erasmus (2012) have edited collections that broadly consider the issue of equality and critically examine the role of EE. Dupper and Garbers' (2009) collection considers substantive equality in a comparative global perspective, various grounds for unfair discrimination, and the suitability of the EEA to address these issues, as well as a critical examination of AA, which illustrates how its substantive potential has yet to be reached. Whilst Erasmus' (2012) collection focuses specifically on the continued use of race classifications as a core feature of redress initiatives where there is merit, the conceptual and practical limitations, and imaginative ways of thinking beyond the categories. Each offer substantially different insights, with some commonalities that are imperative for thinking about how the EEA is applied both nationally as well as within specific workplaces.

MacEwen, Louw and Dupper (2005) sought to comprehensively explore the legal imperatives of EE and legal compliance of all HEIs in the Western Cape. Their study was critical of HEIs identifying a lack of rigorous thought and indifference in EE reporting, as well as their lack of concern about inadequate performance. Bezuidenhout, Bischoff, Buhlungu and Lewins (2008) conducted a generalised study of EE across mining, engineering, and the higher education sector. They conclude that the universal approach to EE has served an important role in terms of setting out policy compliance and establishing a basic framework within which progress can be deduced. However, they assert, the time has come for more sector-specific approaches and target setting initiatives to be more responsive to the different labour markets and workplace contexts within which institutions and workplaces operate. Canham (2014) comprehensively conceptualised African women's EE experiences within and of the banking sector.

These studies began to address the lacuna that existed in sector-specific studies. Due to their policy-oriented focus, they yielded useful, concrete and practical ways forward to achieve de-segmentation through AA measures (i.e. EEA). They do not, however, go far enough to conceptualise *Transformation* beyond demographic change. Furthermore, they do not adequately consider how race-based and gender-based equity could be differently understood and implemented to the long-term advantage of, in the case of SAHES, HEIs, their staff and students. The exception is Canham (2014), whose PhD was specifically tailored to document African women's experiences and was thus empirically grounded and theoretically meaningful.

In the case of South Africa, much of the focus on organisational change, -particularly amongst professional and managerial occupations, has prioritised race over gender (Canham excepted).

This prioritisation of race-based equity appears to tie in with the national policy implementation, which prioritises the national project above all else. The nuance and complexity of the *Transformation* project is essentialised to a racial redress project, which then is itself reduced simply to race-based equity. However, even in studies where this is criticised, scholars have not gone far enough to follow the argument through to its logical conclusion in terms of what the national (racial) project leaves out or de-prioritises.

Maphai (1994: 27) argued that "the challenge for a non-racial South Africa is not how to delegitimize the concept of race, but rather how to manage the concept responsibly". He argued that since race is socially and politically real, the inequities that racialisation has caused and continues to cause, need to be confronted. A first step is through mechanisms of redress (such as AA) which make use of racial categories. These identify potential beneficiaries who have experienced and continue to experience social inequality because of the salience of racialisation in historical and contemporary South Africa. Furthermore, he argues that AA is just one amongst a repertoire of mechanisms that are needed to give effect to change.

Maphai (1994) asserts that claims which counter-pose *excellence and merit* with equity are themselves flawed. This is because excellence and merit are in-fact socially and politically loaded. Therefore, they are not racially-neutral positions, whereas *equity mechanisms* seek to level the playing field. Ramphele (2008) argues that stakeholders within the SAHES find it difficult to see equity and excellence as complementary and essential co-factors in *Transformation*. She explains that this is because the sector has traditionally seen these as oppositional, largely because of the sector's past. Advancement within the sector, has historically been based on a system in which *White privilege* has come to signify excellence. Nonetheless, as Ramphele (2008: 197) emphasises, the fact is that excellence, as signified by the full and active participation by all (i.e. *equity*), has yet to be realised in higher education.

Ramphele (2008: 198) further argues that the key to ideological and practical change, in which equity and excellence are realised, is through: "equal-opportunity-access programmes for staff and students; academic support for both student and staff development; and institutional change towards an inclusive culture" (Ramphele, 2008: 198). These recommendations concur with those of the Ministerial Report (2008). However, she goes one step further and criticises the role of the state, institutions, and individuals who allowed higher education restructuring initiatives (i.e. incorporations and mergers) to go ahead to "appease political volatility". In her opinion this was not based on a judicious review and has severely affected the capacity with

which the sector can deliver the dual imperatives of equity and excellence (Ramphele, 2008: 200 -202).

There are a number of studies on post-apartheid change in SAHES in general, that do not have an EE focus. Peacock (1993) provided a thorough account of the segmentation of academic labour within universities during the later apartheid era. His account examined both race and gender segmentation and also extensively assessed universities' policies. This is an immensely useful benchmark for anyone seeking to do comparative work.

Peacock (1993) found the university system divided on the grounds of race across and within institutions, reflective of historical practices. Whilst almost all universities had non-discriminatory policies (on both race and gender), none had done any research into their own employment practices, were aware of how these reinforced the status quo, or of how either policy and practice accrued employment costs (Peacock, 1993: 4). Without radical change, Peacock (1993: 4) concluded, time alone would not be enough to bring about necessary changes to the South African academy.

Subsequently, one of the first attempts to construct a historical account of SAHES post-apartheid was Cooper and Subotzky's *Skewed Revolution* (2001). This provided a descriptive overview in which 'staff transformation' was shown to lag woefully behind student demographic change. Cooper and Subotzky (2001) found the beginning of de-racialization and the waning of gender-exclusivity. However, women continued to be under-represented at the higher levels of the academy and Black staff were concentrated in non-professional posts; whilst White staff were over-represented in professional occupations. Furthermore, they found university demographics to be changing faster than technikons', and restructuring to particularly affect previously disadvantaged institutions (Cooper & Subotzky, 2001: 206-230). This also serves as an important springboard from which to launch this current study.

The posthumous publication of Koen's (2006) work on the reproduction of the academic labour market was one of the first major academic publications that looked at employment equity in conjunction with the skills needed by the higher education sector to sustain itself and grow in comparable terms with the broader economy (i.e. the generalised external labour market). One of the significant nuances was Koen's (2006) conceptualisation of academics as a specific type of 'scientific knowledge worker' with extra-ordinary requirements for social reproduction.

His study confirmed Cooper and Subotzky's (2001) earlier assertion of the limited demographic change within the academic sector. Koen (2006: 31) went further to demonstrate that there had also been a sizeable (4%) brain drain of academics with PhDs from South African HEIs. Using 2003 data, Koen (2006) noted there had been an increase in the number of post-graduate enrolments and degrees conferred. However, throughput rates were less than ideal. Once the demographic composition of post-graduate students was taken into account, progress was less than satisfactory, with the overwhelming proportion of doctoral graduates being men (60%) and White students (56%). Nevertheless, there was a slight shift as White women, as opposed to White men, came to represent the largest single category of post-graduate degrees awarded (Koen, 2006: 36).

This in itself, though, illustrates, the complexities of change, as gendered change occurred without adequate race-based change. Inequitable success rates in higher degrees is problematic and certainly does raise urgent questions for the filling of high-end personnel posts and the reproduction of academics within SAHES. This is urgent, especially given the age distribution patterns within the sector, where 50% pf academics are approaching retirement (HEMIS). In addition to the system-wide increased workload due to the effects of marketization and massification that make little space and generosity for academic development and mentoring (although this is required of all academic development initiatives).

A number of scholars have also focused on in-depth case study analyses or comparisons between several institutions in order to understand the change process within higher education.

Mabokela (2000) compared the staffing complements of the Universities of Cape Town and Stellenbosch over a ten-year period. Drawing on interviews with academics and senior administrators, she reflects on the minimal extent of change before 2000. In addition, she explores specific institutional attempts to diversify campuses, and student and staffing complements. Although, a very crucial study and one of the first of its kind to specifically posit the complexity of de-racialisation of institutions, the study is somewhat dated now. However, a follow up study by Lewins (2006) that compared the Universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand found many similarities. Thus, whilst policies, programmes, and staff data themselves may change, a number of core experiences reflect embedded habitual discourse and practices.

As was argued by a number of theorists mentioned earlier in the literature review (See Acker, Crenshaw and Casale, for example), there are many instances where interventions not only fail

to address that which they claim to, but often produce the exact opposite effect. This was also found within the South African literature, especially with regard to gender.

For example, in her study of the University of Cape Town and the HERS-SA initiative, Shackleton (2007) states gender disappeared off the agenda. She argues that rhetorical commitment was not followed through with decisive and clear action; the leadership mystified and minimalised women's experiences within the institution; and the university and its staff employed gendering mechanisms that entrenched the exclusion felt by women leaders (Shackleton, 2007: 23-42).

By focusing exclusively on gender, Shackleton's (2007) study provides valid and useful insights but does not address the multiplicity and intersectionality of women's staff experiences. Hence, whilst keeping her focus manageable, Shackleton unwittingly contributes to the tendency in South African literature on women in organisations to employ a siloed or at best additive approach to multiple identity-derived exclusions.

Mabokela (2003) explores experiences of administrative university staff. Her critical study shows how even when direct forms of discrimination are addressed, subtle exclusions continue.

She identified how with massification, administrative staff have had to take on significant increases in work without recognition or reward, such that one of her participants described administrative workers as the "donkeys of the university". The structuring of the organisation is gendered as the overwhelming majority of such workers are women but also because the very framing of the administrative jobs in terms of requirements, rewards, and limitations are formulated in gender-specific ways.

Lewins (2006) argued that even where organisations have specific initiatives to address gender inequalities and to explicitly provide women's empowerment; these often fail to escape conservative and liberal ideologies. Thus, women as the 'fairer sex' is constructed in subtle yet powerful ways as a workplace asset to be capitalised on in ways that reinforce sexism, patriarchy, and hetero-normativity. Furthermore, colour-blind racial ideologies also reinforce the racial status quo whilst explicitly committing to undoing what Erasmus (2002) has called the 'yoke of race'.

Although this discussion has mainly focused on institutional experiences of gender, many studies have focused on racialized experiences and racism. Tabensky and Mathews (2015), The Ministerial Report (Soudien, 2008) and Duncan (2005) are just three of a plethora of studies

that look at racial experiences within HEIs. These found that the demographic composition of staff, procedural and systemic relations, and spatial dimensions, institutional culture, and explicit and implicit experiences of racism and sexism all acted to create a hostile environment in which the retention of Black and women academics was at best, difficult. These are also valuable for their conceptualization of multiple forms of racism. The Ministerial Report conceptualized four levels of racism: systemic racism, institutional racism, interpersonal racism, and personal racism (Soudien, 2008: 26). These operate at the macro, meso and micro levels; and can also be applied to other forms of discrimination and/or disadvantage.

Tabensky and Mathews (2015) edited collection focuses on many of the issues at the core of this study. Their book focuses on the case study of Rhodes University with compelling chapters detailing race-based and gender-based experiences of exclusion at the institution. Theirs centres primarily on institutional culture and whether *Transformation* is occurring in all places and spaces shaped by institutional culture, i.e. social-cultural, symbolic, pedagogical, and within curricula and academic spaces, etc.

Lastly, several scholars have also written about institutional experiences of restructuring. The most comprehensive of which is an edited collection by Jansen (2002). In this, a number of the contributors meticulously followed specific mergers, detailing the processes and effects on core constituencies such as staff, students, human resource and financing procedures, etc. Jansen, in particular, notes that during the implementation of the mergers, 'rational imperatives' rather than 'racial imperatives' began to dominate state logic (Jansen, 2002: 160). Furthermore, in relation to the case study institution in Chapter 6: no mention was made of staff equity in the rationale for the merger, whilst academic staff development and improved qualifications were noted as an anticipated output of the merger (Department of Education, 2002).

Despite frequent statements around cost cutting, it has repeatedly been questioned whether overall savings were achieved with the merger process. This will require assessment over the long term to answer. However, the Deputy Director General of Higher Education confirmed the total of R3 billion projected and allocated by the Minister of Education in 2002 had been spent on university mergers, by the end of the first quarter, 2009 (Qhobela, 2009: Mail & Guardian: 14/10/09; Moya, Independent Online: 10/12/02). The total spent on direct merger costs for the sector as a whole had reportedly doubled (Qhobela, 2009: Mail & Guardian: 14/10/09).

A few case studies were also conducted on institutional mergers. Like those in the Jansen (2002) collection, most provided a detailed examination on the merger as it occurred. Anstey (2006) examined a range of institutional responses and identified three common reactions to the legal imperative of incorporation and merger. These included 'no choice urgency', 'constructive unease', and/or 'commitment to the transformation drive' (Anstey, 2006 in Wannenburg, 2008: 36-37). All institutions were apparently expected to formulate the actual logistics of their merger alone (Wannenburg, 2008: 36-37). However, as noted previously, there was a companion guidebook.

This is a very brief account of contemporary empirical cases. It has not done justice to the range of South African scholarship that exists. Instead, it has merely attempted to provide a small glimpse of the range and types of scholarship that exist.

## 2.5. Conceptual Framework

An overview of the specific use of key concepts is provided to guide the reader. Concepts herein discussed include *Transformation*: employment equity, restructuring and symbolic transformation; de-segmentation and the re/production of academic labour as well as the professional academic labour market, national professional academic labour and internal professional academic labour market.

Within state policy, literature, empirical studies, and institutional documents, ***Transformation*** potentially refers to everything and nothing at all. *Transformation* ranges from the all-encompassing and inclusive motifs of a visionary goal, a journey, a distinctive process, mechanisms to effect change, expansive lists of things to change, as well as individual and collective states of being; to barely or not being conceptualized at all.

Analytically, *Transformation* has both material and symbolic dimensions. These are subsequently comprised of political, economic, social, cultural, and spatial realms. Macro level *Transformation* is inherently structural in nature, typically occurring within the political, economic, and social realms. This is usually referred to and enacted as the **'restructuring'** of existing structures and systems. Structural changes are envisaged and enacted in order to bring about changes in the material life conditions of the citizenry. Within higher education,

restructuring happens at multiple levels. Here restructuring is limited to institutional change at the level of incorporations and mergers, as well as the resultant and accompanying internal institutional reconfigurations that emanate from such. Typically, the ideology, practices, and processes of 'managerialism' are understood to embody this aspect of *Transformation*.

There are also changes that occur at the more meso level, which despite their macro orientation, are specifically effected within a more concentrated field and also have specific micro effects. For example, attempts to deliberately de-segment the labour market and thereby bring about demographic representivity and equal opportunity are referred to and enacted as **'affirmative action'.** Various labour policies have been consciously ratified to do exactly this, namely the **Employment Equity Act** (EEA). As large workplaces, all higher education institutions are obliged to comply with the EEA. The overall macro impact of the EEA on the race and gender distribution of academics within the sector as a whole has therefore been analysed and presented [54]. Furthermore, academics' experiences of working in and towards the de-segmentation of, and more equitable, workplace was also studied, in micro detail, within the two case study institutions.

Thirdly **symbolic 'transformation'** occurs largely within the socio-cultural realm. This is loosely and less than ideally framed as the micro 'social justice' agenda. Changes to the symbolic are envisaged and enacted to bring about change in the life experiences of the 'citizenry'. These often have to do with those fundamental values that the transitioning society wishes to use to define itself. The symbolic is also replete with socio-cultural complexities that are wrestled with and emerge through the process of crafting the 'new' society. These may include how expansive the *Transformation* agenda really is when it comes to which identity-based factors are included or excluded in post-apartheid *Transformation* discourse and practice. Such debates are most often located within discussions about 'institutional culture'. This is true of higher education.

Therefore, in short: **Restructuring** is used to refer to the macro (infra-)structural components of change. **Employment equity** refers to the meso components of change, most specifically

[54] Whilst people with disabilities (PwD) are the third category of EEA beneficiaries, this form of de-segmentation has not been a focus of this particular study. This is because PwD have only recently been included within de-segmentation debates, there is a lack of adequate national and institutional academic data on PwD, and national and institutional policies and practices for the inclusion of PwDs continue to be inadequately conceptualized.

the de-segmentation of the academic labour market, whilst **transformation** refers to the micro symbolic and social-cultural components of change. ***Transformation*** then encompasses all three collectively. This analytical distinction is used, here, to overcome the conceptual ambiguity, conflation, and contestation over the meaning and use of *Transformation* as is commonly used ideologically and in practice. Furthermore, the use of concepts is intentional and is reflective of emergent empirical trends, analytically refined and fine-tuned into ideal typical concepts. These should not be understood as essentialist, complete, and unproblematic reflections of how these concepts manifest and unfold in reality.

**De-segmentation** is used to refer to the extent to which academic labour has moved away from the apartheid workplace regime (AWR). The AWR was characterized by four key factors. Firstly, a racial and gendered system of control whereby the academic hierarchy, specifically within the general higher education hierarchy, was both racialized and gendered. The location of academic labour relative to administrative, service, and executive managerial labour was both 'White' and 'masculine'. Secondly, the academic labour force itself was vertically and horizontally segmented by race and gender: jobs, occupations, and disciplines further reflected discrimination, exclusion, and bias.

Thirdly, this segmentation and separation extended into institutions themselves which reflected these imposed designations, such that they became 'racialized institutional types'. They themselves reflected the apartheid industrial and educational spatial geography and political economy. These became commonly referred to as historically Black institutions (HBIs) and historically White institutions (HWIs). Fourthly, institutions were also bifurcated into university and technikon types. Accordingly, academic staff were similarly differentiated. Thus, structural segmentation not only determined academics' individual and collective access, mobility, working terms, conditions, and benefits but also the broader perceptions, experiences, operative discourses and the institutional realities within which staff worked. Post-apartheid, the three sub-components of *Transformation* each potentially contribute to de-segmentation. It is the extent, impact, and effectiveness of this that the study and thesis explores.

**Re/production of academic labour:** This is a multifaceted concept that refers to: 1) the ongoing production of the academic profession so that it remains viable in functional terms given the role it plays in society. This applies both to the continuation of the academic profession and professions at large. It also takes cognizance of the increasing demands placed on the profession in contemporary times. 2) This takes into account the need for the academic

profession to reflect employment equity. 3) The role and function of the academic profession itself is considered such that the impact of socio-cultural transformation is assessed.

That is, the extent to which there is reflexivity about the norms, values, ideologies, practices, social relations, etcetera that have traditionally defined the academic profession. The operationalization of this concept draws on multiple methods to deduce the extent to which academic labour is statistically re/produced, as well as academics own qualitative evaluations of the extent to which their disciplines and the academy as a whole engages in questions of re/production.

In the main, the **professional academic labour market (PALM)** refers to permanent academic staff employed within HEIs, specifically within academic departments or research entities or units. As per the quantitative component of the study (chapters 4 and 5), permanent academic staff are the exclusive focus. However, the qualitative components (chapters 6 and 7) include some data from academic staff employed on a contractual basis.

The ***national professional academic labour market*** is conceptualised and measured using a narrow definition comprising only the cumulative total of those who are permanently employed within public HEIs in instructional/research positions. Therefore, data from the DoHET's Higher Education Management Information System (HEMIS) database from 1986 to 2012, as of the 31st March each year, is used. This allows for comparability. However, the data is limited, as it does not include contract academics, permanent academics currently not employed, or those employed in positions other than academic positions within SAHES, as well as academics employed outside of public higher education institutions. It has not been possible to gather comprehensive expansive data that would include all such categories of academics, hence the option for the narrow conception.

***Internal professional academic labour market:*** This refers to the permanent academic staffing complement of any specific institution of higher education employed within academic departments and research entities and/or units. Here it is typically used to refer to the case study institutions, in turn. The focus again is only on permanent academic staff due to the quantitative data limitations. However, the qualitative data includes some contract academic staff within the sample (see Chapter 3 for more).

# Chapter 3: *Transformation* unlocked through multi-strategy research

## 3.1. Chapter introduction and overview

A multi-strategy research approach was used to best engage and operationalize theoretical ontological assumptions within the confines of the existing epistemological practices in the social sciences (Bryman, 2004). For this research, qualitative methods served as the priority method and were enhanced by quantitative methods to triangulate and complement key findings (Bryman, 2004: 46). The chapter begins with an overview of the rationale for a multi-strategy approach; details the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the research (including drawing on document and policy analyses, secondary databases on academic labour, and in-depth interviews with professional academics, administrative staff, and executive management located at two case study universities); and is completed by introspective methodological reflexivity and consideration of ethical concerns.

The research question: 'To what extent have employment equity, transformation, and restructuring created a unified, singular, and de-segmented academic labour market, post-apartheid?' demands a dynamic answer comprising statistical and theoretical insights. A multi-strategy approach sought to yield such. As discussed in Chapter 2, the conceptual framework[55] and key theoretical perspectives[56] reflect an appreciation of the complexity of 'reality' (ontology). Therefore, it was equally important that the chosen methods similarly be epistemologically flexible. In keeping with Bryman's (2004) argument that research methods (data collection, sampling, and data analysis tools) as technical devices, are not themselves inextricably bound to either the qualitative or quantitative research approach; this research was able to successfully use multiple methods to facilitate an exploration, understanding, and explanation of the *Transformation* of academic labour post-apartheid.

[55] Comprising, especially of the keywords of *Transformation*, restructuring, employment equity, transformation, reproduction and de-segmentation.
[56] Particularly, the internal labour market, critical race theory, and intersectionality.

Multiple methods were used to facilitate triangulation and generate a more holistic account. The research question, by its very nature, could not be completely answered through a singular methodological approach. The research instead derived essential benefit from each of the respective methods that facilitated the exploration of the question from varying perspectives (macro, meso, micro) and by addressing gaps in empirical knowledge through cross checking between and across findings (Bryman, 2004).

For example, the 'quantitative' analysis[57] of a secondary database of academic employment data provided a more focused, precise, and specific answer to the 'factual' and 'comparative' components of the research question (Giddens, 2006: 78). This provided valuable statistical insights through pattern and trend identification, as well as assisted hunch and hypothesis rejection, revision and/or confirmation (Bryman, 2004: 8). These enabled an understanding of whether de-segmentation was happening, where this was occurring, of potential differences between institutions (along the axes of race and gender), and an evaluation of the efficacy of policy, for example. These provided both snapshot and longitudinal descriptions of the change process. However, these insights were somewhat limited in explanatory power as they did not necessarily explain why and how changes had or had not taken place. This was extensively complemented by the depth and richness of the theoretical analyses and explanations inductively generated from both the highly individualist and collective 'discourses' gathered through the in-depth interviews, as part of the more traditionally 'qualitative method' (Bryman, 2004: 20). Therefore, the mixed methods approach successfully allowed for statistical and theoretical conclusions to be derived. This thereby facilitated a well-rounded research answer that was perceptively broad and deep and that could simultaneously account for contradiction, change, and continuity within and across SAHES.

However, the methodological complementarity was not equally proportional as the research was predominantly rooted within the qualitative approach. Therefore, it should be noted that the research was more akin to that of a mixed methods approach than a truly combined approach (Potter, 2012: 162). That said, the strengths of each were maximized to the fullest

[57] Using descriptive statistics

extent (where) possible, albeit in line with a generally more qualitative theoretical, epistemological, and ontological orientation.

At this stage, it is necessary to briefly unpack the foundational conceptual assumptions underlying the methodological approach. As primarily qualitative, the interface between 'the individual' and 'the collective' and in particular, the generative meanings created by individuals in their engagement with interactive and collective space was of interest (derived from Bryman, 2004: 20). This was underpinned by conceptual (ontological) assumptions that: 1) 'reality' is differentially understood and experienced by self-reflexive actors, 2) such self-reflexivity is differentiated based upon both one's ascriptive and achieved positionalities as well as the accumulation of one's life experience in the multitude of spatial and temporal contexts of one's own life worlds (thereby taking account of intersectionality); and 3) as a result, one's perceptions and experiences of reality are themselves subject to continual flux, change, and internal contradiction.

Therefore, the research sought not only to merely understand the structural and systemic effects (for example, of policy) on the labour force (i.e. the quantitative dimension) but also to understand how academics as self-reflexive individuals, located at a specific nexus of space and time, perceived and experienced the labour market context that they worked within and the (then) current attempts to effect change of and within it (i.e. the qualitative dimension). In this way, the multi-strategy approach sought to produce a more holistic understanding.

In addition, given that 'race' and 'gender' were at once both the objects and subjects of study, a comprehensive conceptual frame such as that provided by the embodiment perspective was able to meaningfully engage with the dynamism that these concepts present, represent, and how they are embodied and lived. A particular version of embodiment perspective, in which multiple levels of ontology come into play for the individual, individuals in interaction, and society at large, was drawn upon. This included dimensions of the physiological, phenomenological, social, and the body politic (Jones, 2011; Jaye, 2004; Scheper, Hughes & Locke, 1987). In acknowledging such, the intention was to explicate and, in the process, to remain aware and reflexive of, rather than reify or normalize, the ways in which meanings, perceptions, and experiences existed as varied and complex forms of reality for the participants in this study.

By acknowledging that participants have diverse and differentiated individual meanings, perceptions, and experiences of the 'social world' (in this case, racialized and gendered

identities and how these intersect with the academic/work/institutional context) allowed for an exploration and explanation of the salience of these. However, in keeping with constructionism and interpretivism as explanatory frameworks (in which the foundational assumption is that the 'social world' is itself in continual flux and change), this further gave rise to and accounted for the multiplicity of perceptions and experiences of the research participants (Bryman, 2004: 13-18).

This conceptual reflexivity particularly cohered with the researching of both the meso context (interactional dimensions) and the micro level (individual perceptions and experiences) of *Transformation*. Though less discursively central, this was kept in mind, even whilst employing a critical realist analysis of basic descriptive statistics of the secondary datasets. In order to access a diversity of meanings, perceptions, and experiences of *Transformation* and to access the complexity of the micro, meso, and macro in context and in interaction; the use of a *case study methodology* and in-depth interviews were two vital qualitative components that enabled quality and in-depth data to be obtained. The specific selection of cases also added richness and complexity to what was learnt, despite the cases variability.

Therefore, this multifocal approach and use of intentional and planned triangulation of methods was incisively used to generate cumulative sophistication, nuance, and insightful findings. Overall patterns and the extent of change was determined statistically whilst the perceptions and experiential dimensions were presented in narrative form. This thereby overcame the inevitable shortcomings that would have arisen from a single research strategy. The discussion now focuses on the 'quantitative' and 'qualitative' aspects of the research as inter-related but predominantly independent components. This structuring mirrors both the initial fieldwork process and the layout of subsequent thesis chapters.

## 3.2. The quantitative component

### *3.2.1. Introduction*

As a part of the mixed method approach, the quantitative component conceptually enriched and empirically strengthened the study. Initially, this empirical phase was undertaken first and

informed the subsequent qualitative processes. This section outlines the use of secondary data extracted from pre-existing databases and public documents; the benefits and challenges of using these as data sources; the analyses conducted with their attendant strengths and weaknesses; and the resultant implications for the findings and conclusions. Lastly, the dynamics and pragmatics of triangulation are considered.

### *3.2.2. Rationale*

The research question is evaluative in nature (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 76). It required that the secondary, numeric data was explored, described, and explained to provide answers to the following types of questions: who constitutes the professional academic labour market (PALM); what demographic changes in the PALM can be seen, particularly post-apartheid; and what roles has *Transformation*, specifically employment equity and restructuring played in these changes? These types of questions were applied to a range of levels to deduce and track changes in national, regional, and institutional PALMs.

To be effectively answered, an investigation of this scale requires numeric data and thus quantitative data collection and analysis techniques. For example, over a 20-year period, the national PALM grew from 34 411 to 48 340 (SAPSE, 1986; HEMIS, 2012). Therefore, there is sufficient data to chart broad patterns and trends within the PALM, using the PALM population itself. Given that a primary data source already exists, it made sense to utilize it. Therefore, for this study the Higher Education Management Information Systems (HEMIS) database (Department of [Higher] Education: 1986 – present) was the main source of quantitative data, upon which secondary analyses were then performed.

This was done both to address some of the core research questions and the significant gap in the existing literature, which results from the relative lack of labour market analyses of the PALM in South Africa (see Chapter 2). The findings present a longitudinal and cross-sectional empirically-derived overview of the sector (see chapters 4 and 5), which illustrates the structural and systemic conditions within which academics were located between 1986 and 2012. These findings were then compared with the qualitative component of the study. This provided for the historicization and contextualization of the qualitative findings. Furthermore, it led to recognition of divergence and convergence across the sector and within case study

institutions, over time. Followed by conceptual unpacking of continuity and change. This cross comparison between the quantitative and qualitative data tangibly enriched the findings and conclusions.

A range of assumptions underpins the quantitative approach: primarily, that the methods used are reliable. Therefore, the data and resultant conclusions are valid (Neuman, 2006: 192-4). Together, these convey the objective reality, out of which generalizations about the sample and/or the research universe/population can be deduced or inferred (Neuman, 2006). However, as cautioned by Dale, Arber and Procter (1988), secondary datasets should not be thought of as "manna from heaven" (cited in Seale, 2004: 139). This was certainly the case with the HEMIS database, which was anything but 'fool proof'. Nonetheless, as an important source of data it provided a pivotal part of the answer about the changing nature of the PALM. Whilst this data is in the public arena and not difficult to obtain, little historical or longitudinal work has been done on the dataset[58]. It is an important conceptual and methodological gap, which this study sought to begin to address.

The Department of Higher Education and Training's (DoHET) Task Team has subsequently developed an Equity Index. This proposes to measure equity in context by taking into consideration historical performance by institutions and the national sector as a whole. The Equity Index uses the same (HEMIS) database drawn from DoHET (Govender, Makgoba & Zonde, 2013). However, the construction and use of the Equity Index itself has come under considerable criticism (Cloete, 2014; Dunne, 2014; Moultrie & Dorrington, 2014). This aside, the Equity Index itself requires further historical data in order to be operationalizable, making it inherently difficult to utilize. Therefore, the HEMIS database itself remains an under-utilized source of data on SAHES. The analysis of historical data presented here is mostly aggregate tracking. It is therefore inherently simplistic. Despite this, it is an initial attempt to engage and take seriously the need to map historically employment data within the sector.

Quantitative data on staffing taken directly from the institutions in the case studies, as well as from the Employment Equity Commission (EEC), were selectively used to supplement and

[58] This is in part, due to its inherent methodological limitations (and will be discussed later).

enhance HEMIS data[59]. The advantage of the former was its disaggregate form, although access was somewhat of a challenge. The advantage of the latter was its comparability and utility as a baseline against which to cross-check generality.

Lastly, the quantitative (and qualitative) analysis of policy documents also took place to distil usage, priority and intention as well as to elicit more complex meanings from the 'deep reading' of texts. The outcome has been included as part of the literature review (see Chapter 2) and is referenced where appropriate in later chapters. The State'[60] and the case study institutions' documents, policies and databases were important in this regard: They are ideologically-driven, and provide a situated socio-political account of their authors' priorities and understanding of *Transformation*. Given that two sources of data, public documents and secondary databases form part of the quantitative approach, the remainder of the quantitative overview is divided according to these to make for ease of reading.

### *3.2.3 The Particulars of the Research Process, Data Analysis and Evaluation of Data Findings using Documents*

#### 3.2.3.1 The Particulars of the Research Process

As the research question is concerned with assessing the impact of employment equity, restructuring and transformation initiatives, it was of central importance that the research explored both the state and case study institutions' conceptualization and implementation in respect of these concepts. Therefore, public documents were a key source of data.

At the national level, a broad range of documents and policies were collected and analysed.

Firstly, national conceptual documentation and legislative policies, pre-transition, at the time of transition and post-transition provided insight into the likely direction the emerging post-

[59] Less extensive use was made of these sources that could have been made, because of the need to respect institutions' request for anonymity.
[60] Specifically pertaining to the Department of (Higher) Education, the Department of Labour, and the 'State' in general.

apartheid state would take with regards to the education agenda[61]. This set of documents provided both the historic and contextual grounding for the next set of documents, as they assisted in unpacking the ideological positioning of the governing party in relation to the core concepts, namely: *Transformation* (employment equity, restructuring and symbolic transformation). This positioning aided with determining the state's conception, position, and priority and provided some insight as to how these would then play out in the higher education sector. More recent policy documents also shed light on post-apartheid experience and reflections borne out through the experience of governing. The determination and influence of these is strongly informed by key literature in an iterative process of conceptual conversing between the theory and empirical data (See for example Wolpe (1995), Badat (1995) and Jansen (2003)).

Secondly, national higher education documentation and policy emanating from the Ministry/Department of Education[62] and affiliated bodies that set the post-apartheid higher education agenda were also analysed[63]. This set of policies and documents was core to the study, as they attended to the research question, and were the very policies and programmes envisioned by the Department with oversight of, and responsibility for, effecting change in the higher education sector. Therefore, the conceptualization and requirements for implementation in respect of *Transformation* as specified therein was of crucial significance in terms of the ideological agenda setting for the sector. Much of this analysis has also been conducted iteratively in conversation with key scholarship in the field.

Thirdly, given that this study focused on workplace relations and had employment equity as one of the key mechanisms of change; it was imperative to examine documents and policies

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[61] This included documents such as the Freedom Charter (1955), the National Crisis Committee on Education's (NCCE) People's Education for People's Power statement (1986), the ANC's Yellow Book (1994) and the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996), It also included the broad macro agenda setting documents such as the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) (1994), the Programme for Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) (1996), the National Development Plan (2013), etc.

[62] Now Department of Higher Education and Training (DoHET)

63 This included the National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE's) programme for transformation, the Higher Education Act (1998), the Green and White Paper 3 on the Transformation of Higher Education (1998), The Higher Education Plan (2002), the Ministerial Report into Transformation and Social Cohesion (2008), specific policies on the Restructuring of specific higher education institutions, the Green Paper (2013) and White Paper on Post-School Education (2014).

developed by the Department of Labour[64]. These have been instrumental in providing clarification on conceptual and implementation requirements, particularly in regard to employment equity (EE). This analysis is also embedded within the scholarship on labour market de-segmentation, particularly as with regards to race and gender.

These sets of national documentation provide a comprehensive (although not complete) overview of the state's conception of *Transformation*. Cumulatively, they assist in: providing the state's conception of the core concepts; identifying key priority and focus areas; depicting changes, shifts and/or contradictions in such conceptualization; as well as any specified or suggested mechanisms in regard to implementation; as held and activated collectively by 'the state' and its various departments. All documents were publically available. Collectively, they provide an implicit moral and socio-cultural and sometimes explicitly legal benchmark against which institutional conceptualization and mechanisms can be assessed.

At the institutional level, all 'readily obtainable' documents relating to institutional policies on employment equity, restructuring and transformation were collected and analysed. These were sourced explicitly from institutions in hard copy and/or obtained online from institutional websites. The availability of documents varied between institutions as did institutional opinion as to the availability, accessibility and requirements stipulated by the Department of Labour Guidelines and Codes of best practice. This somewhat limited the scope, scale, and level of analysis that could be performed on institutional documents. Therefore, the findings, the case study comparability, and the conclusions were limited in this regard. At a later date, it was furthermore decided not to explicitly include (i.e. quote from) these in this thesis per se in order to preserve anonymity. Instead, they are embedded in the qualitative discussion as they surface in participants' discussions.

#### 3.2.3.2 Data Analysis of Key Documents and Policies

As discussed above, it was of central importance that the study explored both the state and case study institutions' conceptualization and implementation of *Transformation*. This was done

[64] Including the Basic Conditions of Employment (1997), Labour Relations Act (1995), Employment Equity Act (1998), the Skills Development Act (1998), the Promotion of Equality and Unfair Discrimination Act (Pepuda) (2000), etc. have also been considered.

utilizing both quantitative and qualitative analytic tools informed by the likes of Silverman (2016), Coffey (2014), Krippendorff (2004), O'Leary (2004), Stemler (2001) and Zucker (2001). For the quantitative component, a basic form of quantitative content analysis was performed, at various levels including: 1) ideological and priority deduction via general word frequency and context overviews; 2) concept elaboration via basic concept mapping; and iii) policy implementation and assessment.

The ideological and priority deduction component was done via general word frequency and context overviews. Due to the complexity involved in such processes this was only applied to selected core documents and policies. The relative stress and by assumption and implication, importance, placed on specific words identified through both their frequency and their context was used to shed light on what key national and institutional documents reveal about: 1) what is said, 2) including what claims are effected or promised, 3) why, 4) what degree of strength/conviction underpins such statements or claims, and e) who the envisaged actors and/or recipients of such aforementioned actions are. This helped to deduce ideological orientation and strategic priorities for *Transformation* (and sub-concepts) at both the national (state) and institutional levels, as is evident in the documents.

The general word frequency counts were obtained using Poisson and QMiner computer software programmes. These enabled the establishment of key concepts per document as well as across documents, which allowed for some assessment of priority determination. To further unpack, both at the conceptual and practical level, what and how the national government, departments/ministries and institutions understand as key concepts and their constituent parts, elaboration was attained using basic concept mapping in which associated networked concepts were tracked. This enabled a discussion of concepts in context and overcame the challenge of concepts being discussed acontextually (a recurrent critique of analyses that focus on frequency counts alone).

The third level of quantitative content analysis was policy implementation assessment in which EERs were going to be assessed to determine the extent to which administrative and substantive compliance with the EEA was attained. Due to logistical constraints in the gathering of the required data, a considerably narrower and more selective review and content analysis of this type was conducted.

3.2.3.3 Evaluation of Data Analysis

There are a range of strengths and weaknesses that accompany the use of quantitative analysis on textual material. Some of these are generic and arise because of the very nature of quantitative ontology and epistemology as a whole. Others are more particular to the empirical data and the analytic tools used to make sense of it, as well as the skills and limitations of the researcher. Nonetheless, many of these can be complemented or enhanced through the use of triangulation, which as discussed below in section 3.3.7. It is also extended to the use of more qualitative analytic methods, that were used on the same textual sources (policies and documents) discussed therein.

A major strength of frequency analysis in respect of the most basic of frequency counts is that it is a standard, computer generated process. In this respect, it is an objective measure as the numeric appearance of key words and their linguistically alike or associated words are tracked. These associations are predetermined by the computer package rather than the researcher. Therefore, the results generated are both objective and reliable.

In terms of pragmatics, this approach produces quantifiable trends in very broad brush strokes that provide a quick snap shot of key concepts that is otherwise difficult to glean from hundreds of pages of qualitative text. As a result, it also lays bare the ideological and strategic priorities which may otherwise be buried deep within the text; and thus, hidden from view in the sheer magnitude of qualitative data. In this way, an overview of explicit priorities is made more obvious. When such data is compared across different documents or policies, it allows for the identification of changes in language use and so enables identification of potential changes in discourse, priorities and strategies. It is a quick and easy tool for signalling more complex patterns and trends that may require further investigation and explanation.

However, a key limitation to frequency counts as an analytical tool is the underlying assumption that there is a positive correlation between an increase in word count (frequency) and an increase in the relative importance or priority of a concept. As a foundational assumption, in many cases, it provides the justification, and sometimes is the sole use for quantitative content analysis. However, this has received much criticism (See for example, Priest, Roberts & Woods, 2002), particularly as its utility and degree of insight is limited.

However, as applied to the research at hand, the frequency count did in fact yield some interesting and surprising findings that were highly unanticipated and ran contrary to expectation. It was therefore of use in challenging assumptions and highlighting key points that

needed further explication in iterative dialogue between the qualitative and quantitative dimensions of the study and between the empirical and conceptual material. For example: that transformation was sometimes one of the least used words even in documents purporting to be about and with *Transformation* in the title.

The weaknesses of these quantitative analytic tools are that the findings they yield are invariably thin and non-explanatory in nature. The quantitative analyses also tend not to illuminate much, except perhaps indirectly by researcher deduction, on silences in the data, as computer programs track presence rather than absence. However, coupled with the qualitative component, more substance, content, context and detail can be incorporated to address these limitations. These limitations have been overcome through the process of triangulation. The quantitative analysis often highlighted key areas in need of further explanation that may have potentially gone unnoticed had it not been utilized.

### *3.2.4 The Particulars of the Research Process, Data Analysis and Evaluation of Data Findings using Secondary Databases*

#### 3.2.4.1. Particulars of the Research Process

The HEMIS (formerly SAPSE) database obtained from the former Department of Education (now Department of Higher Education and Training) [65] constituted the majority of the quantitative data analysed. The portion of the database accessed includes partially disaggregated data on permanent employees within the higher education sector, including instructional/research employees that for the purpose of this research were taken as a proxy for academics. The data is supplied by public HEIs to the DoHET and reflects the occupational rank, race, gender, and age of academics per institution. This data is audited before publication. It should be noted that due to the confidentiality agreements that the DoHET has with HEIs, the data is not fully disaggregated. It cannot therefore be used for analysing complete

[65] The SAPSE database was operational until 1998 whilst the HEMIS database became effective in 2000. In the main TBVT (homeland-located) higher education institutions were not included in the data prior to 1994 and in some years afterwards. The most complete data in from 2000. Although it should be noted during the period 2004/2005: the restructuring of the sector led to the reduction of institutions from 36 to 23.

intersectional patterns (for example, race and gender in employment trends). This poses a significant limitation to the analysis and the conclusions that can therefore be derived.

The data supplied by the DoHET, was re-captured into a format that allowed descriptive statistics to be generated from the data (where relevant). The data analysed spans the period from 1986 to 2012. The 26-year period was deemed sufficient to map demographic trends and conveniently encapsulated 14 years prior to and 12 years post the EEA (1998).

Data extracted from the DoHET's databases were the main form of secondary data used in this study, although supplementary data was also extracted from EERs, institutional data, and other relevant comparable base populations (such as are found in Quarterly Labour Force, Census, and Community survey data.). These latter sources contain a more complete set of data. Furthermore, institutional data is often also differentiated by academic grade thereby adding a layer of complexity and sophistication to the explanations that could be generated. A major limitation of the EE data is that it utilizes national (generic) occupational category grades rather than those especially suited to the academic environment. Therefore, disentangling 'academics' from the general workforce is not possible[66]. Thus, each database speaks to its own separate 'universe', with its own attendant strengths and weaknesses. Nonetheless, these all add something worthwhile and their accumulated value can be appreciated in chapters 4, 5 and 8.

3.2.4.2. Statistical analysis of professional academic labour market trends

A basic descriptive statistical analysis of the quantitative data revealed the main trends in the data (see chapters 4 and 5). This was done using basic Microsoft Excel to generate the presentation and basic analysis of statistics. The main aim of the analysis was to track the demographic trends of the PALM over time, using the variables of race and gender. For example: to determine the extent of change in the demographic composition of the labour market: how this changed over time; whether there was any relationship between the rates of change per race category and per gender category; and what, if any, impact the implementation of the Employment Equity Act (EEA) and restructuring had on these rates of change; and in summation, what the data illustrates about the processes of demographic change. General

[66] In 2014, Amendments to the EEA, modified the categorization of occupational levels

descriptive statistics, internal comparative tests, and segregation tests (using indices of dissimilarity) were used to illustrate these trends.

In particular, this analysis aimed to reflect the impact of EE on both the national and institutional (case study) PALM as compared with the rates of change immediately before the introduction of the EEA (using data in a ten-year period, with five years either side of the 2000 initiation of EE reporting). It also made use of select data over a broader time frame as allowed by the entire dataset. In this regard, the data generated provided some quantitative evidence as to the scope of change and the numeric efficacy (rates of change) of employment equity within the SAHES as a whole, within the regional labour market where the case study institutions are located, and within each case study institution.

Due to the aggregate nature of the HEMIS data, it was only possible to run analyses on the data as continuous variables using descriptive statistics. Whilst this provides much insight into patterns and trends according to race and gender; it is far from the 'whole picture' as each academic has a history that comprises both racialized and gendered experiences. Therefore, had the data been further disaggregated, more instructive analyses would have been possible.

Nonetheless, the following data comparisons were run and the results have been reported on in chapters 4 and 5. Both longitudinal and cross-sectional comparisons were run using: 1) simple proportionality within and across occupational categories; 2) simple proportionality within and across demographic categories; 3) simple proportionality across institutions grouped according to i) their institutional type using both the sectoral differentiation of technikon and university (pre-2004 nomenclature) as well as university, university of technology and comprehensive university (post-2004 nomenclature); and ii) historical legacy in terms of apartheid classification as Historically Black Institutions (HBIs) or Historically White Institutions (HWIs); and iii) institutions' provincial locations. In addition to demographic data per se, data on academic staff rank and qualifications were analysed.

The emergent results: locate the PALM within the broader higher education labour market; compare and contrast group patterns by race and by gender as well as across race and gender patterns; highlight specific spatial and temporal dimensions; and demonstrate institutional differentiation across the sector. As the data is incomplete, several questions arise and/or remain that cannot be answered with the HEMIS dataset alone. A few have been partially answered with the inclusion of other datasets, others guided the qualitative line of investigation, and others will have to be taken up by future researchers.

3.2.4.3. Evaluation of the Analysis of Secondary Databases

Whilst the analysis remains basic in its level of statistical sophistication, it does at least contextualize and provide empirical substantiation to the debate about the exclusivity of the PALM and the role of race and gender in the reproduction and/or *Transformation* within it. Being able to speak with the support of national data in defence of posited claims added weight to the conclusions asserted by this study.

However, the use of these sorts of databases comes with its own host of problems. Therefore, the historical review, as elaborated on in Chapter 4, is restricted due to the complexity and challenges that beset the database with regard to record keeping. Examples include changes to: the definition of what constituted a professional academic, which institutions were included within official record-keeping, as well as changes in apartheid terminology, and racial classifications.

For these reasons only the recent history (last 26 years) was reviewed. Nonetheless, even this section of the database is replete with inconsistencies (such as incomplete data and institutional changes as a result of mergers and incorporations). These pose not only a pragmatic frustration but more serious methodological and conceptual implications, that impact on the overall reliability and validity. These prevent the dataset from being perfect and impinge significantly on the quality and 'completeness' of the data. However, it is possible to work around these limitations, and still have data to work with and something meaningful and credible to say.

Moreover, a major advantage of the statistical analysis is that it allowed for the exploration of two crucial hypotheses: 1) that the EEA has had a positive impact on the rate of demographic change at HEIs and 2) that rather than being complementary, race and gender act as competing equities in the post-apartheid period. As discussed in the chapter 4, these hypotheses did not (necessarily) yield conclusive proof but rather provided substantive evidence which when read, further compared and then tested against the qualitative data (in an iterative process) provided sufficient insight into the answering of these two 'hypotheses' (which as it turned out were better articulated as broad questions rather than specific hypotheses to be proved or disproved).

Multiple databases were drawn from, with HEMIS serving as the primary dataset and others as supplementary and secondary. Together, their emergent meaning produces a pastiche. It is therefore fully acknowledged that there are a number of limitations: including empirical limitations such as 1) the actual comparability of databases and 2) the accuracy of the data contained within such databases (which are beyond the researcher's control but limited where

possible through data cleaning); as well as conceptual limitations such as 3) the extent to which such 'number-crunching' reifies the complex reality and experience of occupational location, race and gender positionality. Although these are significant considerations, it is still argued that benefit can be drawn from statistical comparisons as an, albeit limited, mechanism through which to both measure and report on change. For the purpose of this study, measuring change and examining the competing equity hypothesis are both dependent on such statistical analyses.

In respect of O'Leary's (2004: 58) "indicators of good research", the utilization of secondary datasets does allow one to remain objective and value-free. Although due to the incompleteness of the data, judgment calls had to be made about what to include and exclude, these were based purely on the presence and absence of actual data. The data is not 100% reliable because of such absences. However, selections and modifications based on the actual data can improve the reliability of the results reported on (and as such, was done in this research). This could impact on the reproducibility of the study in that other researchers may make other choices. Furthermore, historical data could be recovered to complete the database, necessitating and allowing for a revision of this study. Importantly, a time could come when, the confidentiality agreements between the DoHET and higher education institutions could lapse allowing for more precise, accurate, intersectional, and complete analyses on fully disaggregated data.

As far as is possible, the validity of the conclusions has been ensured, with the one major disclaimer being the limitation of the partially disaggregate data[67]. With all of the above taken into consideration, the findings in chapters 4 and 5 (when they are able to speak to the full dataset) are generalizable for the PALM, as employed within HEIs, in as far as the dataset sample is the universe population.

### *3.2.5. Quantitative Conclusion*

This review of the quantitative component of the research has sought to demonstrate how various public policies, documents, and secondary databases were utilized as sources of

[67] Fully disaggregated data may have produced different or certainly more nuanced results and conclusions.

quantitative data. It has explained how analyses were conducted using derivatives of quantitative content analysis and basic descriptive statistics. It has evaluated the strengths, weaknesses and implications of the sources of data, the analysis methods, and the resultant quality, validity, and reliability of the conclusions drawn. Ultimately, it has asserted that these data sources added immense value to the research but alone were insufficient. Therefore, through triangulation and the use of mixed methods, their value was extended and complemented by the findings derived through qualitative data collection and analysis methods. It is the latter to which the discussion now turns.

## 3.3. The qualitative component

### *3.3.1. Introduction*

This discussion details the operationalization of the qualitative methods used in this research. It explains how constructionism has shaped the conceptualization and approach to the subject of *Transformation*, the process of interviewing, data management and analysis, and through auto-reflections the process, outcome and my positionality in the study. Qualitative data (largely academics' perceptions and experiential dimensions as presented in narrative form) were collected through in-depth interviews at two case study institutions. These were managed and analysed using foundational ideas and pragmatic elements[68] synthesized from grounded theory, constant comparative method, phenomenology, and thematic network analysis. Lastly, an evaluation of the context, rationale, strengths, weaknesses, and implications for and of this study are presented, followed by ethical considerations.

The inclusion of researcher-reflections has been important, as the process of research and thesis writing are both ideologically, culturally, socially, and politically embedded processes. Hence it is important to 'lay bare' this additional layer of contextualization and construction through

[68] Although in an open and reflective manner rather than in a proscribed and formulaic manner.

self-awareness, introspection, and reflection. This is important both for qualitative research, as a form of 'subjectivity with transparency' and 'authenticity' (O'Leary, 2004: 58). This is especially true in this study's research context, where the aim is to unpack the effects of demographic positionality on workplace integration. It is therefore essential to engage the impact that identity politics, positionality, and experiences have had on the research process itself and by extension on the findings and conclusions that emerge from it.

### *3.3.2. Rationale*

The core contribution of the qualitative method was its facilitation of participant voice through access to varied, rich, and detailed perceptions and experiences. In addition, its subsequent analysis generated explanatory theory. Unlike the quantitative data that produced a comparatively straight forward explanation of the impact and efficacy of the change processes investigated; the qualitative data yielded an explanation that was highly complex. It illustrated the importance of context and demonstrated relationships of continuity, contradiction, and contingency between the three key change processes, as well as textured and multi-faceted relationships between institutional actors. Therefore, the inclusion of qualitative methods led to the successful addition of conceptual nuance.

This was particularly useful in terms of understanding how *Transformation* was perceived and experienced, and its effects on people variously ascribed to a diversity of race and gender categories whilst also demonstrating that such relationships were not necessarily dependent on such (identity) categorizations. Therefore, the qualitative findings were both complementary in contribution and an absolute necessity for advancing the study's theoretical understanding and explanations.

A key reason for conducting qualitative research, especially from amongst a wide spectrum of interviewees, was that it was suitable for provision of both the space and 'audibility' of a multiplicity of voices. This meant that the complexity and diversity of and within institutions, and within and across racialized and gendered groups themselves, could be heard. It was useful to simultaneously compare these to official source documents. The latter tend to be compiled from a combination of institutional authoritative voices, arising from a process of consensual pact making, with a certain degree of anticipatory (future) visioning and often only

representative of select reflections of the reality on the ground (Jansen, 2003; Aiken and Hage, 1966). Qualitative research then enables some deduction as to how and why these official accounts either gel or jar with a wider variety of individual or collective perceptions and experiences.

The secondary qualitative method used was document analysis. Both state and institutional documents were read and analysed to determine 'concepts in context'. This thereby highlighted the underlying meaning, use, contradictions, and silences around *Transformation*, academic staff reproduction, and its associated concepts in key texts. These concepts were then explored both organically and by design within the in-depth interviews, to gain further insight into on-site conceptual, interpretive, pragmatic and strategic meanings.

Lastly, the comparison of qualitative and quantitative findings throughout the research process enabled the findings to be cross checked, initial leads to be followed up, and tentative theory to be further investigated and tested. The incorporation of both methods generated a more holistic and cohesive argument as to the effect and impact of *Transformation* on the academic labour market[69].

### *3.3.3. Particulars of the Research Process*

My study evolved gradually and intermittently, since I am a full-time academic and part-time student. In 2011, I utilized a sabbatical to conduct the fieldwork from February to July. I relocated for six months and commenced fieldwork at the first university from mid-February to mid-May, and at the second university from mid-May to the end of July (as explained under section 3.5).

62 interviews were conducted at Reconciliation Bay University (RBU) and 51 were conducted at Nxele Valley University (NVU). Upon returning to Johannesburg, two further interviews were conducted with other stakeholders in the sector. Therefore, in total 115 interviews were

[69] It is important to note that not all leads were generative but this also proved helpful in steering the research and considering key theoretical and empirical issues as well as methodological strengths and limitations.

conducted. Whilst at the two case study universities, I attended a range of public events and seminars to immerse myself in the institutional life of each organization[70]. This proved to be easier for the second case study, where the town and university existence are very much intertwined and where I also spent a short time at one of the university residences. The first university was located within a city. I lived some distance away, had a fundamentally different set of relationships, and felt much less embedded within the 'life of the institution'. This may also explain the time taken to navigate each institution.

### *3.3.4. Data Collection Methods*

The data collected comprised in-depth interviews and institutional documents. The selection of the case study institutions and in-depth interviewing as a method of data collection, and the use of both purposive and snowballing sampling for participant selection will be discussed next.

#### 3.3.4.1. Case-study institutions

As this study sought to examine the PALM in-depth and contextually as an ILM, examining specific universities as case studies was theoretically essential. Bearing this in mind, the selection of the case studies needed to meet with a number of theoretical and methodological requirements[71].

It was important to select universities with access to similar labour markets. An examination of the HEMIS data revealed that the majority of academics, regardless of their place of employment, have a university qualification as their highest qualification. This partially addressed the question of traditional, comprehensive, and technical universities having

[70] As much as was possible for an outsider, somewhat known to be a researcher.
[71] The request by one of the universities for anonymity has meant that the methodology has had to be written in such a way so as to sufficiently provide detail as to what was done, without revealing certain actual specifics.

different labour markets[72]. It was thus deemed less necessary to have two institutions of the same 'institutional' type.

It was decided that it would be of great importance to purposefully include such differentiation within the study. Therefore, a university that was merged and one that was not merged were selected. This way two key aspects were introduced into the study. Firstly, the case study universities experienced similar locational advantage or disadvantage (due to being geographically similarly located). This meant that there was an element of labour market coherence included with respect to the pull and push factors of the region, such as the regional standard and quality of living and access to amenities and services. It also meant there was potential for the universities to have a professional relationship with each other, be it one of collaboration or competition. This was found to be particularly significant in terms of hiring new staff and the reproduction and/or expansion of the RALM[73].

Secondly, the case study universities had different experiences of *Transformation*. This facilitated a comparison of how their PALM (as an ILM) had engaged with it. As this study is particularly interested in changes post-apartheid, it was most important that the axes of differentiation be based within the post-apartheid era. Therefore, of the available regional institutions, two were selected that had similar apartheid era classifications[74] but different post-apartheid classifications. This was done to effectively see what *Transformation* meant per se and how it had been engaged within each case study institution.

In classificatory terms, the use of case studies in this study is most likely a combination of exploratory and explanatory (Yin, 2002). Whilst a high degree of explanation was derived, it predominantly focused on individual academics as the unit of analysis. Collective processes and dimensions were thus deduced from cumulative individual inputs as read from the data as a whole.

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[72] Although, of course, using LM theory and insider knowledge, institutions do have different capacities to draw academics from the national pool. However, it is interesting to note that the qualification standard and benchmark, for all, is set by 'traditional universities'.

[73] Regional Academic Labour Market (RALM)

[74] At this point, it is important to note, differentiation within the sector meant that no two 'identically' classified institutions could be selected. However, institutions were deemed 'similar enough' on a number of substantial criteria being investigated in this study.

3.3.4.2. In-depth interviews

In-depth interviews were chosen to engage and collect perceptions and experiences from the 115 research participants. Each interview lasted between one and three hours and explored the key themes under investigation. All interviews, except where the participant declined, were audio-recorded using a Dictaphone and were then fully transcribed verbatim.

The in-depth interview's format and flexibility proved to be its major asset. As such, a high degree of sociality is made possible, which produces the most amenable conditions for its successful outcome (Hill-Collins, 2004: 62-68). Furthermore, a successful combination of all of its parts (i.e. the interviewer, the participant, the topic, the interview guide/schedule), working in unison, is what makes the in-depth interview such a richly varied, dynamic, context-dependent, and 'insider' research experience[75]. Whilst some of this is generic to the research method (see Opdenakker, 2006 and Gubrium & Holstein, 2002), some was also specific to the context and application.

Several interview schedules were developed to guide discussions. These were tailored to the category of participant being interviewed (See Appendix 1 for a Sample Interview Schedule). Jones (1985) uses 'structure' to allude to an overarching framework of questions and themes the researcher wishes to explore, the choices we make in respect of which follow-up questions to ask or not, where we ask for elaboration, and where not, and where ambiguity is clarified and where not, etc. (as cited in Seale, 2004: 258). It is important to keep this in mind as this overt and latent 'structure' was ever-present regardless of the apparent informality of interviews. Most importantly, this enabled a degree of similarity and coherence between all interviews and thus facilitated the development of major analytical, thematic core categories (as recommended by Ritchie, Spencer & O'Connor, 2003).

Some distinctive aspects of the in-depth interview process and format itself are worthy of further reflection. Of all methods, it is unique in its co-constructive nature. It facilitates self-generative meaning, reflection, and narrative construction by participants, which is carefully tailored through dialogical hearing, and voice amplification by the researcher who nurtures the participant's emergent narrative for the purpose of answering the research questions (derived

[75] As will be discussed in the section on methodological reflections, researcher and participant positionality shape the research process for a topic such as this

from Edwards and Holland (2013) and Turney (1997)). In this study, Legard, Keegan and Ward's (2003: 148-153) strategy of content mapping (utilizing ground mapping, dimension mapping and perspective widening questions) and content mining questions (via amplificatory, exploratory, explanatory, clarificatory, and iterative probing) became part of the researcher's toolkit and everyday practice.

Whilst in their raw essential form, these core components cut across several research methods, it is their particular adaptation and collective amalgamation that offers higher degrees of stability, security, comfort, control, and thus guarantees active participation. All of these are fundamental for researching a topic such as this. This format generally offers more stability because the context, the purpose, the expectations, the outcome, and the relationship between the participant/s and interviewer are mostly anticipated and known (See Appendix 2 for the Participant Information Letter). In addition, understanding this, participants have, for the most part, elected to be a part of the interview. They have therefore committed themselves to the process and what it entails. The relative informality sets the scene for participant-centeredness and the topic-driven nature of the discussion maintains focus. The result is a unique format in which the sharing of intimate and personal thoughts, perceptions, meanings and experiences occurs. Such is the privilege of the in-depth interview, which brings together strangers in time, space, and circumstance for the co-joining of inner thoughts and experiences. Given the nature of the topic, it was incumbent on the researcher to develop a high level of rapport, trust, and confidence in the process and to protect the integrity of participants' narratives and personal identities.

The flexibility, responsiveness, and ability to tailor the emerging discussion to the individual participant were one of the major strengths of the format of the in-depth interview. Therefore, it could be used to generate highly particular and personalized accounts complete with their complexity, nuance and internal contradictions (Johnson, 2002: 105-107). As a result, amongst the transcripts, there are a great many participants whose stories are far more than simply answers to a set of common questions (excerpted life fragments); there are those for whom

there is a coherent narrative of personal and workplace experience as well as an evaluation of the changes the workplace has undergone (a composite work world)[76].

The method's flexibility meant that additional themes and important concerns that arose organically during the research process could then be built into the research tool (interview schedule) and asked of subsequent participants. This enabled 'insider knowledge' to be directly incorporated into the fieldwork. This thereby allowed the researcher to test whether perceptions and/or experiences were individual, particular, and/or collective. This enabled the research to be highly responsive and to benefit directly from insights gathered on-site[77]. In the majority of cases, interviews followed the in-depth approach. However, interviews with 'institutional experts' were often semi-structured due to detailed information required about the institution, its history, its specific change processes, and its functioning.

3.3.4.3. Sampling and Interview Participant Selection

Once case studies were selected and institutional access granted,[78] interviews were held with a range of different stakeholders, selected and approached for their insights, particularly into institutional processes and experiences. Participants were thus deliberately selected for inclusion in the study based on several, non-probability criteria.

Firstly, participants were selected through purposive (expert) sampling by virtue of their holding specific institutional posts. For example, their occupational designation as transformation, human resources, faculty, and/or department line managers and/or trade union shop-stewards, etc. Such participants were selected through consulting an institutional organogram, identification, and selection of key offices, departments, and units that would be responsible for relevant aspects of the change process[79]. All participants were asked for potential referrals. In general, justifications given for referrals were based on people's

[76] Due to the scope and scale of this study (and the number of participants included), it has not been possible to do full justice to all that was generously shared. Ongoing work shall be required to fully illuminate and give the academic and social justice that such requires.
[77] Reflective insights on the strengths and weaknesses of in-depth interviews are discussed in Section 3.3.8.
[78] See Section 3.4.3. for further discussion
[79] Access and permission issues are discussed under ethical considerations (Section 3.4).

occupational designation and/or because they were viewed as organizational 'change agents'. Therefore, a few official and key informant participants were also selected via snowballing.

Participants who fulfilled the role of key informants were essential to the study. Their individual and cumulative knowledge provided the key scaffolding upon which the basis of institutional knowledge was derived. Any errors remain my responsibility. This 'official institutional knowledge and discourse' was collectively provided by those who had designated official institutional responsibility for institutional change (or stasis). It includes the offices of, for example, transformation and/or employment equity and its directors/officers; select members of the senior executive teams under whom responsibility for transformation and employment equity lies; select members of institutional forums; academic union/staff association officials; staff responsible for, as well as academic staff who are beneficiaries of, institutional EE and/or transformation programmes; in addition to relevant faculty executives; and transformation and/or employment equity change agents at the faculty and department level. As much as possible, comparable participants were sought at both case study institutions but this was at times limited by differential organizational structures, participants' availability, and/or non-responses.

The use of purposive sampling allowed for tapping into the formal change dimension and thus elaboration and explanation from the vantage point of those implementing policies and programmes, as well as from those who are formal beneficiaries of such initiatives. Access to this type of participant and the data they shared provided a formal account of efforts made to effect change. It also highlighted the strengths and weaknesses of such initiatives and the challenges faced in attempting to realize *Transformation* directives. In addition, this data allowed for an assessment of the change process as viewed by those who are stakeholders and those who may or may not be direct beneficiaries of the change process, but who have vested interests (positively or negatively) at stake.

Participants were also selected based on their status as members of the professional academic staff at a variety of occupational levels within relevant faculties of case study institutions. Participants were selected through purposive and snowballing sampling so as to assist with theoretical generalizability. Initially, comparable faculties across case study institutions were sought for comparison: a complex multi-cluster sampling technique was going to be used to ensure that case study faculties, schools/departments, academics of varying occupational ranks, and demographic categorizations were selected to make the findings highly comparable.

However, pragmatic challenges in gaining timely institutional access, obtaining staff employment lists, and actual limited comparability between the institutions, made this untenable, impracticable and ultimately, not feasible.

Therefore, sampling occurred in multiple phases. Initially, at the first institution and then at the second, following a similar pattern. Interviews with key informants, experts, and known participants centrally located, were held first. This was followed by a second phase that built on the preceding insights, leads, and referrals. Thus, a combination of both purposive and snowballing sampling took place. Specific faculties and schools were then chosen based on what they would qualitatively add to the study. These decisions were based on a combination of institutionally-provided insight and requirements of the study. Where possible, from within and amongst the faculties and schools selected, a diversity of academic participants from a variety of occupational ranks and demographics were selected.

As a result, academic participants were largely approached based on context, experience, and/or perspective (as suggested by other participants), and that would likely add to both the spread and scope of the research (coverage) and so to its findings. In this respect, each case study was sampled and analysed case-contextually and independently. However, as will be seen in subsequent chapters, comparability has still been possible due to the actual content of the findings themselves.

Given the reasonable diversity in the sample, it is likely that a general spread has been accessed (see section 3.3.5). Of course, one cannot presume to expect to have exhausted all perspective and/or experience. Furthermore, it is likely that there were specific 'hard to reach' people within the case study population who are likely to be altogether absent from the sample. At the same time, there is likely to be an over and under-sampling of specific groups compared to the actual population. This is in keeping with the need for both instrumental knowledge and very specific experiences sought (as per purposive [over]-sampling); rather than general and/or representative experiences as would be required if statistical representativity was a pre-condition. Nonetheless, as *theoretical generalizability* was sought, sufficient inclusion of key groups and varied experience has been attained. Whilst there is internal coherence and variability within each case study, there is less direct inter-institutional comparability. This will be assessed in Chapter 8, but is considered both a strength and a limitation of the study.

Reflecting, post-research, it became apparent that at one institution in particular, apart from White men in executive management positions, White men appeared reticent to participate, as

judged by lower uptake rates. This may potentially be a gap in the data as there is no guarantee that White men in executive management positions and those in academic posts have similar perspectives and/or experiences. In comparison, relative to presence in the institutional population, there is an over-sampling of Black participants, however, this was deliberate to ensure theoretical inclusion.

Good rapport was developed with women participants, in particular. It is likely that these observations had to do with the research topic as well as the demographic positionality of the researcher. On the whole, however, it was felt that most participants were forth-coming with information and were not affected by research positionality or subjectivity. In three cases, at most (out of 115), it was perceived that information was potentially being withheld. Such action was perceived to be due to a sense of loyalty to the (employer) institution and to participants' sense of obligation to (and shared confidence with) their place of employment. In these cases, it is not possible to say whether the participant was being extra cautious based on institutional knowledge of their participation in the research or whether this was due to the participants' own sense of what could/not be shared in a research context. These interviews were included in the general data pool as their contributions were nonetheless deemed to be of value. These transcripts were specifically analysed with contextual notes.

### *3.3.5. Participant Background Information*

All participants were requested to complete a participant background information sheet which recorded basic demographic data. Core data is presented to provide an overview of the profile of the qualitative research sample. Whilst there were 115 participants, 102 participant background information sheets have been used to complete the sample profile below[80]. Therefore, the data below refers to 89% of the entire interview-based sample. In order to protect

[80] Of the 115 participants: one participant has been excluded from the profile due to his being a student (it was initially hoped more students would take up the invitation to participate), two external stakeholders were excluded, and a further 13 data sheets were inadequately completed and thus excluded in their entirety to maintain the integrity of the sample profile data as a whole. Therefore, all calculations here are based on a total of 102 participants.

the individual identity of participants, demographic data is presented per variable (rather than as aggregated/compound variables). Where there is only one participant per category, this person has been reported only as being part of the total sample, in order to afford them additional anonymity.

Approximately 60% of the sample was based at Reconciliation Bay University (RBU) and the other 40% at Nxele Valley University (NVU). Cumulatively, 49% of the sample self-identified as one of the listed categories comprising 'Black' people[81], whilst another 48% identified as White (See Figure 3.1 below). Relative to the case study's academic staff: African academics were well/over-represented, Indian academics under-represented and Coloured academics under-represented at NVU. However, compared to the South African population, all but African people were over-represented.

Five participants chose the 'prefer not to answer' option. A further five verbalized that this would be their preference, but selected a given category stating that they understood the importance for research purposes. It is important to note that whilst there is relative Black-White parity in the sample, this does not reflect the actual staffing populations at either of the case study institutions. There was a considerable over-sampling of Black participants. This was purposively done to include Black academics and to reflect a diversity of academics' perceptions and experiences and to enable theoretical generalizability from the data.

Figure 3.1. The race and gender composition of participants

| | African | Coloured | Indian | Chinese | White | Prefer Not to Answer | | Male | Female |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| RBU | 12 | 17 | 3 | - | 26 | 3 | | 26 | 35 |
| NVU | 14 | 0 | 3 | - | 21 | 2 | | 16 | 25 |
| Total | 26 | 17 | 6 | 1[82] | 47 | 5 | | 42 | 60 |

[81] According to the EEA in which Black includes the categories of African, Coloured and Indian.
[82] To maximize the anonymity of this participant, their institutional affiliation has not been presented.

Women constitute about 59% of the entire sample and 58% of RBU and 61% of NVU's sample. No one opted the 'prefer not to answer' category for sex/gender. Although two participants responded to this option by initiating a conversation about such categorizations. Women participants made up large contingents of both the academic and administrative participants but proportionally less of the executive management participants. This is in itself indicative of the gendered division of labour within institutions.

Figure 3.2. The occupational designation of participants

| | Executive management | Administration | Academic | Other |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| RBU | 11 | 11 | 37 | 2 |
| NVU | 6 | 2 | 33 | 0 |
| Total | 17 | 13 | 70 | 2 |

As would be expected, approximately 70% of the sample was made up of academics themselves. Executive management (17%) and staff who worked in administration (13%) were also sampled, given that their job portfolios included *Transformation* operational oversight and line management responsibility (see Figure 3.2 above). The differences in sampling between the case studies somewhat reflects the operational nature of the organizations themselves.

Figure 3.3. Faculty location of participants

| | Non-Faculty | Humanities equivalent | Commerce equivalent | Education | Health Science equivalent | Science | Law | Other |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| RBU | 17 | 8 | 14 | 6 | 8 | 2 | 0 | 6 |
| NVU | 5 | 17 | 6 | 5 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 0 |
| Total | 22 | 26 | 20 | 11 | 9 | 6 | 2 | 6 |

Approximately 76% of all participants were located in an academic faculty, most based in a Humanities or a Commerce-equivalent faculty (see Figure 3.3. above). A fair spread was achieved at RBU from the four targeted faculties with the highest response rates from the Commerce faculty. At NVU, the sample was definitely more 'bunched', with the highest response rate coming from the Humanities faculty and fair responses from the other targeted

faculties. As far as possible, interviews were held with all who granted such. The shorter period of fieldwork at NVU potentially impacted on the spread of participants.

Figure 3.4. Academic grade of participants

| | Professor | Associate Professor | Principal Lecturer | Senior Lecturer | Lecturer | Junior Lecturer | Other / NA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| RBU | 12 | 8 | 2 | 12 | 12 | 1 | 14 |
| NVU | 6 | 6 | 0 | 8 | 14 | 3 | 4 |
| Total | 18 | 14 | 2 | 20 | 26 | 4 | 18 |

Although the sample as a whole is slightly more weighted towards seniority (53%), this is somewhat of an under-reflection of the actual populations, especially at NVU (see Figure 3.4), where the over-representation of lecturers in the sample is notable at 34% and can be explained by the very high response rate amongst this occupational grade.

Figure 3.5. Grade of management participants[83]

| | Vice Chancellor | Deputy Vice chancellor | Dean | Director | HoD | OTHER /NA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| RBU | 0 | 2 | 4 | 14 | 8 | 35 |
| NVU | 1 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 31 |
| Total | 1 | 3 | 8 | 17 | 9 | 66 |

As Figure 3.5. above shows, executive management (32%) and academic line management (68%) were also represented within the sample. However, at RBU, academic line managers predominate at 79% of the sample of RBU in comparison to NVU (40%). This latter pattern is

[83] Keen observers will notice the discrepancy between Figure 3.2 and Figures 3.4 and 3.5. Figure 3.2 reflects actual job title and designation whilst Figures 3.4 and 3.5 have the potential to overlap as some staff saw themselves as fulfilling an office/position whilst simultaneously retaining their academic title and thus are likely to have selected a response to both the question that informed Figure 3.4 and figure 3.5.

due to the low response rate, research timing, and the under-reflection due to the exclusion of the 13 profiles. Executive management was fairly represented given their relative size.

In evaluating the contribution of the findings: employment status and length of employment are important considerations (See Figure 3.6. below). Most of the participants were well embedded within their institutions. Just over 82% of the whole sample was on permanent staff whilst 40% had served more than 10 years and a further 23% between 5 and 10 years. Comparatively, a considerable portion, at 24%, had served less than 3 years.

Figure 3.6. Employment status and length of employment

| | Employment Status | | | | Length of employment | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Permanent | Contract | Other | | <12 mnts | 1 - 3 yrs | 3 - 5 yrs | 5 -10 yrs | >10 yrs |
| RBU | 50 | 11 | 0 | | 3 | 8 | 6 | 12 | 31 |
| NVU | 34 | 6 | 0 | | 4 | 9 | 6 | 11 | 10 |
| Total | 84 | 17 | 0 | | 7 | 17 | 12 | 23 | 41 |

In comparison to the academic labour market as a whole, the sample is perhaps uncharacteristically younger than is generally the case, with the sample modal age range at 40-49 years (See Figure 3.7. below). This is likely to have been swayed by the large proportion of lecturers in the sample at NVU. High participation rates by younger cohorts may be explained by subject-reactivity. They may actually have been, or felt entitled to be, recipients of change processes, and/or have a higher stake in participating in the research. However, the clustering of the 30-60 age group is characteristic of academic labour per se.

Figure 3.7. Ages of participants

| | <25 | 25-29 | 30-39 | 40-49 | 50-59 | >60 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| RBU | 0 | 5 | 9 | 19 | 22 | 5 |
| NVU | 2 | 7 | 12 | 14 | 5 | 1 |
| Total | 2 | 12 | 21 | 33 | 27 | 6 |

The last demographic detail recorded was country of origin (see Figure 3.8 below). The sample was overwhelmingly South African (at 88%) with most other participants being from the

African continent. NVU exhibited more international[84] spread (24%) than RBU (3%). The representivity of nationality in the sample may potentially have been affected by subject reactivity, or topic bias. Potential participants may have perceived the research as limited to South African concerns. This may have led to feeling keen to participate, or else excluded, dependent on their own positionality. It should also be noted that at the time of research, there was actual differentiation between the two case studies in the extent to which they claimed to be able to employ international staff.

Figure 3.8. Country of origin (citizenship) or permanent residency

| | South Africa | SADC | Africa Non-SADC | S America | Europe |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| RBU | 59 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| NVU | 31 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| Total | 90 | 6 | 3 | 1 | 2 |

The participant profile provides a useful overview of the participants as a collective. The implications of this will be revisited in the consideration and assessment of the findings, particularly in Chapter 8. At this point, it is useful to stress that it was a non-probability sample with participants selected for what they could theoretically contribute to the study. Therefore, the sample/s were selected not only to mirror broad demographic and institutional patterns, but also to ensure that particular groups were over-represented so that their perceptions and experiences were definitely and deliberately included within the sample.

[84] Here the term 'International' is used to refer to citizens from (only) outside of South Africa, so as not to use the pejorative terms 'non-South African' or 'foreigner' and to avoid colonial constructs where international is used to refer to those who come from particularly 'the West'. Here, it refers to all who do not have South African permanent residency and whose citizenship is designated as being from outside of South Africa's national borders.

### *3.3.6. Data Management and Analysis*

All interviews were transcribed verbatim so that a comprehensive interview record could be worked from. Whilst a number of analytic tools assisted in whole or part, the management and analysis processes were largely organic and iterative. Although a number of frameworks (Srivastava & Hopwood, 2009, Ritchie, Spencer & O'Connor, 2003, and Legard, Keegan & Ward, 2003) informed the analytical approach, it was Lewis and Ritchie's (2003) guide to data management and data interpretation that provided the most generic processual analytic method for the study. Therefore, the interviews were read, per case study, according to the process of 'familiarization' to identify general themes and key issues to code more extensively later on.

Various rounds of 'manual coding' with numerous themes took place, due to the sheer bulk of data. Each of these subsequent rounds of 'master' and 'sub-theme' coding revealed generic *Transformational* issues, institutional specific concerns, institutional culture, workplace experiences, and discipline-related experiences as pivotal themes.

Subsequently, it was decided to work with the following four master core categories: restructuring, employment equity, *Transformation*, and the implications for the re/production of academic labour. These four categories were a combination of directed and emergent sub-themes that collectively provided a narrative, which both accounted for and explained both case studies' narratives at the individual and collective levels.

Using a combination of manual and electronic coding, all relevant sections per 'thermalized code' were copied and pasted into separate word files and also written up onto separate chart paper (per theme and per case study). A basic analysis was done, consisting of the processes that follow. Substantive quotes that best represented or illuminated key positions within each theme were selected. Next, the data on each theme was re-read and similarities and differences were noted using the data's 'internal logic'. For example, the following questions were asked of the data: were the 'representational quotes' typical or atypical; and if so, of whom? Were the patterns in the data reflective of race, gender, occupational rank, etc.? Were there explanations within the data for these similarities, differences, etc.? The outcome of this process, with respect to the actual findings is captured in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7.

Next, 'external logic' was used to consider how these findings related to the literature: both previous empirical research and conceptual and theoretical accounts were used to make sense

of the data. Lastly, a process of evaluation was conducted to appraise the strengths and shortcomings of the findings, per case study, and then in a comparison with each other, and as representative of the higher education as a whole. The outcome of this process, with respect to the actual findings is discussed in Chapter 8.

### *3.3.7. Evaluation of Qualitative Findings & Conclusions*

Internal validity was important for this study. The research questions, research tool, and focused analysis each sought to ensure that the research question was answered. The conclusions extrapolated from the study pertain to the sector as a whole (with regard to the quantitative data). These go further than previous studies to explain broad patterns and trends and thus provide sector-wide insights but also explain why statistical generalizability is limited. The quantitative data also informed the questions asked during the qualitative data collection and analysis.

The qualitative data was mostly particular to the case studies and alike institutions. Nonetheless, these are rooted in theoretical generalizability, which explains their specificity. There is also a high degree of confidence in the consistency, efficacy and critical appraisal of the research methods, which bodes well for the reliability of the study. The scope and scale of the qualitative component counteracted inadvertent reactivity. The reflections below (see 3.3.8) discuss the few cases where subject, instrument, and researcher reactivity were identified and engaged with during the study.

Through the use of triangulation, the attendant weaknesses of each method were sufficiently ameliorated so as not to impact on the long-term credibility of the study. Nonetheless, the limitations themselves provide opportunities for future research.

### *3.3.8. Select Methodological Reflections*

In qualitative research, the researcher is ever-present: making choices that illuminate, cast shadows, and colour the research with fragments of their positionality, personality and

experience. The selection of the research topic and questions asked, the interview process, the in/tangible 'objet d'art' that generates therefrom, that which is fore grounded as well as that which fades into the background during the analysis; are all affected by the researcher. In this section, I provide some reflections on the co-construction of the interview and research process, researcher positionality, and *Transformational* weightiness in order to provide the reader with some 'insider' experiential insight into the research process.

#### 3.3.8.1. The co-construction of the interview, the research, and the study

Chapters 6 and 7 contain the qualitative findings. Representational quotes are used to privilege participants' own voices ahead of analysing content. However, here, collective experience and sentiment is presented in summative form, to simply convey broad patterns and trends. Previously, the in-depth interview was described as co-constructed and despite the use of a formulaic mould, no two sets of experiences were ever the same. Further insights are shared to show how the context, interaction, and the research process was itself inherently transitory, fragile, and unique. I show how the use of the in-depth interview for this subject could be both generative and disempowering for both the participant and the researcher, and how the effects of the research (process and content) affect both, and reflect upon how I was impacted by this during the course of data collection and long afterward.

I thus demonstrate that data gathering is not merely the collection of words in neutral abstraction. Instead it is a highly-charged process replete with porous, visceral, emotive descriptors that convey and connect the life world of one to another, the individual to the social and political contexts; and privilege the researcher to transcend time, space, and positional experiences. Through this discussion, I put forward some suggestions about the ways in which 'subjectivity', 'authenticity', and 'auditability' can be engaged with (O'Leary, 2004: 58).

Jones (1985) emphasises that "there is no such thing as presuppositionless research" (cited in Seale, 2004: 258) and yet there certainly were instances when I felt like an 'embodied Dictaphone', where I felt as though participants were free to tell their stories with minimal interference and input. In at least two instances, I did not have occasion or need to ask participants more than two framing questions, over the course of an hour. These participants recounted their personalized narratives, which flowed and ebbed with the institutional tides over the years, and I sat enveloped and wrapped in their story telling.

In yet other instances, my very presence felt marked, soured, and a stain on the landscape of the participant's office as I felt myself tortured into prying, wringing, and wrestling the participant, for every little piece of data. As the participant appeared to resist the interview process, with every fibre of 'their' being, I left tormented and perplexed, wondering why the interview was granted and why we both conceded to let it proceed.

Yet these were both extremes, outliers that were far from the typical experience. In most other cases the 'journey' consisted of a two-way conversational flow led by the researcher's foundational questions as key entry points into the topic; whilst the participant then selected and guided the researcher along those high ways, main roads, back roads, well-worn and little known paths, and even down cul de sacs that provided illumination into the facets of their own thought patterns and personal and institutional experiences of *Transformation*.

In many instances, the interview process functioned as a means of or a means to memory and a safe space for participants to return to experiences: sometimes, scars and often, hurt long buried. At various times, I empathetically shared the pain of the participants, as 'they' recollected 'their' traumatic experiences; whilst simultaneously feeling guilt, and came to despise myself and my research project for having made an 'academic research commodity' out of such pain and exploitation. In the end, I knew it would be completely unjust to re-bury these stories but I wrestled at length with the responsibility of unearthing such trauma and being entrusted, at minimum, to find academic reparation for the injustice at the root of their pain.

At other times, the interview process, appeared to become a space for participants to articulate those private thoughts, perceptions, and feelings that 'they' had perhaps longed to make public to certain sectors of society and of the university community, but perhaps until now had fallen on deaf ears, or if heard had perhaps been explained away by defensive deflections; in some way dismissed in some manner or another that devalued their actual message. In other cases, the circumstances seemed previously not right for the person to feel safe to share, or perhaps they simply had yet to have a willing listener ask after their well-being. Despite 'naturally' being a listener, I wished I had had more training on 'asking', as well as some basic insights into therapy, as I grew more reflective, understanding that being heard can not only be therapeutic but engender destabilisations that themselves carry hurt and violence.

On the whole, it often brought me delight to hear (formerly silent) voices vocalized, as these were not those of the status quo. As a critical sociologist, I knew I was doing my job well if they had an active presence in my data and they came out, and spoke. I felt it was part of my

responsibility to ensure this platform, which may have been personally and/or historically denied, was accorded and utilized. Yet I wrestled with what it meant that I should be, and was going to be, the narrator of these stories and if it was my place to be and to do so.

It was crucial that I reflect on all voices in such a way that I remained self-reflexive, engaged and critical. I also had to ensure, catch myself, and bring myself back into line (more times than I would like to admit), when I found myself potentially falling into the trap of 'eroticizing' and reifying so-called 'non-normative' and 'other' experiences. Thankfully, participants were more than willing to catch my giddiness and put me back on the straight and narrow, if and when I deviated during the course of the actual interviews. I hope I have done justice to those who shared their lives and experiences with me, in the write up.

I began to better understand why those in authority had not always been completely at ease with my presence: what I might find, what 'ripples' might be inculcated thereafter. These experiences also made me think, what of those voices that were still silent in the data: who had not spoken and why? Who was I failing to speak to and thus potentially not going to give voice to in the research? One very obvious silence was that young White men were definitely demographically under-represented in the sample. They make an appearance as the subject/object of some discussion, and in many instances, are the part of the un/stated invisible 'norm' against whom everyone else feels judged and compared. But they, themselves, are relatively absent and mute as speakers in the data itself.

What can we infer about such silences? Are these 'voices' silent in this arena of everyday institutional practice in general? If so, have such voices opted out, do they feel it is not their place to speak; have they had a bad experience that prevents them from speaking, do they feel now is simply not their time or place to speak, or are they just off busy doing other things? Does and why does this matter and what are the implications? How does this absence accord with what others have told me? And is this an example of how Whiteness creeps back into the centre? These series of questions ran through my mind.

What of the emotions? This was not neutral terrain. The research topic, the subjectivities, the first and second-hand experiences relayed by participants (experienced in very close quarters of interaction with colleagues and students as well as the more distant institutional contact/context) was wrought with complexity, punctuated with feeling, and continued to linger despite how they may have otherwise have moved on. Just under the surface, the groundswell of *Transformation* waters connected each to the collective: for some it felt like a life force that

gave their life meaning; for others an oppressive tidal wave; for others still, a potential life-force now grown toxic but from which they were still trying to salvage good; whilst others had simply grown weary, tired, and had given up on swimming against the tide, having washed their hands of the whole enterprise: their colleagues, their institutional homes, and many times, even their dreams.

This sojourn into the metaphorical has served to abstractly illustrate the multiplicity of truths, experiences, and diversity of contexts from which participants came, and related to the research topic, the experience of being researched, and the content they shared that ultimately constituted the research data. This has shown how participant-centeredness and the facilitating of the 'subjective' within the data is pivotal. It has highlighted the importance of 'authenticity' (the recognition of multiple truths) which will be carried through into the qualitative findings chapters. In describing the research process, albeit abstractly, and the ways in which the researcher and participants were influenced, a form of 'auditability' has been conveyed.

#### 3.3.8.2. Reflection on self-positionality

Through transparency and accountability, qualitative researchers aim to evaluate how their personal politics have impacted on their research choice and practice conceptually and methodologically. They, therefore, also consider how these impact on the study's validity, reliability, and generalizability. In reflecting on this section, I found my life-long positionality to have been important in shaping my choices.

I am a young person who has had the opportunity to live three and half decades in two countries in Southern Africa, whilst the people of each celebrate, strive, fathom, and exasperate with what it means to be a post-independent and a post-apartheid nation in the twenty-first century. I have been immensely privileged not to have lived any portion of my life directly under the harsh realities of colonialism or apartheid. That said, we wrestle every day with what it means to be entangled and to work through their continuing vestiges.

My entire life has been against a backdrop of social transition through which 'we' (as subjects of the post-'historical') continually learn what it means to live in liminal opportunity, continuity, and flux. Familial decisions meant that I was afforded a privileged White middle class upbringing whilst at the same time being a racial minority in our neighbourhood and at junior school. These provided many opportunities to learn about diversity, difference,

inclusion, and exclusion from a young age and were formative and sensitizing 'racializing', 'gendering', and class-based experiences.

I learnt in a post-oppressive phase, multiculturalism still expects all to be recognizable, distinguishable, and place-able. It was this being of the 'social', particularly of a/the social group, that I was keenly aware of 'not being' as a young child. So, whilst I grew to understand and to be ashamed of what 'I' represented in the popular imagination, who 'my' actual 'people' were, what their history, culture, religion, etc. was largely a mystery to me. I knew that I did not know this, I thought it strange.

I knew, we as a nuclear family that defined itself as post-independent arrivals, did not share many commonalities with many other 'White' families; but I still thought we must have some 'authentic' family /cultural wellspring. I later learned what I experienced as a lack of coherent cultural context was due to several generations of 'mixed' lineage (nationality, ethnicity and religion) that had led to established nuclear family practices wherein social and political 'liberal'/'progressive' upbringing maintained the pursuit of any cultural roots entirely an individual's own choosing upon reaching adulthood. As a child, this meant I was not girded by the straits of overt socio-cultural and religious convention but more a free spirit guided by general humanistic principles (later I learned these were, in fact, Judeo-Christian).

Coming from a politically and socially astute family, knowledge of what was going on in flash points around the globe was always part and parcel of the adults' dinner conversation, the news magazines in the kitchen, the music listened to, the talk of social events, so all of this filtered through. At eight years, I was taken with the idea of human rights and held the universal declaration pocket book as my most precious possession. My young childhood was a time of optimism and perhaps I was just at the 'right' age and social location to ride and benefit from the post-independence wave. At this time, this discourse, in my imagination, promised equality, justice, responsibility, accountability and most importantly a way to undo the wrongs of the past and present. I saw it as the means through which to undo the sorrow and pain that I saw being inflicted on children my age and their families, often by people who looked like me, whilst politicians with seemingly compelling arguments tried to reason away such events.

As I have got older, I have begun to see my diverse roots, my ambiguous and contradictory social location as an asset that allows me to be open, flexible, and empathetic to diverse worldviews, identities and experiences. It also seems more likely that it is in these 'spaces' that I will find those closest to "my people".

Nonetheless, questions of identity, especially questions of the assumed, ascribed, and achieved and how the individual interfaces with other individuals and the broader collective; particularly in spaces where these identities come to present and represent a diversity of meanings, understandings and experiences has always carried great importance for me. Thus, it seemed almost 'gravitational' that there should be this confluence between my life long quest for my own meaning and purpose, and my academic interest.

This autobiographical account makes it clear that I have a strong affinity for the research that I have conducted, especially for ensuring that 'minority'[85] voices are heard. That being said, I have been cautious of this explicit tendency and have made every effort to be conscious of the reality of multi-layering that exists in every person, every organization, and all contexts. This is why I have also deliberately sampled (academics) as widely and as inclusively as possible, including those whose occupational responsibility it is to carry out *Transformation*, to be sure that the narrative presented is as holistic and as critical as possible.

There were instances where it was felt that participants experienced researcher reactivity largely due to perceived and/or actual race and gender manifestations. These cases were, though, a minority, and none so severe that the interview had to be terminated. It should be noted that in one case a participant said 'they' were unable to meet at that specific time and that 'they' would reschedule. This never took place. I suspect this was either because of researcher reactivity or subject reactivity given details that I was later given about the person's work circumstances. In a few cases, I felt a better outcome may have been generated had the researcher had different racialized and/or gendered experiences, as it appeared difficult for some (Black) participants to open up to me (as a White person) about their experiences.

However, in a few cases, difference was felt to be a positive attribute as elaboration and detail were not spared in explanations. On the other hand, assumption and collusion also manifested themselves: where participants 'type-cast' the researcher in particular ways which were often correct (in the cases of Black participants) and often not correct (in the case of White participants). It was mostly not my place to correct participants' assumptions, which led to

[85] 'Minority' is used here not necessarily to refer to experiences that are had by a minority of people but that are rendered minority and non-normative by hegemonic ideologies – even if they may actually be the predominant experiences of many or most people.

discomfort, a feeling of disingenuity and a feeling of betrayal against my principles, for 'research data'.

My positionality as an academic meant that I had specific insights as an insider and already had an appreciation of the generic inner workings of universities and the labour market. This was advantageous in terms of knowing how institutions 'worked' and being able to pick up both explicit and implicit institutional knowledge. Interestingly, interviews with management took on one of two dimensions, I was either seen as a young woman and more in my student role, which was fortuitous for detail and explanation but which sometimes meant that I had to work harder for critical insights and deep knowledge. Alternatively, I was seen as an academic in my own right and in which case, occasionally the classic management-academic tension bore out in pivotal discussions especially around managerialism-related issues. At one of the case study institutions, traditional gendering was clearly apparent and I was regularly asked about children and 'how my (assumed) husband felt that I was away from home for long stretches of time'.

Each case study had its own specificities including tacit workings, cultures, discourses, and systems of power that had to be learned on-site. However, on more than one occasion participants stated that they were able to share their stories with me explicitly because I was an 'institutional outsider'. This thereby underscored the importance and the significance of what could not be stated within the confines of the 'organization'.

This section has shown how my own choice to take on this research has been informed by my lifelong positionality, how experiences of race and gender came to the fore not only as content within the research but also in terms of how participants "read" the topic, myself, and how this shaped our interaction during the interview process. I have also reflected briefly on how being an academic was an asset in terms of picking up organizational working but how being an actual outsider to the case studies was of value in terms of creating a safe environment for the disclosure of information that participants would not necessarily trust to an insider. The last reflective section engages 'the weight of *Transformation'*.

#### 3.3.8.3. The weight of *Transformation*

This topic offers the potential to refashion the present and future to one of our choosing. It is through the subjectivities revealed, and the academic discourse that presented itself, that I have

found my place, my people, and my voice. However, *Transformation* teaches us that it does not belong to any of us but is simply shared with us to make what we will, for those we are fortuitous enough to be co-present with, and those who will come afterwards. Doing this research, collecting the narratives, opening up the 'war wounds', feeling compelled to carry the responsibility of changing the present and future with the 'knowledge' that I had been given – was in itself, at times, unbearable, overwhelming, and led to both alienation and stupefying silence. When I found myself, my voice and my words, I found myself to be perceived in some quarters as a gramophone for the marginalized and 'accordingly' shared and received concomitant epistemic violence and was dressed down 'by those with power' in similar ways to those that participants themselves had described.

Towards the end of my PhD, #feesmustfall occurred which challenged all in the sector in complicated and important ways. Some within the movement worked with essentialist frameworks viewing all categorized as 'White' as de-legitimate and as 'colonial'. I understood why and fully appreciated sitting back to listen to the perspectives being put forward, the anger at and against all forms of Whiteness, and that this was an important and timely Black consciousness inspired revolution. It was admittedly difficult to feel pushed out of spaces that I felt I had spent the last ten years working in, to feel de-legitimated, simply because I was White. It took another six months before at a session on 'being in the university' a young Black woman exclaimed, "I do not want to do race work, but have to do such, because I am Black, and if I do not do it, who will!". It was almost as though she authorized my re-entry into collegiality and being an ally.

After, a tumultuous six months, I hope we are getting ready to listen to each other again and to acknowledge that we need allies across the 'race-line'. I know there will be many limitations and short comings in this thesis, that derive from the lack of personal experience (and that derive directly out of the personal experience that I do have), academic insights and development still to occur, and the fractured way in which life has meant that this study has taken many years to come to fruition and to be written; but I hope it begins to enable us to continue frank and open conversations that will actually take us forward.

### *3.3.9. Qualitative Conclusion*

This section has discussed how in-depth interviews within two case studies were the main form of qualitative research conducted. It has elaborated how participants were selected, how the interviews should be conceived of as mutually co-constructed, how the content, context and emotional charge of interviews were all considered part and parcel of the research data. It has provided some discussion on how data analysis took place and some reflection of the interview process and the researcher's positionality and experience of the research.

## 3.4. Ethical considerations

### *3.4.1. A topic embedded in ethics from beginning to end*

Ethical issues are always of paramount importance in research. Research that utilizes a multitude of sources and methods is, by its very nature, complicated. Hence, additional consideration of ethical principles and adherence to ethical and professional best practice was at all times necessary.

Furthermore, a topic such as this warrants ethical consideration on many fronts. People asked: will the institution be protected; will the participants be safeguarded; will the questions asked be too sensitive, too searching, engender new vulnerabilities; will the questions be asked sufficiently carefully, what might be the outcome of the questions; what perceptions and experiences will be surfaced, what will remain when the researcher has departed; to what use will the findings be put and can the researcher be trusted with this material; and what if it should get into the 'wrong' hands? Questions such as these are important; they illustrate the cornerstones of ethical and professional practice that academics are held to. Whilst research responsibility and accountability are foremost values of the academic enterprise, these questions also convey underlying interests.

They also demonstrate that research, by its very nature, is viewed as contra-status quo, as a potential for or mechanism through which social change can take place. In comparison to the

researcher, the participants and the organization are implicitly deemed as 'vulnerable' and in need of protection. It also underscores the discomfort that HEIs sit with when the tables are turned: they are the ones who do research, they are not researched…

This was something I was prepared for and something I recalled from my Masters. The first unanticipated challenge was my own departmental PhD proposal advisory group, which strongly recommended that my (home) institution not be one of the case studies. The reason, partly an ethical one, was labelled as a potential conflict of interest (as I work there). More simply and explicitly, it was stated as "a severely career limiting move". So, I acceded to peer pressure and developed a new focus to the study, with new case studies.

A few months later, with an approved proposal and all the ethics procedures and research instruments in place, as per the standard practice for PhD proposals at the University of the Witwatersrand; the Ethics Clearance was granted. The Protocol number for this research is H100 704 (see Appendix 3).

### *3.4.2. Accessing data*

The accessing of data in the form of state documents and policies was unproblematic as most of these are available in hardcopy in academic libraries and/or on online repositories. Accessing the HEMIS data had been secured several years earlier through the relevant Deputy Director General of DoHET, as part of a research team, and my PhD was one of the associated outcomes of the research project; I was granted access to the database. There were some conditions to the use of this data, which had inbuilt confidentiality mechanisms that allow the data to only be reported in partial disaggregate format (by single variable: race or gender, and not by race and gender). Such confidentiality protection mechanisms are already in place within the dataset, therefore they built into the data provided to and used by the researcher.

Accessing data from case study institutions (discussed below) was meant to be part of the general accessibility permissions but HEIs have differential institutional norms. Some information was made readily available and some not. In some instances, institutions use their 'intranet' to load and store institutional data and policies. Whilst this allows institutional insiders easy and open access to such documents, it does not necessarily meet all requirements

for publically available information. It is not available to any member of the public outside of the institution. In some instances, this extended to myself as the researcher. In other instances, institutional actors themselves had varying interpretations about the availability of such data to researchers.

### *3.4.3. Accessing institutions*

As mentioned above, ethics clearance was granted by the University of the Witwatersrand and permission from the case study institutions was sought at the time and thereafter. In both instances, I was directed to a liaison person in the senior executive management team who would liaise with me about my requirements, ensure I supplied the institution with the relevant documents it needed to appraise my request, and have the outcome of their decision communicated.

I detailed my request as follows: Permission was sought for the following: 1) generalized consent for the researcher to conduct fieldwork on site (at the campuses of the institution), 2) permission to interview key officials such as employment equity officials, directors, members of the senior executive, members of institutional forums, members of staff responsible for implementing employment equity and or transformation projects and general members of the academic staff as well as 3) access to university libraries, archives, and institutional documents such as institutional plans, staffing profiles and annual employment equity submissions (see Appendix 4).

I also explained that individual permission would be sought from all potential participants who would be sent a Participant Information Sheet (by email). This sheet provided an outline of the research and details as to what participation in the research would entail. For the actual research participants, informed consent forms were used to guarantee that participants consented to participate in the research, and the conditions under which they granted their consent. It was verbally explained that consent forms pertained largely to those who participated in the interviews, would be completed prior to the onset of the interview, and would stipulate the conditions under which consent was understood and given. Participant demographic detail sheets would also be requested and completed by participants in order to collect cumulative data about the sample as a whole (see Appendices 5 and 6).

Reconciliation Bay University (RBU) confirmed they had approved the research and that I was permitted to go ahead with it. I was therefore on schedule to relocate and to begin the research. Nxele Valley University (NVU) initially declined participation. Following a meeting between one of my supervisors, the Vice Chancellor, and myself; it was agreed that my proposal would be put before a committee for a final decision to be made. It was therein decided that the institution gave its in principle permission for the research (as long as its name was not used in the thesis). NVU also stipulated that it would only recognize its own institution's ethics clearance. Hence, if I wished to conduct the research, I would need to submit all the requisite documentation to its ethics committee for appraisal. I duly did this and after an initial delay of three months, I was granted permission to conduct the research in the remaining time I had requested. This coincided with the examination and vacation period. Nonetheless, the fieldwork was accomplished despite trying circumstances.

This has been catalogued at length, as discussions with other Masters and PhD students within the field of Higher Education Studies has revealed that this is not an uncommon occurrence, regardless of the institution studied. Given that academics rely on an amount of good will from the rest of society to conduct their research, it seems only fair that HEIs should at least recognize each other's ethics protocols or perhaps have a memorandum of common agreement when it comes to HEI research and expected research protocols within the sector. Without this, there is a danger that institutions become gatekeepers, selectively dis/approving research without explanation. Furthermore, various processes, such as ethics processes, then become interpreted, even if this is not the intention, as functionaries of potential exclusion.

### *3.4.4. Accessing participants*

As detailed previously, participants were selected through a variety of means, including purposive and snowballing sampling. Online organograms and staff lists assisted with the compilation of initial participant lists after which subsequent branching out was made possible through snowballing. Participants were all approached in a generic manner through the use of a standardized participant request email and letter of introduction as detailed above.

### *3.4.5. Maintaining confidentiality, anonymity of participants and protecting the unknown but cited presence of others in examples*

It is always crucial to ensure that participants' data is safely stored and protected from any form of unwarranted disclosure and in particular, that their identities, their perceptions and experiences are kept as anonymous as possible. This is essential good practice for all research. However, it was of paramount importance for this research, which involved organizations with individuals who have a common past and presumably will have a common future. Furthermore, individuals within institutions may not only know each other, but may in some instances be party to the same events, situations, or even complaints. Therefore, protecting individuals, cases, and contexts became vitally important.

It is not always possible to guarantee 100% anonymity, especially where disclosure is inevitable to those 'in the know'. Simply by describing a particular case, sources or contexts can be revealed. In such instances, remaining as authentic to the case details, as presented, is of paramount importance. Balancing both the wellbeing of the participants (as individuals and as a collective) and the furthering research aims and interests was something that had to be carefully weighed to minimize harm. In some instances, there may be actions/events that seem relatively benign to an outsider but may carry more weight to an insider. It was important to be consistently aware and reflexive of such circumstances. Particular attention was paid to body language, non-verbal cues, and the language participants used to describe events, in these cases.

In some instances, participants told not of their own experiences but of those a third party. In these instances, the researcher had to also carefully think of the ethical implications of such a case. Such information can become public knowledge through its use in the research, and yet the 'owner' of the original narrative has not been its speaker and has not necessarily authorized its broadcast. Each of these required careful balancing of the researcher and the participant's (even if the participant was only so by default) needs and well-being.

During the course of the research, there were two instances where I gauged participants might be in need of debriefing. In each case the situation the participant and the researcher negotiated the situation together. A short reflective break was taken and each participant opted to continue with the interview. In both cases, it was those potentially rendered the most vulnerable by the institution in its racialization and gendering who 're-lived' their personal trauma in the

interview setting, regardless of their own individual resilience and strength. Each case was followed up afterwards and participants chose not to make use of further debriefing.

### *3.4.6. Traversing the multiplicity of insider versus outsider statuses*

Asking researchers to consider ethical questions mostly ensures the wellbeing of participants. However, with a topic as this, it is entirely possible and does indeed happen that in creating a space of safety for all perceptions and experiences of *Transformation* sometimes the researcher themself encounters direct ideological and/or political confrontation, is affronted, and faces direct and open opposition from the participant(s)' perspectives. Incidences of this also occurred. In these spaces, the researcher engaged the usual balancing act, but often in reverse. Here, the research came first, and I found I sat longer, listening, and even probed for more depth and detail. Whereas had it been a 'free conversation', I would likely have exited long before, myself being a person averse to confrontation.

In these cases, I felt I was again taken in confidence and into a privileged private space. This time, based on an assumption of shared insider status based on race, class position, and sometimes gender, whilst my authentic self, felt compromised in such a context, I rationalized (at that time) that all confidences should be treated equally. Yet it is also the participant's own disclosure and how the contents of it are managed thereafter that demand ethical attention to ensure that all research contributions are dealt with in the most methodologically, ethically and professionally 'fair' manner.

### *3.4.7. Conclusion on ethics*

As has been demonstrated, a wide range of ethical concerns and issues arose during the course of research. These had their origin in the specific topic, questions asked, chosen research method, interaction between the participants and researcher, the site of research, as well as many more generic concerns that always arise in the course of any qualitative research. The

discussion and explanation has been frank and genuine to demonstrate the ways in which these were engaged.

### 3.5. Methodology Conclusion

This chapter has detailed how mixed methods were utilized in the research to generate both statistically and theoretically generalizable findings. It has detailed how secondary data from national databases were used to chart the changes in the PALM over time and across the country. It detailed how historical documents and policies were used to demonstrate national priorities and plans with respect to the conceptualization and envisaged implementation of *Transformation*. It detailed how, through the use of in-depth interviews at two case study institutions, the perceptions and experiences of the academic workplace and *Transformational* processes were engaged with. Lastly, it reflected on the researcher's experience of this research and the ethical dilemmas that arose in the process.

# Chapter 4: The national trends in the academic labour market (ALM)

This chapter uses quantitative data, primarily obtained from the DoHET's HEMIS data base, to present an overview of the South African Higher Education Sector (SAHES) between 1986 and 2012[86]. In particular, the data is used to convey and discuss race and gender-based *Transformation* of the labour market. This is done through three categorical descriptions and explanations. First, the professional academic labour market (PALM) is contextualized within the higher education labour market as a whole. Initially, general labour trends within SAHES are presented, and subsequently the focus narrows to academics themselves. Secondly, the PALM is then considered as a series of site-based units of analyses (ILMs) and as a collection of institutional-types. Using this framework for presentation, the PALM is discussed in respect of demographics, occupational rank, and qualifications. Thirdly, the historical and contemporary spatial dynamics and implications for regional ALMs are considered. Finally, the chapter rounds off with a brief, critical appraisal that consolidates the value and use of this form of analysis whilst acknowledging its shortcomings.

In the main, the data was extrapolated from the HEMIS database, then compared and contrasted to produce basic descriptive statistics. Therefore, snapshot and longitudinal trends were derived that described overall PALM trends per demographic category, region, over time, and within and across institutions. This enabled an evaluation of the extent of change within the PALM. As a findings chapter, this account is predominantly descriptive and details the demographics, occupational rank, and qualifications of SAHES' academics between 1986 and 2012.

In Chapter 8, the analysis then extrapolates the main findings and current data trends discussed here, and compares these to population proportions, economically active populations (EAP), and skills pool data to make critically informed approximations of representivity and change. Indices of dissimilarity are used as a proxy for segmentation, and pre-and post-equity trend tracking is also mapped against the PALM data in order to assess the extent of change, where

[86] Prior to 1994, public higher education data was collected and maintained by different government departments. The most comprehensive centralized version of which was the SAPSE database. From 2000, further streamlining and auditing of the data occurred resulting in a nation-wide HEMIS database (Higher Education Management Information Systems). This was maintained by the Department of Education and was then transferred to the Department of Higher Education (DoHET) in 2009 when the national Department split into two departments.

appropriate. These national quantitative findings are then also brought into dialogue and debate with the case study findings from chapters 5 through 7, in order to reach an informed conclusion about 'the extent to which *Transformation* has brought about the de-segmentation and re/production of the academic labour market'.

By way of a methodological note: in the main, the data is presented for the sector as a whole, by institutional type, and by HEI. The categorization of HEIs in South Africa reflects the complex and changing nature of HEIs. Categories used by the apartheid state were what are now referred to as Historically Black Universities (HBUs), Historically White Universities (HWUs), Historically Black Technikons (HBTs), Historically White Technikons (HWTs), and Distance Institutions (DIs). While the post-apartheid state utilises Traditional Universities (TU), Comprehensive Universities (CU) and Universities of Technology (UoT).

Therefore, in this study, in order to track predominately racial and gendered trends and in an effort to assess de-segmentation, a combination of past and present categories are used. This means that in data up to 2004, use is made of the apartheid designated categories. As of 2004, HEIs that did not undergo the merger process are still identified by their Historical Black / White University descriptor. Meanwhile, those that did undergo a merger are collectively referred to under the category of New and Merged Institutions (NMIs). These categories are analytically useful for assessing de-segmentation in HEIs with collectively similar experiences of only internal versus state-driven/facilitated change.

However, in addition to the conceptual and political problems of the continued use of apartheid categories, which are fully acknowledged, there are also pragmatic challenges to the use of NMIs and HBIs. These are due to the multiple ways in which the state, and institutions themselves, define, understand, and operate according to the functional categories of TU, CU, and UoT. Outside of analytical super-imposition, none, but especially not the NMIs, represent a coherent category of HEIs. Of the 12 NMIs, three are CUs (of the six, nationwide), six are UoTs[87], and three are TUs (of the eleven, nationwide). Of institutions that were not merged: of the remaining post-restructuring HBIs, all but two are TUs, with the two exceptions CUs; and all remaining post-restructuring HWUs are TUs. HBIs, HWUs and NMIs are thus used post-

[87] At the time of the study, these were the only such HEIs. The two new HEIs, that were formally opened in April 2013, have also thus been classified as UoTs.

2004, and where analytically useful, further elaboration, particularly in reference to the constituent sub-types of NMIs, is provided.

### 4.1. General trends in SAHES as a whole (1986 – 2012)

By 1986, the apartheid workplace regime was well established in the higher education sector, such that White sectoral representation was more than three times the White national representivity[88]. Furthermore, all the classic features were present, including a racialized division of labour, racialized hierarchy of power, separate and segregated facilities, and a resultant bifurcated industrial geography (Bezuidenhout, 2005: 76-89). Employment stratification determined the hierarchy, authority, and responsibility designated to specific categories of work, and by implication to the employees thus positioned. Job allocation was highly dependent on staff's (ascribed) race and gender. The employment of Black staff, in particular, reflected the apartheid designed geo-spatial inequities. In this way, the sector effectively realized the aims of the broader apartheid national and higher education policies. The introduction below, sets the context for the main chapter, by locating the study of the academic labour market within the higher education sector's broader labour context. In particular, it uses secondary statistics to show the racialized and gendered nature of the labour market towards the demise of apartheid (1986), and to assess the extent to which these have changed after 26 years.

In 1986, SAHES comprised of 34 411 permanent staff; 84% of these were employed within 21 universities and 16% within 15 technikons[89]. These had been designated by the Universities Act (1959) and reaffirmed by the 1984 Constitution as "exclusive use" institutions for "one racial category" (Bunting, 2006: 36). As elaborated upon in Chapter 2, there were eight universities designated for African people, one for Indian people, one for Coloured people, ten for White people (six of which were Afrikaans-medium) and a further one which was a distance

[88] White representivity was 58.1% in SAHES, whilst nationally White people accounted for 17.6% of the population (HEMIS, 1986 & StatsSA cited in http://www.nda.agric.za).
[89] All statistics in this chapter (unless otherwise stated) have been derived from my own calculations from secondary data sourced from the HEMIS (and SAPSE) databases.

university and thus open to all. In addition, five technikons were designated for African people, one for Indian people, one for Coloured people, seven for White people and a further one was designated as a distance technikon and thus open to all (Bunting, 2006).

By 2012, the permanent staffing of the sector as a whole had undergone an annual 1% growth to 48 340[90]. This did, however, reflect an increase of just under 14 000 employees in comparison to 26 years prior. Institutionally, in 2012, there were 23 universities, 12 of which were the products of mergers[91], five of which were Comprehensive Universities (CUs) and seven of which were Universities of Technology (UoTs)[92]. Ten of the former 'traditional' universities remained: six continue to be referred to as Historically White Universities (HWU), three of these with an English-medium and three with an Afrikaans-medium legacy; and four are referred to as Historically Black Universities (HBUs). One Distance University also remained. This brief synopsis of institutional types during apartheid, and after the restructuring of SAHES (post-apartheid), demonstrates why cross sectoral studies are so complex. It also highlights why the presentation of data across SAHES in its entirety can be methodologically and analytically difficult as well as fraught with potential comparative limitations.

In 1986, only 40% of all permanent employees were categorized as 'professionals' and these were engaged in one of three types of work, namely: 'instructional and research' (i.e. academic), 'executive, managerial, and administrative' or 'specialist, support' work. In 2012, this category increased to 49% of SAHES. Whilst the majority of 'non-professionals' were categorized as 'technical', 'non-professional administrative', 'crafts and trades' or 'service' employees. This category declined in its sectoral share from 60% to 51% over the 26-year period.

In general, 'instruction and research professionals'[93] remained the principal profession of the sector at about one-third; increasing from 33% in 1986 to 36% of the total workforce in 2012. 'Non-professional administrative employees' became more significant within the sector,

[90] Here rates of increase are based on calculations of annual population growth rates.
[91] Hereon, these are referred to as New and Merged Institutions (NMIs)
[92] Traditional Universities mostly offer theoretically grounded degrees, Universities of Technology offer degrees and diplomas which are vocationally-oriented, and Comprehensive Universities offer a mix of both theoretically and vocationally-oriented degrees and diplomas.
[93] From here on referred to simply as "academics"

increasing from 19% to 34% over the period. Meanwhile, 'non-professional, service' workers declined from 31% to 10% during the same timeframe. These reflect the macro changes effected within SAHES as a part of restructuring: the proliferation of administrative jobs and outsourcing of so-called 'non-core' staff[94]. It should also be noted that the categories of 'technical' and 'specialist support staff' also grew proportionally over the last two and half decades.

This illustrates that at the macro level, *Transformation*, specifically the process of restructuring, has had an effect on the race, gender, and class of employees within the 'non-professional' sector of SAHES. The effect of such is apparent in the macro level data with the significant expansion in administrative workers and the considerable decline in service workers. This aspect of *Transformation* runs counter to the social justice imperative at the core of substantive equity and redress. However, the overall transition in race and gender representation between 1986 and 2012, in the SAHES labour market as a whole, will be presented here.

### *4.1.1. Racial segmentation of SAHES: 1986 and 2012 compared*

In 1986, 41% of the SAHES workforce was Black. The number of Black staff surpassed the number of White staff in 1995 and by 2012 the proportion of Black staff increased to 63%. Black professionals within the sector accounted for 9% of all professionals in 1986, and this increased substantially, to 48%, by 2012. Black non-professional staff represented 63% in 1986, and 76% in 2012. However, this was mostly due to a large service staff component in 1986, whereas, in 2012, it was due to increased representation across all sectors of the 'non-professions'.

Peacock (1993: 5) observed horizontal racial separation within universities as a trend that was then magnified at the national level. An occupational category comparison, between 2012 and 1986, reveals considerable progress over time, with regard to intra-category and inter-category

[94] The re-insourcing of service staff is currently (2016/2017) under way at several institutions as a result of the #October6, #FeesMustFall, #OutsourcingMustFall, etc. movements.

segmentation. In 1986, each occupational category was predominantly White with all professional categories more than 88% White. Black representivity was lowest at the apex of organizational structures at only 8% of 'executive, administrative and managerial' staff. Throughout even the essential educative functions of SAHES, Black representation was incredibly low, at 9%. The non-professions were also dominated by 'Whites', with White staff filling 63% to 75% of all such posts. A notable exception was service employees, the lowest occupation level, which was 96% Black.

By 2012, Black staff equaled, or exceeded, 50% in all occupational categories (except academics) and were above 70% in all of the non-professions. The non-professional pool was much closer to both population and EAP parity, though ascension up the higher education hierarchy showed less equitability. Black staff continued to be under-represented in a number of categories, most notably the 'executive administrative, managerial professionals' at 50% and the 'instructional and research professionals' at 46%. Since representation in these categories had previously been abysmal, the increases of 42% and 37%, respectively, were nonetheless significant despite being far below representativity levels. Nonetheless, it is clear that by 2012, the apartheid engineered White predominance had considerably waned and diversification of the SAHES labour market had begun in earnest. The more prestigious and better paid jobs did continue to remain overwhelmingly 'White', and White staff did continue to be employed above both their demographic and EAP representivity levels in all occupational categories except non-professional service workers. This was both a product of legacy, and a function of existing labour markets, with ongoing significance for the higher education and national *Transformation* projects.

In 1986, African staff reflected a truncated labour distribution, with over 70% representation in 'non-professional service' staff, and an exponential decline up the occupational hierarchy, with less than 5% in any of the professional occupations. The number of African staff within the sector grew, especially post-transition, and exceeded the number of White staff in 2008. By 2012, African staff accounted for more than 30% in all professional categories, and more than 40% in all non-professional categories. However, African staff continued to dominate the category of non-professional service staff at an intensified 84%.

All non-professional occupations now met with the EAP rates for African staff, and service staff exceeded the demographic profile, but none of the professions were yet to meet either target. Clearly, this demonstrates that whilst Africanisation is occurring, the pace of change in

the professions is notably slower than in the non-professions. Furthermore, with increased proportionality in lower positions, the reproduction of existing inter-racial inequality continues, whilst intra-racial inequality itself is also on the rise.

In 1986, Coloured staff were well represented in the categories of 'crafts and trades' and 'service staff' at just over 20% in both. By 2012, Coloured staff were increasingly represented in a number of occupations although were still most represented in 'crafts and trades' at 22%, as well as in 'technical' and 'non-professional administrative employees' at 17% each. Over the period, the proportion in non-professional service declined by 9%. Whilst reflecting an increase, Coloured staff were still notably poorly represented amongst academics at only 6% in 2012. This was from a basis in 1986 when 16 institutions had not yet hired any Coloured academics[95]. As for the core occupation and former sectoral glass ceiling for Black staff, this continued low presence of Coloured people in academia is worth noting and monitoring. However, according to 2012 data, Coloured staff were employed at above their national demographic representivity levels in all occupations except academia, although even this would reflect as above EAP levels.

Indian staff were previously most represented as 'technical staff' at 9%. This pattern continued (increasing to 12% by 2012) but was diversified by increasing representation amongst the professional occupations, where 8% representivity was achieved across all occupations. Including in academia, where in 1986, 16 institutions had yet to hire any Indian academics. By 2012, Indian staff were employed at above national representivity levels in all occupations except non-professional service work, although this was above EAP targets. As a category, the general progress and achievement of comparative equity benchmarks throughout the hierarchy, most especially in skilled and semi-skilled positions, meant that Indian people within SAHES reflect an exception to the general continuity of racialized trends.

Undoubtedly, there have been important shifts over the 26-year period, across the sector as a whole, and for specific racial groups in specific occupations. Increasing race-based equity is recognized and welcomed in the skilled and semi-skilled positions. Further Africanisation to

[95] The institutions that did not exhibit minimally reflective hiring practices, as defined by employment of academics from at least three of the four racial categories, included the Universities of: Free State, Port Elizabeth, Potchefstroom, Rand Afrikaans, Pretoria, and the Technikons of: the Cape, Mangosuthu, ML Sultan, Free State, Natal. Northern Gauteng, Port Elizabeth, Pretoria, SA, Vaal Triangle, and Witwatersrand.

the point of racial homogeneity, however, possibly points to short-comings in the approach in certain occupations. Along with the noted negative unintended consequences of restructuring initiatives, both of which affected 'non-professional' categories of workers, are unintended consequences of change. That more change is needed at the top of the occupational hierarchy is to be expected but whether the extent to which the academy is transforming is on par or not is the subject of this specific study and will be discussed further in section 4.2 onwards.

### *4.1.2. Gender segmentation of SAHES: 1986 and 2012 compared*

In 1986, the sector was also overwhelmingly male dominated; just under two thirds of the total permanent workforce were men. However, the number of women in the sector exceeded the number of men in 2005, and by 2012, women's representation was 53%. Female professionals in a typically White male occupational space were below the sectoral average at 27% in 1986; and despite increasing in number, remained below the sectoral average at just 47% in 2012. Meanwhile, the occupational designation of non-professionals was consistently above average with 42% females in 1986 and 59% in 2012.

However, even in 1986, when women's representation was below 50% in all occupational categories, the exception was 'non-professional administrative staff' where women's representation was over 70%. This category emerged as the first occupation in the sector that White women moved into in large numbers. As an occupation, it remained highly feminised, although women's representation within this category actually declined from 72% to 69% over the period. 'Specialist' support also continued to be an occupation of choice for women. This is evidenced by its shift from 48% to 58%, increasingly becoming female-dominated. Women's representation in 'instruction and research' increased considerably from 25% to 45%. In these three categories, namely 'non-professional administration', 'specialist support' and 'academia' women exceeded the 2012 45% EAP benchmark.

Meanwhile, men dominated in the other four occupations that characterized the SAHES sector. Most especially in 'crafts and trades', which was 95% male in 1986. At this time, there were only two women employed in crafts and trades across all 15 technikons and just seven of the 21 universities employed some women in this occupation. Crafts and trades remained resistant to gender-based change and was still 88% male in 2012. 'Technical employees' were a similar

category in which the proportion of men declined only slightly from 67% to 64%. 'Service employees', despite the large reduction in overall numbers, underwent movement towards gender parity, from 72% in 1986. However, it still remained male dominated at 59% in 2012.

These three occupations were predominantly Black occupations, or increasingly became so, during the period, which further raises questions about the extent and form of change that has occurred[96]. In 1986, 'executive, administrative, managerial professionals' was the second most masculinised occupation with 92% men. For example, three technikons[97] had no women at all in executive administration or management and neither did nine of the universities[98]. However, by 2012, considerable progress was seen within this category, where female representation increased to 43%.

Whilst there have evidently been changes, these are slow and reflect continuing gender-segmentation. This reflects a combination of occupational impermeability, gendered occupational cultures, and gendered affinity with specific categories of work (for example, crafts and trades and non-professional administration). This has therefore meant that whilst more women were employed, they were more likely to be in female-designated occupations; mostly administrative and supportive in designation, and likely in mid to lower positions with the associated status, benefits, and remuneration. Nonetheless, despite this, these were the only two occupational categories where the proportion of women came to equal, and then surpass that of men.

This aggregate analysis points to unfolding change, along with continuing racial and gender segmentation of the SAHES. In particular, it illustrates vertical occupational mobility, albeit differentiated and limited, that has occurred for Black people employed within the sector. It also demonstrates the occupation-specific nature of change with respect to gender, which

[96] Public access to the HEMIS database is per single variable: i.e. by gender and by race. Therefore, intersectional data such as race and gender together cannot be extrapolated from the dataset. As such, inferences are conjectural rather than definitive.

[97] Three technikons, namely Free State, Mangosuthu, and South Africa (SA) had no women in this top occupational category; whilst no data was available for Border, Eastern Cape, and Technikon North West.

[98] The following universities had no women executives: Durban-Westville, Medical University of South Africa (Medunsa), Port Elizabeth, Potchefstroom, Rand Afrikaans, UNISA, Western Cape, Zululand & Vista. Meanwhile the Universities of: Durban-Westville, Fort Hare, Free State, Medunsa, Natal, the North, Port Elizabeth, Rand Afrikaans, Stellenbosch, Vista and Zululand had no women employed in crafts and trades. In addition, no data was available for the Universities of Fort Hare, North West, Transkei, and Venda.

signals a reinforcement of gender-based trends. It must be acknowledged, however, that in such a brief introduction, there is much differentiation within groups, across regions, within institutions, and within occupational categories themselves, that is glossed over. As this study focuses specifically on the academic labour market (ALM), these short-comings will be subsequently addressed with reference to the ALM specifically.

The next section turns attention specifically to the demographic component of the academic labour market (ALM) between 1986 and 2012. It demonstrates the multi-faceted nature of academic segmentation in the South African Professional Academic Labour Market (PALM) towards the end of apartheid, as reflected nationally, regionally, and within so-called institutional-types. In doing so, it shows the multiple levels of separation and segregation within academic employment. An examination of the sector over a 26-year period, demonstrates the extent to which this segmentation has been systematically undone, as is evident through statistical data. Further exploration and in-depth substantive engagement with key issues are then provided in Chapters 6 and 7, which engage the actual case studies.

## 4.2. An introduction to the academic labour market (ALM): a national synopsis

Firstly, a brief overview of the sector at the 'national' level then and now is provided, followed by a more detailed analysis of demographic variations per institutional type, and by geographic region. Then in Chapter 5, the discussion focuses specifically on the province within which the case studies are located, and the cases themselves.

Figure 4.1 summarises the changing sources and sites of permanent academic employment between 1986 and 2012[99]. The elaborate apartheid architecture of institutional differentiation was both an ideological and cultural artefact that bore out very real consequences. The apartheid workplace regime was one such outcome. This description and analysis will show how this was both real and imagined.

[99] Figure 4.1. reflects the standard data presentation in this chapter. The database was analysed from 1986 to 2012 inclusive: with comparisons often made between 1988, 1998, and 2008. Additional data for 1994 and 2004 have been included given the significance of these years for the country and sector.

Ahead of the democratic transition, about 65% of all permanent academics were employed in designated 'White' institutions and over 60% were employed within universities[100], reflecting the apartheid government's education and training priorities. Whilst the number of academics employed increased throughout the sector; at and soon after 1994, there was a proportional shift in where academics were employed.

Historically Black Universities (HBU) and Technikons came to employ a greater proportion of national academics (collectively 40%). Embedded within this growth, approximately 3-4% is attributable to the inclusion, for the first time when full data from the former TBVC states (homelands)[101] became available. From that moment forward, in mutual acknowledgement and recognition, academics from Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) within these regions also formed part of the ALM. Cooper and Subotzky (2002) note that the staffing increase at HBIs, particularly at this time, was commensurate with the post-apartheid increase in student access to, and therefore intake at, these institutions.

From 2004 onwards, the data reflects the restructuring of SAHES as a result of incorporations and mergers. The ultimate effect being that half the academic labour market was re-allocated into New and/or Merged Institutions (NMIs). As a result, only a third remained in HWUs, less than a tenth in HBUs, and technikons as standalone entities were disbanded altogether. Going forward, this certainly (cosmetically) shifted the historical balance of employment power. Subsequently, Chapter 6 will address the actual (substantive) impact of this institutional reconfiguration with reference to one specific case study.

[100] Bunting's (2006) schema was extrapolated from in order to classify the SAHES institutions (within the HEMIS database), with the addition of New and Merged Institutions (NMI) from 2003 onwards.

[101] TBVC States became the shorthand used to refer to the then Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei. Although the inclusion of such data potentially renders the dataset less comparable as a whole, I have chosen to include it for argument's sake, as I wish to make specific points about prior assumptions that are traditionally made about SAHES based on the non/inclusion of such data.

Figure 4.1. Distribution of all academics across institutional types, 1986 – 2012 (as a %)[102]

| | 1986 | 1988 | 1994 | 1998 | 2004 | 2008 | 2012 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **HBU** | 16.4 | 15.7 | 20.1 | 21.8 | 14.0 | 8.7 | 8.7 |
| **HWU** | 55.6 | 55.8 | 49.5 | 47.0 | 39.6 | 33.6 | 33.0 |
| **DI** | 9.8 | 11.3 | 11.1 | 10.5 | 8.6 | 8.5 | 9.2 |
| **HBT** | 5.3 | 5.3 | 5.9 | 10.0 | 6.7 | 0 | 0 |
| **HWT** | 12.9 | 11.9 | 13.4 | 10.8 | 7.8 | 0 | 0 |
| **NMI** | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 23.2 | 49.1 | 49.0 |
| **Total** | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Over, the 26-year period, the number of permanent academics across the sector increased from 11 287 to 17 173 reflecting a 2% annual population growth rate. The collective category of Black academics increased by 8% and in 2012, this amounted to 7 912 academics. The EEA-beneficiary categories of African, Coloured, and Indian each had annual growth rates above 5%, over the period. African academics in particular increased in representation from 4% to 32% of the ALM. There has also been more equitable participation from 'within the Black' category. In 1986, 42% of Black academics employed within the sector were designated African, 24% Coloured, and 34% Indian. By 2012, this had shifted to 69%, 13%, and 19% respectively, reflecting greater parity with national population statistics.

As would be expected given the country's policy of EE, academics designated White were the only category to decline in actual numbers. Nonetheless, this category still accounts for 54% of all academics, nationally, albeit a significantly improved situation than the gross inequity of 91%, 26 years ago. Women academics increased from 25% to 45% of the ALM between 1986 and 2012; signifying a 4% annual population growth rate. The annual population growth for men academics was at 0%. However, over the 26 years, there was a small numeric net increase of 1 146. Men, at 55% of academics, remain slightly in the numeric majority.

[102] From 2004 onwards, this figure reflects the changes in SAHES. Therefore, it takes cognizance of the changing classification of HEIs. By 2008, it is only traditional universities that remain identifiable as either HBUs or HWUs. With the exception of Unisa, all other HEIs were merged are herein are categorized as NMIs.

At this point it is useful to move into the second part of the discussion where the demographic data on the ALM will be presented by institutional type and subsequently by region. This analysis demonstrates the extent of vertical racial segmentation towards the end of formal apartheid and the results of centralised efforts to de-segment the sector.

## 4.3 Institutional types as a mechanism through which to analyse segmentation

As per Bunting's (2006) classification of HEIs during apartheid: of the 36 HEIs, 17 were designated 'Black', 17 designated 'White' and two designated as distance institutions (DIs). Within the designated institutions, ten were universities and seven were technikons. The distance institutions were also comprised of one university and one technikon. Whilst this classification scheme proves analytical value, it is used critically; and as the discussion will show institutions both adhered to and resisted the implied expected norms that came attached with these labels. This thereby gives meaning to and recasts them simultaneously, and over time.

### *4.3.1. The first snapshot: 1986 – a look at separate institutions*

#### 4.3.1.1. Academic employment across HEIs by race

In 1986, Black academics accounted for just 9% of all academics. 84% of all Black academics were employed in institutions designated as 'Black'. No Black academics were employed within any 'White' technikon. 159 Black academics were employed across the White universities and the distance institutions; at this small number, representation averaged at just 2% of each respective institutional type. Therefore, whilst at this time, only HWTs maintained a complete colour-bar; Black academics were severely confined in their employment options. Only five HWUs, including all the English-medium universities and Stellenbosch, employed academics from across the four racial categories. None-the-less, even in these cases, numbers were small, the University of Natal was the positive outlier and its total Black academic staff represented just 6.3%. Most remaining Afrikaans-medium universities did not employ either Coloured or Indian academics (seemingly dependent on location); whilst two employed only

African academics other than White academics (namely, Rand Afrikaans University and the University of Orange Free State), and Potchefstroom still employed only White academics.

It must also be noted that this racial exclusivity permeated into HBIs as well, albeit it to a lesser extent. Whilst HBUs and HBTs were the source and site of employment for 65% and 19% respectively of all Black academics; Black academics were not the majority of academic staff at these institutions. In fact, all HBIs employed White academics. ML Sultan with the smallest complement of White academics, at the time, employed 50 White academics; in comparison to the more than 10 HWIs with only 1 or 2 Black academics. White academics were often in the majority even at HBIs. On average, White academics accounted for 64% and 67% of all academics at HBUs and HBTs respectively. For example, Medical University of South Africa (Medunsa) and the Universities of the Western Cape and the North, which reflect the range of HBU experience at this time, had Black academic staff complements of 11%, 34% and 48%.

Furthermore, only four HBUs also employed from across the full spectrum of racial categories namely, Medunsa and the Universities of Durban-Westville, Fort Hare, and Western Cape. Employment figures were in the single digits (besides those for whom the institution was originally created, as well as White academics). Other HBUs, for example the Universities of the North and of Zululand, had no Coloured academics, and Vista had no Indian academics. Therefore, each HBU still bore the legacy of its making. Coloured academics predominated at the University of the Western Cape at 93% of all Black academics; African academics were in the majority at both Medunsa and the University of Fort Hare at 82% and 90% respectively, and Indian academics made up the lion's share of Black academics at the University of Durban-Westville at 98%.

As was the case, with HWTs, HBTs also reflected appalling practices, with all but two HBTs having less than 5% Black academic employment. The two exceptions were the HBTs set up in the Western Cape for Coloured people (Peninsula Technikon) and in KwaZulu-Natal for Indian people (ML Sultan Technikon). These were unique in that Black academics were in the majority (at 61% and 67% respectively). Peninsula Technikon was further exceptional in its employment across three racial categories. However, at this time, the only eight African academics employed at any technikons nationally were employed at Northern Gauteng Technikon and Mangosuthu Technikon; both were designated as for African people.

This initial discussion has shown how in 1986, with regards to race, SAHES was quintessentially an apartheid ALM. Academics were institutionally separated into distinct

racialized workplaces. This applied both to institutions designated 'White' as it did to those designated 'Black'. Racial polarity and exclusivity permeated through the inclusive category of 'Black' to separate and segregate 'African', 'Coloured', and 'Indian' people. Although the policy was predominantly designed to keep students in separate learning spaces, it effectively and successfully also kept academic staff separated from each other in segregated academic occupational workspaces.

The technikon academic workplace experience was distinctly more segregated, almost to the virtual exclusion of African academics altogether. Multi-racial academic occupational workplaces were very rare and only possible, at this time in HBTs. In apparent keeping with Coloured (and Indian) Labour Preference Policy, more flexibility in labour employment was seemingly given to HBTs designated for Coloured and Indian people, than to African people. There also appears to have been more flexibility in labour employment at Universities on the whole; where larger proportions of Black academics themselves had earlier successfully fought to become part of the institutional staffing. Of course, this is more reflective of HBUs and specific HWUs. White academics were in the majority everywhere; although in terms of forms of employment: HWUs, followed by HWTs and HBIs were in about equal proportion as the main sources and sites of employment for White academics.

The statistics show that in 1986, in terms of access to academic employment, all 36 HEIs in the SAHES were theoretically open to White academics. Theoretically, African academics had only seven 'guaranteed' sources of academic employment in the form of the African-designated HBUs and just two of the HBTs, possibly another three HBUs in the TBVC states, the two distance institutions, and another seven were just beginning to open up in other HBUs and the English-medium HWUs and Stellenbosch. Both Indian and Coloured academics had just two 'guaranteed' sources of academic employment in the form of (either) Coloured or Indian designated HBIs (university and technikon), and possibly two distance institutions, and another seven just beginning to open up within other HBUs and the aforementioned HWUs. The statistics described previously very clearly showed the segmentation of the ALM. The situation sketched here points to the implications and ramifications of this segmentation of the ALM for both the mobility of individual academics and for later initiatives to give effect to employment equity within the sector.

4.3.1.2. Women's access to academic employment in HEIs

In 1986, whilst women academics in total made up 25% of the ALM; the proportion of women academics across the sector was varied, in both HBIs and HWIs. On aggregate, the distance institutions and 'White' technikons had the greatest gender parity at an average of 36% and 31% respectively. Technikon South Africa (SA), University of South Africa (Unisa), and Witwatersrand Technikon were positive outliers and were actually feminised parts of the ALM at 61%, 55% and 50% respectively. These institutions in particular were a source and site of employment for women academics: 14% of all women academics compared to only 9% of men academics were employed in distance institutions and 15% of women academics worked in HWTs as compared to 12% of men academics.

At the other end of the scale, women represented just 21% of academics at HBTs and 22% at HWUs. At three HBTs, women's representation was at or below 25%, with Mangosuthu Technikon being the negative outlier at only 14%. Four HWUs also had female representivity below 23% with the University of Port Elizabeth (UPE) and Stellenbosch both at 21%. There were exceptions, the most significant of which was the University of Pretoria at 41%. It is also to be expected that these sources of employment would be where a greater proportion of men academics (58%) worked in comparison to just (49%) of all women academics, as is true for HBTs at 5% versus 4% respectively.

HBUs were located in mid-spectrum with women academics averaging 25% and as a category HBUs exhibited much variation. For example, Vista and the University of Durban-Westville were at or above gender parity at 44% and 54% respectively; whilst the Universities of Fort Hare and the North had atrocious gender records at 22% and 13% respectively. With respect to gender, there is a less clear cut and obvious relationship between institutional type and academic women's employment. Furthermore, the compound effect of the intersection between race and gender cannot be accurately measured from this data (as it is in aggregate form) but is likely to have had an effect.

There are signs of its influence in the nuance and complexity revealed in the patterns above. Furthermore, it is also obvious that many institutions, even at this time, were not consistently 'open' to both Black academics and women academics. Those recognised in one aspect for the practicing more socially just labour practices with respect to race often fell short on gender, for example, the University of Fort Hare. As did those that that were seen as path-breakers with respect to gender but then fell short on race, for example, the University of Pretoria. However,

there were a few institutions that showed potential on both indicators, namely, the University of Durban-Westville, Vista, and Unisa.

### *4.3.2. The second snapshot: 1994: In view of and in the wake of the national transition?*

#### 4.3.2.1. Race-based trends

Leading up to the democratic transition, the situation changed quite considerably as previously closed internal (institutional) labour markets became open to Black academics. In particular, sectoral expansion provided an avenue for de-segmentation of the labour market. A net increase of 1 668 permanent posts were added between 1986 and 1994. In 1994, there were double the number of Black academics in SAHES than there had been in 1986 and the overall sectoral representivity of Black academics increased to 16%. Whilst three-quarters of all Black academics in SAHES were still employed in the HBIs, a consistently increasing proportion found employment in HWUs and distance institutions (DIs).

Black academic representivity had reached 50% in HBUs and 39% in HBTs by 1994. In fact, most HBUs were on 58/59% but the average was skewed considerably by Vista which was at only 27%. At this stage, the racial composition at all HBUs was still very much determined by the racial category for whom the university had ostensibly been set up for; the numbers of each was, on average 15 times more than the second most populous Black group. Nonetheless, there were four HBUs where the original designated group exceeded the number of White academics at the university; namely the Universities of Durban-Westville, Fort Hare, the North and Zululand. The numbers of White academics was less consistent (fluctuated): at the Universities of the Western Cape, Durban-Westville and Fort Hare, a noticeable decline since the mid to late 1980s was clearly evident; staffing at Medunsa and the University of the North was erratic suggesting either apparent turn-over or periods of labour flux (retraction and expansion); whilst White academics at Vista and the University of Zululand appeared to only begin declining in appreciable numbers in the late 1990s.

A red flag was that the University of Zululand was yet to hire across the full racial spectrum (something that remained a concern until 2001). Most HBUs had already begun to increase the pace of hiring Black academics throughout the 1990s, whilst a few only hastened this pace post-1994. It is also important to note that whilst affected at slightly different times, most HBUs

experienced some form of stasis, decline or erratic patterns in Black academic staff numbers within a five to ten-year period encapsulating the political transition. There are many different arguments put forward for this, one of which is that Black academics were amongst those called upon to facilitate the transition and capacitate the new state. Regardless of the cause, the effect of this is definitely discernible as 'ripples' in the data itself.

The HBTs had begun to take note of the impending transition about two years before, with a number of first hires occurring in the preceding years. However, it is worth pointing out that Northern Gauteng Technikon and Mangosuthu Technikon had not yet hired any Coloured academics although both would do so the following year. The pace of change would noticeably pick up at Mangosuthu Technikon after the transition. Also of note is the fact that both ML Sultan and Peninsula Technikon experienced some pre-1994 declines in their staffing numbers. Nonetheless, for reasons previously discussed, ML Sultan and Peninsula continued to have high proportions of Black academics at 72% and 63% respectively, whilst Northern Gauteng Technikon and Mangosuthu showed signs of improvement but remained comparatively lower at 19% and 30% respectively. As a result of the transition, HBUs and HBTs in the TBVC states would be reincorporated within the Republic and as of 1995 begin to appear within the database. However, one of these, the University of Venda, would be the last university to consistently employ academics from all four racial categories (which it only did from 2006).

Despite, annual growth rates as high as 9%, the actual Black academic representivity in DIs, HWUs and HWTs continued to be comparatively low at 7%, 5%, and 2% respectively. Nonetheless, from previous averages of 2% and 0% respectively, this forward movement is noted. The two DIs made comparatively strong advances both up to and after the transition. By 1994, Black academics at these institutions represented 6% at Unisa and 13% at Technikon SA, which was leaps and bounds ahead of all other technikons.

When considering HWUs, it is useful to refer back to the distinction between English-medium and Afrikaans-medium universities, as this is a particular historical juncture where the difference was amplified. Black academics at English-medium HWUs averaged at 11% with the range encapsulated by Natal at 14% and UCT at 7%[103]. In contrast, Black academics

[103] Rhodes also recorded a high average of 15% but this was short lived, raising questions about whether staff rapidly moved into the State or elsewhere, or raising questions on the accuracy of the data

averaged only 1.1% at Afrikaans-medium institutions, barely reflecting even any 'conciliatory/anticipatory' gestures ahead of the national political changes. The University of Port Elizabeth was a positive outlier at 4% whilst Potchefstroom resolutely remained on 0% and another three universities had not yet reached 1%. The major difference between the two types was that the English-medium universities seemed to have made consistent efforts whilst the Afrikaans-medium universities appear to have held out until after the transition. In addition, the Universities of the Witwatersrand and Cape Town also employed the most diverse group of Black academics, from all racial categories. In contrast, the University of Orange Free State, Potchefstroom and Rand Afrikaans University only consistently employed academics from two racial categories up until the late 1990s (around 1997) to 2000.

HWTs exhibited the least amount of change, although 27 Black academics were now employed. Black academics at Natal Technikon totalled 5% whilst Pretoria Technikon remained at 0%. Technikon Free State and Vaal Technikon had a percent or less with only one and two academics respectively. Cape Technikon had employed the first Black academic, employed within any HWT, in 1988 and begun a subsequent wave in which seven HWTs across the country employed their first Black academic/s[104]. As would be expected, this continued post the political transition, so that by 1996, 11 of all 15 technikons (HWTs and HBTs) had made attempts to employ academics from across all four racial categories. However, to demonstrate, some of the challenges (for whatever reason) faced: it is important to know that 'diverse hiring' from across all four racial categories within technikons was only eventually realised, sector-wide in 2004, when Technikon Free State (HWT) employed an Indian academic and when Technikon North West (HBT) was merged, resulting in Tshwane University of Technology, which when it 'opened' did have Coloured academics on staff.

In anticipation of the winds of change, the individual HEIs of SAHES responded in a variety of ways that accentuated the distinctions between the institutional types. The continuation of closed ILMs at Afrikaans-medium HWUs and most HWTs led to the continuation of segregation in these parts of the ALM. Whilst the HBUs and English-medium HWUs responded by opening up their ILMs further, albeit to different extents and at slightly different

[104] Namely, Natal Technikon in 1989, Technikon Witwatersrand in 1990, Port Elizabeth Technikon in 1992, Pretoria Technikon in 1993 and both Technikon Free State and Vaal Triangle Technikon in 1994.

times. Transition facilitation and state capacitation was also noted as potentially affecting and slowing down the pace of change in specific HBUs and HBTs. Broad generalisations such as these can describe the HEIs at this time, but this discussion has also shown that every institutional type had at least one exception to the rule. The implications of which necessitate a more nuanced understanding and reading of institutional politics, governance, and cultures.

Whilst the discussion has largely been from the institutional level of analysis, it is useful to briefly summarise the situation from the perspective of those categorised within each racial category. This provides a different angle and interpretation of the data, which is also useful and important. As was previously noted, the total number of Black (and of each sub-component) academics doubled across the sector and also increased in number within each institutional type. The most significant changes were evident amongst and for the category of African academics who now totalled 8% of the sector, as well as 30% of HBU and 8% of HBT academic employment. By comparison, the proportion of Indian academics declined in both HBUs and HBTs, but increased in HWIs and DIs. In addition, the representivity of Coloured academics increased mainly in universities, both HBU and HWUs.

Predictably, the proportion of White academics declined to 84% of the sectoral ALM. However, the proportion of White academics was still incredibly high in DIs at 93%, HWUs at 95%, and HWTs at 98%. Interestingly, the only institutional type where the number of White academics, as a collective, declined rather than increased in number was at HWUs.

4.3.2.2. Women academic's experiences of the transition

The overall average proportion of women in all institutional types increased consistently over the period. In all institutional types, except HWUs, women accounted for more than a third. The average for HWUs was just 27%. Although Afrikaans-medium universities, on the whole, had slightly lower averages, there was in fact, very little discernible differentiation between themselves and English-medium HWUs that could potentially be due to internal institutional factors. Instead, these HEIs seem to be more similar. English-medium HWUs had an average of 29% of women academics, with a range of from 23% at the University of Cape Town to 35% at the University of the Witwatersrand. Afrikaans-medium HWUs had an average of 26%, with a range from 22% at the University of Pretoria to 30% at both the University of Orange Free State and Rand Afrikaans University.

Despite starting from a slightly lower base, the average for HBTs had increased to the sectoral average of 33%. The range here was depicted by Mangosuthu, as the negative outlier, with 26% and Northern Gauteng Technikon with 36%. HBUs had the next noteworthy increase and as an institutional type averaged at 35%. The, two negative outliers were the Universities of the Fort Hare and the North at 27% and 23% respectively. At the other end of the scale, the University of the Western Cape, Medunsa, and Vista all led with 37%, 38% and 47% respectively. The DIs kept ahead of the sector with an average of 47%, and Technikon SA in particular is worth mentioning, with gender parity at 50%.

A within-gender comparison revealed that between 1986 and 1994, a greater proportion of women themselves now worked at HBUs (up to 22% from 17%) whilst the proportion working in HWUs declined (from 49% to 43%). Meanwhile, the within-gender comparison for men, showed a greater proportion now worked in HBUs (20%, from 17% previously) as well as in HWTs (from 11% to 12%); whilst all other institutional types experienced a decline of under a percentage point. Without disaggregated statistics, it is difficult to accurately assess the racialized experiences of such academics; and to what extent the sector was opening up to Black women, which of course would be the ultimate litmus test of de-segmentation.

Lastly, the raw numbers by gender illustrate a lot more movement than is apparent from the raw numbers by race and these suggest that, particularly, at this time, labour continuity within institutions was fairly erratic and in flux. In most instances, this applied to both men and women, but in some cases women's data appeared to reflect instability a few years later. Whether this is coincidental or intentional is something further research would need to investigate. In the period up to 1994, the Universities of Fort Hare, Natal, Port Elizabeth, South Africa (Unisa), Stellenbosch, the Witwatersrand, Western Cape and Zululand were the few with consistently increasing female academic participation. It should be noted that several of these declined at the point of or immediately post transition. This may again reflect movement into the new state and associated institutions. The raw numbers in the rest of SAHES are, at best, described as erratic.

### *4.3.3. Snapshot 3: 1998: The year the Employment Equity Act (EEA) is introduced, a good time to take stock?*

4.3.3.1. Academic employment by race in 1998

As the aim of this study is to consider the impact of *Transformation*, a significant part of which is Employment Equity (EE), it is useful to compare sectoral performance pre and post the implementation of the Employment Equity Act (EEA). Therefore, reflecting on this at this juncture is timely as it shows the SAHES and HEIs' own agency and progress made towards EE before it became national legislation and an institutional obligation. Between 1988 and 1998, the number of Black academics within the sector increased by 2 224 with an annual population growth rate of 11%. Furthermore, the annual growth rate of African academics was 14% (with a net increase of 1 552), whilst for Indian and Coloured academics it was 7% (with a net increase of 397 and 275 respectively). In contrast, the annual growth rate for White academics was 0% (with a net decline of 164). For women academics, the annual growth rate was 4% and amounted to a net increase of 1 713. By contrast a net increase of 38 men academics at an overall annual growth rate of 0% occurred.

In 1998, Black academics represented 25% of the sector with African academics comprising 15%, Indian academics 6% and Coloured academics making up the remaining 4%. This, of course, reveals that White academics were still very much in the majority at 75% of the sector. Now, though, Black academics were the statistical majority at HBUs (59%) and HBTs (55%). However, Black representivity remained below 15% in all other institutional types, and was still just below 10% in HWUs. Women's representivity across the sector averaged at 37% and remained lowest in HWUs where it was now at 32%. Nonetheless, from where the statistics stood just four years previously, with respect to both indicators, but especially with regards to race, the pace of institutional and therefore sectoral change had picked up considerably over this short period.

The same indicator (annual population growth rate) has been applied to each institutional type. Whilst, like all measurements, it has its limitations, it does nonetheless provide a means through which to gauge sectoral, institutional type, and specific institutions' performance. Whilst the sectoral annual growth rate for the period was 1%, the only institutional types to have a 0% annual growth rate were HWIs. DIs followed with low annual growth rates of 1%; whilst in contrast, HBUs and HBTs experienced considerable annual growth rates of 6% and 12%

respectively. Within each institutional type, each respective racial category also reflected differential annual growth rates according to historical and contemporary shifting employment patterns. The results of these calculations can be found in Figure 4.4.

Figure 4.2. Average annual population growth rates per institutional type (1988 – 1998)[105].

| | White | African | Coloured | Indian | Black (Total) | Females | Males | Race Total | Gender Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **HBU** | 2% | 18% | 2% | 5% | 8% | 10% | 4% | 6% | 5% |
| **HWU** | -1% | 26% | 41% | 17% | 13% | 3% | -1% | 0% | 0% |
| **DI** | 0% | 35% | 260% | 57% | 19% | 4% | 0% | 1% | 1% |
| **HBT** | 5% | 302% | 5% | 10% | 24% | 32% | 8% | 12% | 13% |
| **HWT** | -1% | 250% | 500% | 90% | 1860% | 0% | -1% | 0% | 0% |
| **Total** | 0% | 28% | 9% | 10% | 11% | 5% | 0% | 1% | 1% |

As one would anticipate, the annual growth rates for Black academics were higher than those for White academics, in all institutional types. Black academics, as a category, at DIs had undergone the largest amount of expansion from its original size, and this was particularly the case for the Coloured and Indian academic cohorts. The limited overall growth (1%) and relative stasis of the White cohort (0% growth) suggests that employment practices were potentially open to replacement hiring (hiring Black academics in place of White staff who were retiring or being retrenched). The same could be said for HWUs and HWTs, with their negative White growth rates (indicating an actual decline in numbers). However, it should also be noted that for all these cases, the Coloured and Indian academic complements were often very small. Therefore, recognition based mostly on the expansion of these categories alone could be misplaced. Whilst HBUs and HBTs continued to be in a growth phase that was signified by the growth of Black academic staff, these institutions were also distinctive in their expanding White academic cohorts. Clearly, all institutional types had begun to hire from

[105] As there were no African or Indian academics in HWTs in 1988, the data used in these two cases was from 1994. As a comparison, if 1994 HWT data was used the Coloured average annual population growth rate would change to 241% and the Black (total) would become 143%.

across all racial categories, and to a greater degree than previously. The extent to which this was the case will be examined shortly.

In the sector as a whole, men academics had 0% average annual growth rate between 1988 and 1998 (but did increase ever so slightly by 253); whilst women academics increased by the aforementioned 1 713 (or 5%). HWTs were the outlier with a static growth rate, both in total and for women academics, whilst men academics experienced a negative annual growth rate of -1%. The most pronounced average growth rate of 12/13% at HBTs reflects considerable growth and could potentially suggest an increase reflective of both the employment of White and Black women. However, this is conjecture and further research would need to be done to investigate this claim.

Given the patterns in Figure 4.2, the growth within HBTs and HBUs reaffirm HBIs as a major contributor to the increasing proportion of both Black and women academic staff in the sector. Further research would need to be done to determine whether there is in fact any correlation between the growth rates of Black academics, women academics, and the institutions in which these appear (i.e. to test for intersectionality) and vice versa.

Beyond tracking aggregate improvements, institutions were compared against both their institutional type's norm and their own recent performance as a way to evaluate change. As a sign of the changing times, a gradated evaluation system was used, to signal differentiated levels of performance. Here, I use a six-point scale (with both negative and positive scores, i.e. -3 to +3) to deduce whether institutions have improved (+), or worsened (-) in their de/segmentation. The grading one through three reflects the extent of this improvement or regression. A zero (0) score was given in instances where there was no previous comparative data upon which to base an evaluation.

The average Black academic employment for HBUs was 59%. Whilst this was ahead of all other institutional types, it was in part lowered due to negative skewing by Vista (37%), Medunsa, and the University of the Western Cape (both on 54%). However, whilst the University of the Western Cape and Medunsa would score -1 on the evaluation (for a decline in the number of Black academics employed since last assessed); Vista would actually score +3 for improving (by employing more than 20 Black academics since the last assessment). This inclusion of a reflection on individual institutional performance allows HEIs such as the Universities of Fort Hare and Zululand with essentially the same score (59% and 60%) to be differentiated based on what the attainment of that percentage (%) actually means for them.

Therefore, of the HBUs: three were graded +3 (they were the Universities of the North on 71%, Durban-Westville on 66%, and Vista on 37%), one received +2 (University of Zululand on 60%), three graded -1 (Universities of Fort Hare (59%), Medunsa and Western Cape (both on 54%)) and one received 0 (which was former homeland-situated University of Venda on 77%), for the first year of assessment. Thus, attention is drawn to the complexity and differential performance by institutions despite their uniform historical categorisation.

In comparison, the average for HWUs was only 9%. There was differentiation again between the English-medium and Afrikaans-medium institutions. Whilst the University of Natal had the highest score of the group, with 23%, Potchefstroom had the lowest, with 2%. Nonetheless, the group received three +3s (Universities of Natal, the Witwatersrand at 15%, and Pretoria at 3%), one +2 (received by the University of Orange Free State on 3%), and four +1s (received by the University of Cape Town at 10%, Potchefstroom at 2%, and Rand Afrikaans University and Stellenbosch, both on 3%). This also signifies that whilst there are historical trends that endure, there is individual agency and/or circumstance that needs to be further examined, and which may explain institutions' individual performance at any particular juncture.

The HWTs also had a below sectoral average of 13% and the technikons themselves also tended to diverge in performance. Vaal, Natal and Port Elizabeth Technikons were at 18%, 14% and 12% respectively and also achieved either +3 or +2 (with the higher rank going to Vaal Technikon). The other three Technikons: Cape, Free State, and Pretoria all had an average of just 6% and received a +1 or +2 score (with Pretoria receiving the latter). In contrast HBTs, with an average of 55% were considerably further ahead of both their HWT contemporaries and the sector as a whole. Peninsula Technikon received +1 at 67%, whilst Northern Gauteng Technikon and ML Sultan both had +3s despite having the very different averages of 48% and 78% respectively. Hence, an understanding of HEIs' individual circumstance is called for in order to fully appreciate the numbers. There were also three 0s awarded to the three technikons from the former homelands, namely Border Technikon (40%), Eastern Cape Technikon (80%), and North West Technikon (94%). Finally, the DIs had an average of 12%; with Technikon SA at 19% with a score of +2, whilst Unisa had 13% and +3.

4.3.3.2. Women academic's experience at 1998

The sectoral average for women academic's participation in the ALM was 37%, the HWIs fell below this with averages of 33% and 34% (for HWUs and HWTs respectively), HBUs were on par, and the HBTs and DIs were above average with 39% and 48% respectively.

The performance on gender indicators between the English-medium and Afrikaans-medium HWUs was more similar, with the average for each group being within a percentage point (%) of each other. The negative outlier was the University of Orange Free State at 31%, four universities were clustered at 36% (namely, the Universities of Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Pretoria, and Witwatersrand), and the positive outlier was Rand Afrikaans University at 39%. Interestingly, all Afrikaans-medium HWUs as well as the University of Natal scored +3 (for the employment of more than 20 female academics since the last assessment), whilst Wits scored +2 (for between 11 and 20), and UCT and Rhodes +1 (for between 1 and 10).

The HWTs also followed a similar pattern, with Cape and Vaal Technikon bookending the range at 32% and 44% respectively. Interestingly, despite their polar positions in the group, both received +3, whilst all other HWTs received +2. The HBTs, although with a slightly higher collective average, also followed the emergent trend with each institutional type being bifurcated in two: with Peninsula, ML Sultan and Mangosuthu in the 32% to 34% range whilst Northern Gauteng, Eastern Cape, North West, and Border Technikon were in the 39% to 44% range. Northern Gauteng and ML Sultan both scored +3, Peninsula +2, Mangosuthu +1, and the newly added former homeland HBTs were scored 0 as it was their first assessment.

Of the DIs, Unisa worked to retain its position as a sector leader at 49% (and received a +3) a title it shared with HBU Vista (which also received +3). However, the HBUs exhibited much in-group variation: Vista and Medunsa (43%) exhibited the most gender parity, followed by the Universities of Durban-Westville, Western Cape, and Zululand (in the 37% to 35% range), whilst the Universities of the North and Fort Hare (with 30% and 29%) still employed more than two men academics for every woman academic. This was also reflected in the individual-based evaluations, the Universities of Durban-Westville and the North joined Vista with +3 and University of Zululand was the only other HBU to receive a positive score, receiving +2. The University of Venda received a 0 for its first assessment, whilst the Universities of the Western Cape, Fort Hare, and Medunsa received -1 for employing fewer women than they had in 1994.

On the whole, it is evident that HEIs performed better on the individual evaluations on gender than on race. Whilst there is of course a relationship between these factors, it could not be determined here. The earlier point about a post-transition decline should also be kept in mind, as to whether this has had an effect in shaping the data, particularly the 'loss' of both Black and women academics from HBUs.

The EEA was promulgated in 1998, although reporting only officially began from 2000. Due to their size (+100), virtually all HEIs were 'designated employers' and required to comply with the legislation. Whilst all institutional types have been shown to have become more open post-transition, both with respect to race and gender; large inequities and continuities remained within the system. The Employment Equity Commission (EEC) would come to benchmark private and public sector 'companies' against the national Economically Active Population (EAP) – against which the PALM appears woefully inadequate even today (see Figure 4.6).

Nonetheless, SAHES had begun opening up its employment practices, to different degrees and with different levels of success, before both the transition and the implementation of the EEA. As has been shown, the transition undoubtedly had an effect in that most institutions accelerated their pace of hiring Black academics between 1994 and 1998. Later, the effect of the EEA will be assessed at 2008. As was flagged in section 4.3.2, the post-transition should have been a time for both institutional and sectoral consolidation and development for the bulk of the sector; there were, however, already signs that some institutions were experiencing labour flux and instability. As discussed in Chapter 2, the feasibility and effectiveness of the 36 public HEIs had been under review and both the central government and Department of (then) Education had set plans into motion for the restructuring of the sector.

### *4.3.4. Snapshot 4: 2004: A last look at SAHES the way apartheid crafted it*

#### 4.3.4.1. Race-based segmentation at the onset of restructuring

Ten years after the transition, the majority of policy planning and negotiation had gone ahead; what lay ahead was the roll out and implementation of the planned restructuring. SAHES was to be consolidated into 23 public HEIs. At this point, four of the new and merged institutions (NMIs) had been formed, namely Durban Institute of Technology (from Natal and ML Sultan Technikon), Tshwane University of Technology (from Northern Gauteng, North West, and

Pretoria Technikons), North West University (from the University of the North West and Potchefstroom) and University of KwaZulu-Natal (from the Universities of Natal and Durban-Westville). Vista had also been disbanded and its multiple campuses incorporated where designated (e.g. Pretoria, Free State, Rand Afrikaans University, Port Elizabeth, Unisa, etc.).

By 2004, Black academics had surpassed the one-third mark and accounted for 36% of the sector as a whole. In HBIs, Black academics were close to achieving two-thirds representivity and more, with 72% at HBUs, followed by 64% at HBTs. The two universities, previously located within the homelands, were almost exclusively Black at 89% and 95% (i.e. the Universities of Venda and Transkei respectively). The University of Fort Hare was comparable with the University of the Western Cape at 63% and 60% respectively; whilst the University of the North had surpassed the three-quarter mark at 77%. With the exception of Border Technikon at 56%, all HBTs were above 70% with Eastern Cape Technikon at 91%. These two technikons, located in the same province, continued to illustrate the historical legacy between institutions (even those sometimes classified alike).

The four new and merged institutions (NMIs) were all the result of mergers between HBIs and HWIs and the average Black academics employed within this new institutional type was 45%. Immediately, two operated from a stronger base with averages of 52% and 59% (namely the University of KwaZulu-Natal and the Durban Institute of Technology). In comparison, the others, were just at 39% and 28% (Tshwane University of Technology and North West University respectively). Whilst there were competing claims about whether equity was a key imperative motivating the mergers, it is evident from these four examples that the creation of these 'new' institutions that the 'merged' racial profiles resulted in a fundamentally different looking institution from either of the former originating institutions.

Unisa was to remain the sole DI, its Black academic staff complement was 26% at this point. The remaining HWTs continued to exhibit much differentiation, whilst their collective average was 25%, Port Elizabeth had the lowest average at 13% and Vaal technikon the highest at 35%. The HWUs had also lost their apparent statistical distinctiveness, between the Afrikaans and English-medium universities. Instead the common patterns that had earlier been identified between like-performing institutions continued. Rhodes, Rand Afrikaans University, and the Witwatersrand all performed similarly with averages of 25% to 27% respectively; as did the Universities of Cape Town and Port Elizabeth with 19% to 21% at just above the group average

of 18%. The University of Free State followed at 16%, whilst Stellenbosch and Pretoria were the negative outliers at just 11% and 13% respectively.

It is also helpful to examine the effect that the restructuring process had on HEIs as sources of academic employment per racial or gender category. This shows the distribution of academics themselves and where as a 'group' they may be clustered and/or how well they are spread throughout the different institutional types.

In 1998, 58% of African academics were employed in HBUs, as of 2004, this decreased to 33%. NMIs accounted for a significant proportion and now provided employment to 24% of all Black academics. Between 1994 and 1998, HBUs as a source of employment for Coloured academics, had already declined by 20% (with HWUs taking up 10% of that). In 2004, this trend continued, with HBUs accounting for 12% less of Coloured academics' employment (now at 28%). HWUs now provided employment for 28%, and NMIs 8% of Coloured academic staff in SAHES.

In 1998, Indian academics gained employment mainly from HBUs (39%) and HBTs (31%) but with the specific mergers of 2004, moved largely into NMIs which now provided 57% of Indian academic employment. Only 11% and 4% respectively continued to gain employment in HBUs and HBTs. Whilst it is to be expected that those academics at the merging institutions would be most affected by the merger process, it is interesting to note the contrasting effect that this process had on White academics as a group. A cumulative total of 20% of White employment was lost from each of the different institutional types (the most being 7% from HWUs and 6% from HBUs). The result was that in 2004, White academics still sourced jobs from most institutional types although mostly still HWUs at 51%, and now NMIs at 20%; but less so from HBTs and HBUs. These initial observations will be followed through in section 3.4.5 once the effects of all the mergers can be seen on overall sectoral employment patterns.

4.3.4.2. Trends in academic labour by gender

The sectoral average for the employment of women academics was 41%. As the only remaining DI, Unisa was ahead of the rest of the sector, with 51% women academics. HWTs employed on the average at 41%, followed closely by the HWUs and NMIs both on 40%. With the HWTs, Port Elizabeth Technikon at 37% and Vaal Technikon on 44% framed either end of the spectrum. On the whole, the Afrikaans-medium HWUs were closer to gender parity than the

English-medium HWUs, as their respective sub-group averages were 42% and 38% respectively. The two exceptions being the University of Witwatersrand on 46% and Stellenbosch on 38% which were both outliers in their respective groups. The NMIs clustered around their average, with North West University at 38% and Durban Institute of Technology at 44%.

Whilst the average women academics employed at HBUs and HBTs coincided with these lower scores for other institutional types, at 38% and 37% respectively. The Universities of the Western Cape and Transkei were positive outliers at 46% and 45% respectively. At the other end of the spectrum the Universities of the North and Venda still both had less than a third women academics at 29% and 31% respectively. Likewise, the HBTs also exhibited much differentiation in their employment of women academics and the spread was illustrated by Border Technikon with 45% closest to gender parity and Mangosuthu at 30% furthest from it. As has shown, by this time, there was less gender-based distinction across institutional types. There was less sectoral spread with positive and negative outliers in every type.

For both men and women, HWUs and HBUs had been the main source of employment up until restructuring. In 1998, 43% of women academics were employed in HWUs and another 22% in HBUs. In 2004, this shifted to just 36% employed in HWUs and 12% in HBUs; whilst 20% were now employed in the NMIs. Similarly, for men, in 1998, 50% were employed in HWUs and 21% in HBUs. This also shifted by 2004 to 39% in HWUs, 15% in HBUs and 24% in NMIs. Therefore, illustrating the shifts in employment at the time and their gendered aspects.

### *4.3.5. Snapshot 5: 2008: The new SAHES unveiled, post-restructuring & 10 years' post EEA*

#### 4.3.5.1. What does academic employment, by race, look like after these interventions?

By 2008, the sector had begun to re-stabilize as all incorporations and mergers had been completed. 11 of the 'original' HEIs remained: 6 HWUs (3 English-medium and 3 Afrikaans-medium institutions), 4 HBUs (2 from former homelands), and 1 distance institution. 12 NMIs were created in place of the 25 former HEIs that compromised them. It was also 10 years after the implementation of the EEA. For, my purposes, it was also a full 20 years where data on the sector had been systematically collected. It was therefore an opportune juncture to reflect on demographic progress (de-segmentation and EE) within SAHES.

The sectoral average for Black academics was at 42% and had become comparable with that of women academics. Sectoral representivity increased considerably from a mere 23% ten years earlier. HBUs continued to be the forerunner, with an average of 71% Black academics (having increased from 59% in 1998). Largely due to the University of Venda, with the exceptionally high proportion of Black academics at 90%. The University of Western Cape was at the other end of the scale with 61%. The HWUs, whilst continuing to advance their employment of Black academics from just 10% in 1998, remained starkly behind all the other institutional types at just 22%. The University of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand were both ahead, of the HWU group, at 28% and 29% respectively; whilst all the others were encapsulated within the range of 16% (Stellenbosch) to 20% (University of Pretoria).

As a composite category NMIs continued to make progress, with Black academic representivity at an average of 50%. Hence, statistical, as opposed to proportional, representivity was achieved. The average though does mask large in-category differences, for example, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University had an average of 19%, compared to Walter Sisulu University of Science and Technology whose average was 85%. The NMIs were often still largely reflective of the legacy of at least one of their majority (numeric) merger partners.

Despite such intendent differences, the establishment of NMIs (by bringing institutions with differing pasts together) did, however, manage to accelerate bridging the (numeric) gap that the apartheid workplace regime had so firmly entrenched within the ALM, something that institutional employment policies and practices (even as cajoled by the EEA) had not yet achieved.

A comparison between the proportion of Black academics in resultant NMIs and their originator institutions revealed that two-thirds experienced further positive increases as a result of the merger. Seven of which, gained above 10%, evaluated as a considerable increase. These included the Universities of Natal and Potchefstroom and Technikons in the Cape, Natal, Port Elizabeth, Pretoria and Border (Eastern Cape). The third that experienced a decline, generally lost less, than their partners gained (numerically). Furthermore, the mergers also assisted in increasing the likelihood that institutions would have a reasonable spread of academics from across the four designated racial categories. Although, it should be noted that in at least two instances the numbers of Coloured academics were still low (University of Limpopo and Mangosuthu University of Technology).

A few cases are worthy of mention, primarily those where the greatest shifts were evident. Four such examples are particularly illustrative. In 2004, Cape Technikon had 25% Black academics staff in comparison to the 73% at Peninsula Technikon. Nonetheless, after they merged to form Cape Peninsula University of Technology, the new institution had 64%. A typical example where the HWI partner gained much in respect of equity in comparison to what the HBI partner may have lost on this score.

The University of Natal had 22% Black academic staff in 1998 and after the merger with the University of Durban Westville which itself had 66%; the resultant University of KwaZulu-Natal 'opened' with an academic staff of 52%. Not altogether irregular this declined to 49% in 2008 but would subsequently increase substantially again. However, even at a surface level, this case (as do others) immediately raises a flag about a number of labour related issues that could potentially be investigated further.

The North West University 'opened' with a Black academic complement of 28% in 2004, meanwhile Potchefstroom had, at last count, only 2% Black academics on staff in 1998. Whilst statistics for the University of the North West (or former Bophuthatswana) are very rare, it is evident that this former HBI was responsible for the substantial turnaround of the statistics in this case.

A last example, is the merger between Border Technikon, Eastern Cape Technikon, and the University of Transkei to yield the Walter Sisulu University of Science and Technology. In 2008, the new CU had an academic staff that was 85% Black. For the former Border Technikon this was an advance on its previous 56%, whilst for the Eastern Cape Technikon and the University of Transkei, their averages reduced by 5% and 10% respectively.

These examples were used to briefly show that the mergers coupled a broad range of institutions across a variety of institutional types. Former HWIs stood to gain the most with respect to equity gains, but were not the only beneficiaries. Former HBIs with low averages on the whole and former HBIs whose employment had predominantly been from one category within the Black group stood to benefit from greater diversity. Furthermore, where equity losses were experienced, they were less than the cumulative gain to the collective. Lastly, as well as having an impact on the institutional and national ALMs, the restructuring interventions that produced the NMIs impacted directly on the regional labour market by bringing academics directly into interaction with each other within the same ILMs. NMIs offered direct potential to bring Black and White, men and women, etc., directly together under the same labour and

working conditions by means of active desegregation and de-segmentation. One such example of this was examined as a part of this study and will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

If one does use the post-apartheid nomenclature to sub-divide the NMI type further, then the average proportion of Black academics within each sub-type in 2008 was: 44.5% for Traditional Universities (TUs), 50.8% for Comprehensive Universities (CUs), and 54.3% for Universities of Technology (UoTs) respectively. As noted before, HEIs within these categories reflect a large degree of spread as they still reflect their HBI or HWI origins. Comparisons could only potentially be made across NMI, HBI and HWI in respect of CUs and TUs due to the fact that the UoT category is only found amongst NMIs.

As noted previously, HWI (which are all TUs) had an average of 22% Black academics. Whilst all HBIs had an average of 71%, the TUs within this category had an average of 64%. Amongst the NMI TUs, the University of Limpopo had 76%, the University of KwaZulu-Natal 49% and the North West University just 28%. Therefore, whilst on aggregate, the NMIs may seem more de-segmented, as individual institutions, they still very much reflect historical patterns.

There are no unmerged, HWIs that have been classified as CUs. Two HBIs (the University of Venda and the University of Zululand) have been classified as such, together their average was 86%. As has the DI, Unisa whose average was 35%. In comparison to the NMI CU average of 51%. As discussed, NMI CUs include institutions with variable performance from WSUST with 85% to the University of Johannesburg at 20%.

This disaggregate analysis shows, at this time, NMIs need careful analysis. At the surface and collective level, they potentially offer an institutionalised solution to academic labour de-segmentation. However, rather quickly this proves illusory. However, as shown by the cited four examples, there is a potential, that with more time, may develop into something more meaningful.

#### 4.3.5.2. Female academic representivity on the brink of parity?

After having increased from 37% in 1998, the overall sectoral average remained more-or-less static since 2004 at 42%. All three institutional types now had very close averages within a percent of each other: 42% for HWUs, 41% for NMIs, and 41% for HBUs. At the HWUs, Rhodes, Pretoria and the Witwatersrand bookended the range with 36% and 47% respectively. The NMIs exhibited similar differentiation as explained above (section 4.3.5.1). The NMIs

closest to gender parity were the Universities of KwaZulu-Natal and Johannesburg on 45% as well as Vaal UoT with 44%. However, at the other end of the spectrum, the University of Limpopo was at 39% and Mangosuthu UoT still had the fewest women academics at 31%. In addition, Unisa was the only HEI to have already reached gender parity at 52%. The HBUs also exhibited differentiation with the TUs averaging at 43%, whilst women's representivity lagged at the CUs at 37%.

A comparison across the 20-year period 1988 to 2008 reveals some interesting findings. Although there were numeric gains in the second decade, the annual population growth rate actually slowed. So, whilst the number of Black academics increased in the first decade by only 1 243 compared to 3 467 in the second decade, this first annual growth rate was of 11%, compared to a mere 8% thereafter. Similarly, the number of women academics in the sector at first (1988 to 1998) increased by 1 713 and then by 1 954 (1998 to 2008). However, this too represents an annual growth rate of 5% and then 4%. The difference between the raw number increases by race and gender is also of particular interest. Figures 4.2 and 4.3 compare the sector (given all its complexities, as outlined at the beginning of the chapter) between 1988 and 1998, and 1998 and 2008. These illustrate significant changes in the pace of change and the impact of state interventions on change, which will be further unpacked in Chapter 8. Figure 4.4, also below, flags some of the issues that will be explored in Chapter 8, such as the EE imperative, and the need for a systematic examination of generic, compared to more sector-appropriate, benchmarks.

Figure 4.3. Average annual population growth rates per institutional type (1998 – 2008)[106]

| | White | African | Coloured | Indian | Black (Total) | Females | Males | Race Total | Gender Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **HBU** | -6% | -4% | -1% | 7% | 4% | 5% | -5% | -5% | -5% |
| **HWU** | -3% | 12% | 10% | 4% | 10% | 1% | -3% | -1% | -1% |
| **Distance** | -3% | 22% | 1% | 18% | 2% | 0% | -2% | -1% | -1% |
| **HBT** | -6% | 2% | 4% | -13% | -2% | 1% | -4% | -2% | -2% |
| **HWT** | -4% | 8% | 7% | 16% | 1% | 15% | -1% | -2% | 4% |
| **NMI** | 9% | 19% | 58% | 3% | 14% | 13% | 10% | 11% | 11% |
| **Total** | -1% | 10% | 5% | 7% | 8% | 4% | 2% | 1% | 3% |

Figure 4.4. Comparison of SAHES Academics (2008) by Race and by Gender with National EAP, Professional Level Employment (2008) & National Skills Pool Data (2007)

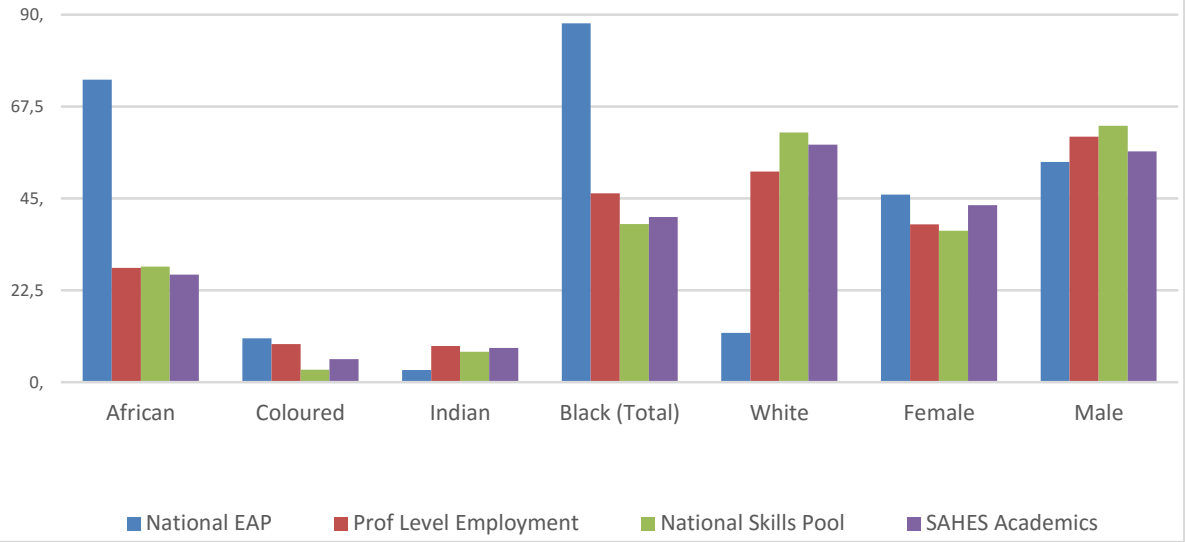



Figure 4.4 raises the point of the suitability of the Economically Active Population (EAP) as a benchmark for a high skills profession like academia. It reflects how when compared to the

[106] The HBT & HWT data is a comparison of 1998 and 2004 data, whilst the NMI data is a comparison of 2004 and 2008 data. All other data compares 1998 to 2008.

national skills pool and the general professional level of employment (as per EERs), SAHES reflects much more positively, on the whole. Nonetheless, historical inequities are still unambiguously evident as are institutional differentiations once this data is disaggregated ways (see Chapter 5 for how this applies to case study institutions).

### *4.3.6. Snapshot 6: 2012: Not the final word but SAHES 26 years later*

#### 4.3.6.1. Racial de-segmentation…are we there yet?

For this study, one last snapshot was included to bring the quantitative and qualitative components of the research into closer alignment, to update the analysis and make it more contemporary, and to see how all the HEIs had settled into their respective positions after the mergers, etc. It will also be a convenient point of departure for any subsequent research seeking to investigate the impact of #FeesMustFall on academic staffing to resume the analysis.

After 26 years, the sectoral average for Black academics had finally surpassed the 50% (parity) mark and was now at 53%. Black academics exceeded the 75% mark at HBUs whilst simultaneously reaching the 25% mark in HWUs. (Of course, meaning that the inverse held for each institutional type). The NMIs collectively averaged at 59% and Unisa itself was on a noteworthy 48%.

The HBIs, Universities of Zululand and Venda became increasingly more polarised as their Black staff complements reached 81% and 93% respectively. These universities also had 70% and 91% of their academics comprised of African academics. Already, two versions of 'diversity' emerged in the dataset, as typified by the differences between the University of Venda and the Western Cape. The University of the Western Cape looked as follows: 18% African, 37% Coloured, 8% Indian%, and 36% White academics on staff. The University of Venda had 91% African, 0.6% Coloured, 1.2% Indian, and 7% White academics. These two models will be discussed later.

With the exception of Stellenbosch (at 19%), all HWUs now had a staff with more than 20% Black academics. The Universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand continued at the forefront of this institutional type at 29% and 35% respectively. As was expected, the Universities of Cape Town and Stellenbosch had the largest number and proportion of

Coloured academics on staff (at 12%). The Universities of Witwatersrand (at 22%), Pretoria and Free State had the largest number and proportion of African academics. Whilst the University of Cape Town also had the largest number and proportion of Indian academics (7%). Therefore, it was most likely the HWU with the most intra-institutional diversity.

As previously asserted, although NMIs as a category had a collective average of close to 60%, there was much internal differentiation within this category. At the high-end of the spectrum, Walter Sisulu University of Science and Technology and Mangosuthu UoT both had averages just short of 90%, whilst others, such as the University of Johannesburg, had just below 30%. Several HEIs, such as the University of KwaZulu-Natal had made significant strides, and Black academic staff now accounted for 62% of all academics.

The NMIs also reflect the two potential forms of de-segmentation and/or diversity. Six NMIs can be considered to have intra-institutional diversity. However, this is of a kind that prioritises three racial categories rather than four. This is probably due to a combination of the legacy of the past and present mechanisms of redress. Three NMIs (two UoTs and one TU) specifically have employment patterns where equivalent precedence is seemingly given to the three racial categories that make up the majority of academic staff. For example, Cape Peninsula UoTs academic staffing proportion is 31:29:4:36 whilst the Durban Institute of Technology's is 27:3:43:27[107]. The University of KwaZulu-Natal also follows this pattern.

Three other NMIs (one UoT, one CU, and one TU), have an example of change that is more closely aligned to a one dominant racial category model. It is closer to national population statistics and employs a larger proportion of African academics. However, it also could and/or does tread a very fine line towards becoming exclusionary of minority groups. Therefore, it could also unintentionally re-entrench a racialized labour market – be it reminiscent of the past, or newly created. For example, the staffing proportions of Walter Sisulu University of Science and Technology and Mangosuthu UoT are used as examples. These were 79:1:7:12 and 70:0,5:17:12 at the time. The University of Limpopo follows a similar trend.

[107] The proportion follows the format of African: Coloured: Indian: White

As these two types of examples of change are evident in every institutional type, it is likely to necessitate inclusion in institutional and/or national conversations on *Transformation*.

4.3.6.2. What happened to gender-based equity?

Despite the recent commitment shown towards race-based equity, the same cannot be said for gender-based equity, which has seemingly all but stalled at a sectoral average of 43%, although the average for HWUs surpassed the sectoral average for the first time at 45%. The NMI average was on par at 43%, and HBIs were below the average at 41%. There was a 10% range amongst the HWUs, framed by Rhodes at 40% and the University of Pretoria at 50%. With respect to the HBIs, the University of Venda and the University of the Western Cape maintained their inverted positions (with respect to their performance with regard to race) with the former employing just 34% women academics and the latter 49%. Despite setting the standard and traditionally being the first in line, Unisa for the first time also experienced backward slippage in the proportion of women academics employed, sliding back to 49%.

With respect to the NMIs, the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University at 47%, and DIT at 46% gave direction (each representing the top HEI of their sub-category). Most NMIs were then clustered within the mid 40%s. The negative outliers were the University of Limpopo at 42% and again Mangosuthu UoT which retained its notoriety for the most gender unequal workplace in the whole of SAHES at 31%.

## 4.4. Academic occupational rank and qualifications

Although in aggregate form, and attached to neither race nor gender, the HEMIS database does provide a record of academic staff's occupational rank and qualifications which are themselves useful indicators of labour market segmentation. These will briefly be assessed here as a means of highlighting key aspects of the ALM.

### *4.4.1. Occupational rank*

Figure 4.5. shows the distribution of academics throughout SAHES from 1986 – 2012. It is a conjoined figure that presents both the academic ranks that were used in universities and technikons between 1986 and 2003 and those that are now used currently in TU and NMIs post-2004.

Figure 4.5. Distribution of SAHES academics per academic rank as a % (1986 – 2012)

| | Professor | Associate Professor | Vice Rector | Director | Associate Director | Senior Lecturer | Lecturer | Junior Lecturer | Below Junior Lecturer | Other / Undesignated |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1986** | 14,0 | 6,1 | 0,1 | 2,2 | 3,4 | 29,9 | 22,1 | 4,1 | 4,7 | 17,4 |
| **1988** | 16,6 | 7,6 | 0,0 | 0,7 | 2,0 | 28,1 | 36,8 | 5,0 | 0,9 | 2,0 |
| **1994** | 15,8 | 8,0 | 0,0 | 1,1 | 2,7 | 29,2 | 37,6 | 3,9 | 0,3 | 1,3 |
| **1998** | 15,4 | 8,8 | 0,0 | 0,5 | 1,7 | 27,0 | 37,7 | 5,6 | 0,5 | 2,8 |
| **2004** | 12,9 | 8,3 | 0,0 | 0,6 | 1,9 | 25,8 | 40,6 | 4,6 | 0,5 | 4,7 |
| **2008** | 13,0 | 10,3 | 0,0 | 0,4 | 0,8 | 26,0 | 39,1 | 6,4 | 0,6 | 3,3 |
| **2012** | 12,5 | 10,7 | 0 | 0,4 | 0,7 | 25,9 | 42,2 | 5,1 | 0,8 | 1,9 |

A few observations are worth re-emphasizing. Despite peaking twice in 1988 and 1998, the professoriate has not exceeded 25% of the PALM. The proportion of full professors have been systematically declining. However, the accompanying increase in associate professors, indicates upward internal mobility through the system. The titles of vice rector, director, and associate director were most associated with technikons and are sometimes still in use at NMIs. Similarly, to the professoriate, these were the apex of the technikon hierarchy and were in general decline. However, associate director had begun to resurge post-1998, before the programme of restructuring. The lecturing staff, most particularly senior lecturers and lecturers, have been the core of the PALM, making up between half and two-thirds of it. This reached 68.1% in 2012, with a large proportion being lecturers. Whilst not consistently used across

HEIs, the ranks of junior lecturer, below junior lecturer, and other or undesignated (barring 1986) have reflected a fair amount of consistency in the extent of their variability over time, which is to be expected for categories that are likely to have high turnover.

In terms of academic seniority, the dividing line is often placed between the professoriate and lecturing staff. Following this convention, it is evident that SAHES has become increasingly juniorised, moving from 71% to 74% junior between 1988 and 2012. As Bunting (2006) made clear, the South African PALM was deliberately bifurcated for two distinct purposes. Subsequently, this has become abundantly clear in the labour market itself. Whilst universities employed professors, associate professors, senior lecturers, junior lecturers, below junior lecturers, and a category of undesignated; technikons employed vice rectors, directors, associate directors, senior lecturers, lecturers, and others. Immediately, this raises questions about whether these were dual labour markets or segmented labour markets, and how compatible the 'two' labour markets were. This will be returned to upon analysis. The focus here is on describing the distribution of academics per occupational rank per institutional type, using data from 1988, 1998, and 2008 to do so.

#### 4.4.1.1. 1988: Occupational rank as per the segregated institutions

In 1988, when 56% of SAHES academics worked in HWUs, the professoriate was most disproportionately situated with 73% of professors and associate professors employed within these HEIs. By comparison, 14% of the sector worked in HBUs, and its share of the professoriate was 14% and 7% for full and associate professors respectively. The DIs made up 12% of the sector with 13% of the sector's professors and 20% of associate professors. As the technikons did not employ professors, associate professors, or junior lecturers, their PALM share was zero. Albeit by design, the exclusion of the professoriate from technikons was perhaps one of the greatest limiting factors impacting on the potential unification of the PALM.

Compared internally (ILMs), the two HWUs with the largest proportion of academics in the professoriate was the University of Free State and Rand Afrikaans University at 39% and 45% respectively. The modal proportion for the HWUs was 28% as scored by the Universities of Natal, Rhodes, and Stellenbosch. However, the actual average number of professors employed by HWUs was 209, although, at 439, the University of Pretoria employed the most professors in the entire sector. As the main DI, Unisa's academy was comprised of 34% of professors. For HBUs, the professoriate averaged at approximately 20% of each HEI. The University of the

North employed the largest proportion of professors at 23%; whilst the University of Fort Hare employed the smallest proportion at 16%. The University of the Western Cape employed the most professors at 82. This brief sketch begins to suggest some of the key differences between HEIs as categorised by the apartheid government.

In contrast, other HEIs played a greater role in the employment of lecturing staff. It is worth noting that HWTs and HBTs made up 14% and 4% of the PALM respectively. In 1988, 58% of senior lecturers were employed by HWUs with fairly similar apportionments between HBUs, DIs, and HWTs at 13%, 13%, and 12% respectively. A mere 3% of all senior lecturers worked in HBTs. Thus, despite being more equitable, a greater proportion was still located in HWUs and DIs. The inverse of this pattern is seen with respect to lecturers, 44% of whom were employed by HWUs, 16% by HBUs, 11% by DIs, a sizeable 22% by HWTs, and 7% by HBTs. Junior lecturers were again only employed in universities and comparatively more so in HBUs, where a third were employed, at 36%. Nonetheless, significant proportions were still employed at HWUs (48%) and Unisa (16%).

The average number of senior lecturers per HWU was 193. The University of Pretoria, again with the largest workforce, employed the most at 370. The University of Natal had the largest senior lecturer complement at 38%. In contrast, the modal proportion of 25% was shared by the Rand Afrikaans University, Rhodes, and the University of the Witwatersrand. In contrast, the average number of senior lecturers per HBU was only 74. The University of Durban-Westville had the smallest proportion of senior lecturers at just 17%, whilst Fort Hare had the largest at 35%. Unisa had 32% with 389 senior lecturers. The HWTs employed on average 56 senior lecturers. Pretoria Technikon had the largest component of senior lecturers per academic staff, of the technikons (at 32%); whilst Technikon Free State had the least (at 14%). The HBTs employed an average of just 26 senior lecturers. Mangosuthu Technikon employed the least proportionally at 16% whilst Peninsula employed the most at 28%.

At this time, the average number of lecturers employed by HWUs was virtually the same as senior lecturers at 192. The University of Cape Town and Pretoria had proportionally the least lecturers at 24% whilst the University of the Witwatersrand and Rhodes had the highest at 40%. The average for HBUs was 115, the Universities of Fort Hare and the Western Cape had the smallest proportion of academics as lecturers at 38%, whilst the Universities of Durban-Westville and Zululand had the largest at 43%. HWTs on average employed 130 lecturers; Technikon Free State had the greatest proportion of lecturers at 71% of all academics, whilst

Natal Technikon had the least at 53%. As before, Mangosuthu Technikon employed the smallest proportion of lecturers at 57% whilst Peninsula employed the most at 66%. The average number of lecturers employed in this category was 77.

The institutional types reflect comparative differences in their overall academic complements (both academic staff sizes and the structure of their academic ILMs) as well as the relative seniority or juniority of these. This specifically relates to HEI's designated purpose. However, there is also significant internal-category differentiation within each institutional type.

4.4.1.2. 1998: Has the transition altered institutional distribution of academics and their rank?

By 1998, the PALM had grown by a net 1 322 academics, 46% of whom were lecturers, 19% associate professors, 17% senior lecturers, and the remaining 21% were fairly evenly split between junior lecturers and other academic designations. The only academic category to have lost staff was full professors, which declined by 43 members of the academy. Due to the post-transition expansions referred to earlier, ten percent more academic staff were now located in HEIs other than HWIs. Nonetheless, even despite a decline of 6%, HWUs continued to be the predominant source of academic employment at 49%. HBUs increased their sectoral share by 4% and now employed 18% of the PALM. The DIs also increased their share to 14%. However, HWTs experienced a reduced share by 4%, and now employed 11% of academic staff. In contrast, HBTs doubled their previous share to 8%.

The majority of senior academics still depended on HWUs for employment including 72% of professors and 68% of associate professors. Whilst the proportion of full professors at HBUs did not expand, it at least remained at 14%. However, the proportion of associate professors increased substantially to 14%. The DIs provided work to slightly less than its previous share, at 14% of professors and 18% of associate professors. The average HWU, employed 226 professors (with the range being 71 to 484). Furthermore, the HWU with the proportionally largest professoriate was Rand Afrikaans University at 46% and the least was the University of the Witwatersrand at 26%. Unisa's professors kept fairly consistent at 33% of all its academics. In stark comparison to the HWUs, the average number of professors employed at HBUs was just 63 (with the range being 31 to 101). As per 1988, Fort Hare continued to have the smallest professoriate and Western Cape the largest, relative to their respective academic

staff sizes, at 16% and 24% respectively. The impact this continuing unequal distribution of academic resources, in the form of academic capital, has, on both individual and collective development, cannot be overstated.

54% of senior lecturers were employed at HWUs, a decline of 4% over the ten-year period. The proportion employed by HBUs and DIs was now at 15% each, meanwhile 11% and 5% were now employed at HWTs and HBTs respectively. Comparatively, the average number of senior lecturers was 242 for DIs, 190 for HWUs, 80 for HBUs, 66 for HWTs and 32 for HBTs. The extent of this inequity can be simply shown in the following example. There were 190 senior lecturers in total in all of the HBTs. However, five HWUs had more than this number of senior lectures on each of their own staff bodies, individually. Despite this, on the whole, the range of proportionality represented by senior lecturers was fairly consistent across most institutional types. HWUs, HBUs, and HWTs all shared in the range of 25% to 32%. HBUs, however, also had a few negative outliers that extended its range to 17% (specifically the University of the North). Another, inconsistency in the data is that of HBTs whose range itself is something of an outlier at 8% to 24% (as shown by Eastern Cape and Peninsula Technikons).

The categories of lecturer and junior lecturer were the two parts of the PALM where more than 50% of academics were distributed throughout the range of HEIs. However, HWUs still employed the largest share out of any single institutional type. 35% of lecturers were based in HWUs, in comparison to a contending 21% in HBUs. The remainder was shared in fairly equivalent proportions between DIs, HBTs, and HWTs at 14%, 14%, and 15% respectively. Of note is that over the ten-year period, HWT employment declined by the equivalent proportion (6%) that HBT employment increased by. HWUs on average employed 174 lecturers compared to the 178 at HBUs, 126 at HWTs, 118 at HBTs, and 219 at DIs. The range of lecturing staff within each institutional type is probably the most telling about the type of work done and is therefore indicative of differences across the PALM. HWUs had a range of 19% to 39% (as benchmarked by the Universities of Cape Town and Rhodes), whilst HBUs had a range of 35% to 59% (as reflected by the University of Zululand and Vista). HWTs were encapsulated within 42% to 62% (as per Natal Technikon and Technikon Free State), whilst HBTs were comprised of 62% to 90% lecturing staff as was the case at ML Sultan and Eastern Cape Technikon, respectively.

Junior lecturers were fairly evenly distributed between HWUs and HBUs at 38% and 37% respectively, whilst the remaining 25% were employed within DIs. The average number of junior lecturers employed being 44 for HBUs (with a range of 0 to 120), 28 for HWUs (with a range of 11 to 105) and 102 at Unisa. The varying ways in which this category is used within the PALM, from its almost non-use by HWUs such as the Universities of Cape Town, Natal, and Pretoria to its large-scale use at 11% by the University of the Witwatersrand, merits further investigation. This pattern is replicated in HBUs, as the University of the Western Cape does not use it, the University of Zululand barely uses it, whereas Vista and the University of the North make considerable use of it at 25% and 22% respectively.

#### 4.4.1.3. 2008: Restructuring the PALM?

Between 1998 and 2008, the sector increased by a net 2 806 academics. Although the sectoral restructuring occurred in the intervening period, by this time, most institutions had re-stabilised. 5% of this growth was of full professors, 18% of associate professors, 22% of senior lecturers, 46% of lecturers, and 10% of junior lecturers. There was also a loss of 25 posts from other academic designations. By 2008, the role of HWUs (as majority employer) had dramatically declined to a situation where these HEIs provided just over a third of all academic employment at 34%. HBUs, after expanding and perhaps gaining increased recognition, were now again reduced to half capacity and accounted for less than a tenth of the PALM, at 9%. DIs was similarly trimmed to 8%. Subsequently, the NMIs now provided the bulk of academic employment at 49%.

As was seen with the race demographics, the restructuring process inevitably did the most to 'fast-track' the 're-distribution' of senior academics, and to lessen the apparent stranglehold the HWUs had on the PALM. At the same time, 48% of full professors remained within HWUs, 29% were now located within the NMIs. The remaining 24% were evenly split between HBUs[108] and the DIs (i.e. Unisa). Similarly, 47% of associate professors remained in HWUs, however a substantial 37% were now based in NMIs and 11% were in DIs. Perhaps what is most disconcerting for future sustainability was that only 4% of associate professors remained

[108] Of full professors in HBUs, 82% were within those categorized as TUs, the remaining 18% in the CUs.

in HBUs. Thus, this redistribution was not without its own consequences, be they intended or unintended.

The average number of professors per HWU was now 295 (whilst the range was 104 to 402). The University of Free State had proportionally the smallest professoriate at 25%, whilst the University of Cape Town now had the largest at 43%. Although the HBUs' average was 102, this was highly skewed by an outlier (the range was 37 to 166). The University of Fort Hare continued with its tradition of a small professoriate at 15%, whilst the University of the Western Cape doubled this at 32%. Unisa retained its professoriate at approximately a third of its academic staff. The average number of professors at the NMIs was 101 (the range was 0 to 356). Durban and Vaal Universities of Technology had no professoriate at all whilst the Universities of KwaZulu-Natal, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan, and North West all had strong professoriate bases of 24%, 26% and 29% respectively.

As has been made apparent, not all NMIs were equal to the task and to be fair, the differentiation, especially between CUs and UoTs, allowed for this as it was recognised that not all had the essential academic resources, personnel, and capacity to develop into fully-fledged academic universities. Whilst the average size of the professoriate was 252 at TUs and 109 at CUs, it was merely 21 for UoTs as a category and 32 for those HEIs with a professoriate. According to academic distribution, the TUs and CUs all appeared to mostly be on track to fulfilling their purpose. Whilst four out of six UoTs did not have any full professors, three were certainly making efforts to strengthen and develop their academic profiles beyond that of a (former) technikon.

The previous trend whereby TUs had comparatively less junior posts still held true but was not altogether consistent. HWUs had 34% of senior lecturers compared to the 48% at NMIs. The remaining 10% and 8% were within DIs and HBUs respectively. The average for NMIs as a collective was 164 senior lecturers, within which its TUs had 271, CUs had 170, and UoTs had 108. The University of Johannesburg (CU) had the largest proportion of senior lecturers at 38%, whilst Walter Sisulu University of Science and Technology (CU) had the least, at just 9%. Thus, exhibiting the differentiation within the NMI and CU category. Meanwhile HBUs had an average of 83 senior lecturers, with these academics comprising slightly less at the University of Zululand (CU) (at 22%) and more at the Western Cape (TU) (at 26%). As expected, the HWU average was placed above these at 238, and Rhodes and the University of Free State encapsulated the range with 21% and 28% respectively.

This trend was further exemplified with lecturers and junior lecturers. NMIs employed 55% of the sector's share of lecturers, followed by 28% at HWUs, 10% at HBUs, and 6% at DIs. 61% of all junior lecturers worked in NMIs, in contrast to the just 24% in HWUs, 9% in HBUs and 7% in DIs. Whilst the NMI average was just 287 lecturers, the average for the TUs was 411 compared to just 249 for the CUs and 244 for the UoTs. Some NMI data was comparable to Unisa's 392 and the largest of the HWUs (at 456) but was considerably higher than the HWU average at 295, and especially the HBU average of 157[109]. As is clear in this regard, not only has the creation of the NMIs shifted the balance of academic power, but it has also potentially created five powerhouses within the category (of TUs and CUs together) that cumulatively employ over 30% of the PALM.

As mentioned, the lecturers are also the cogs in the academic machinery and this is again evident in both individual ILMs and the collective PALM. The Universities of Cape Town and Pretoria had relatively small proportions of lecturers at 28% each, whilst the University of the Witwatersrand had 40%. In comparison, the HBUs all top this scale with the University of Fort Hare at 39% and the University of Zululand at 62%. The NMIs exhibit much variation with Mangosuthu University of Technology having the minimum at 16%. Whilst the Central University of Technology, Free State and Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University are the median institutions with 41% and 42% respectively. Vaal University of Technology then tops the NMI group with 61%.

Whilst the category of junior lecturers is less frequently used, their designation does seem to be more context-specific. 61% are found within NMIs, 24% in HWUs, 9% in HBUs and 7% in DIs. The average number of junior lecturers in NMIs is 45, with 36 in UoTs, 47 in TUs and 86 in CUs[110]. Tshwane University of Technology does not use the category and the University of KwaZulu-Natal and Vaal University of Technology barely use it; whilst Mangosuthu University of Technology and Walter Sisulu University of Science and Technology have come to use it as a principal category for academic staffing, with 74% and 40% of their academics being designated as such, respectively. This category is also not/barely in use at two HBUs whilst very much in use at the other two. The Universities of Fort Hare and Venda had 17%

[109] For the HBUs, the TU average was 173 whilst the CU average was 141 for lecturers.
[110] Largely due to Walter Sisulu University of Science and Technology being an outlier with 217 junior lecturers.

and 11% of their staff thus graded whilst the University of Zululand barely used this category and the University of Western Cape, not at all. In contrast, all HWUs have between 3% and 5% staff at this level, with three exceptions. The University of Cape Town (less than 1%) and Witwatersrand (4%) appear to have proportionally less staff in this category than 10 years ago. The University of Free State uses this category the most of the HWUs, at 8%.

The discussion has focused on the professoriate and lecturing staff as the 'core' of the PALM. There were, however, academics categorised as 'vice rector, director, and associate director', 'below junior lecturer', or 'other or undesignated'. The former category was particular to technikons and has continued in institutions that have evolved out of such. The numbers of academics in these categories has declined substantially over the 20-year period. In 2008, from the 4 vice rectors (in 1998), there remained only 1 such post; of the 125 director positions, there were only 63; and of 355 associate directors, there were just 120. Thus, this collective category declined from 484 to just 184 academics. The designation 'below junior lecturer' has been used exclusively in universities, although is also now being used in NMIs. Its composition fluctuated from 134 to 71 to 94 between 1988, 1998 and 2008. The 'other and undesignated' category has consistently expanded across time from 260 in 1988 to 515 in 2008. As an amalgamation of "extras", these academics represented 7% when technikons were at their apex, but have consistently comprised 5% since then.

### *4.4.2. Academic qualifications*

This analysis will predominantly be at the national and institutional type level. At the national level, it will compare data for 1988, 1998 and 2008. The institutional type discussion will then engage more recent data from 2008 and 2012. It will provide information on the proportion of the PALM with doctoral and/or masters (and equivalent) qualifications. It will also present information on the source of that education, with respect to academics' highest relevant qualification for their job.

4.4.2.1. 1988: What does the SAHES qualification basis look like?

In 1988, 32% of the labour market had a doctoral or equivalent degree, 29% had a masters or equivalent degree, and the remaining 39% had another qualification[111]. With respect to academic rank and qualification: 79% of all professors had a doctorate, 14% had just a masters, and 7% fell into the other category. In contrast, just 6% those in directorships had a doctorate, 29% had a masters, but by far the majority at 64% had another level of qualification. In this case mostly, another post-graduate or equivalent qualification. The different qualificatory bases and requirements for access into the professoriate and directorships has been one of the main reasons for regarding the apartheid PALM as segmented by institutional type; in this particular case, as a university segment with a parallel technikon segment.

With respect to senior lecturers, the academics in these positions had heterogeneous forms of accreditation. 33% had a doctorate, 37% a masters, and 30% were qualified in another category. Somewhat expected, but still in stark contrast, only 9% of lecturers had a doctorate, whilst 35% had a masters, and the remaining 56% were qualified in a way that positioned them in the other category. As is becoming clear, even a masters' level qualification was exponentially less of a requirement as one descended the academic hierarchy. This was even clearer in the case of junior and below junior lecturers, 74% of whom were positioned within the other category, whilst 21% had a masters' level qualification, and 4% a doctorate.

Furthermore, 92% of all academics highest, most relevant qualification, to their job, was obtained from a university. Only 7% obtained such a qualification from a technikon, and 1% obtained these elsewhere. This emphasises the importance the bifurcation of SAHES had, not only in terms of determining where and how students were taught and received tertiary education, but also in terms of the profound impact this had on the production of academics themselves.

When this data is further analysed by academic rank, further assertions can be made. No professors received their highest qualification from a technikon, given that the lack of this

[111] The predominant focus is on academic-oriented qualifications, the analysis is thus limited, here, to masters, doctorates, and their equivalents. All other qualifications of a range of levels, including pre-tertiary, unknown, and none have been clustered together into the other category. In 1988, those with a pre-tertiary qualification amounted to 0.4%, those with none of the recognised qualifications amounted to 1.1%. Therefore, by far, all of the 'other' academics had recognised qualifications.

employment track at technikons was likely to have foreclosed such options, even despite the existence of doctoral equivalent qualifications provided by technikons. Just, 5% of senior lecturers and 11% of lecturers were technikon trained. In comparison, 24% of vice rectors, directors, and associate directors received their qualifications from a technikon. Therefore, one can infer the importance of internal mechanisms of advancement in the same way that seems to be true of universities and the professoriate. Nonetheless, the overwhelming majority of all academics at each academic rank were university educated. Whilst work experience and the tacit, on the job skills may be different, the foundation skills across the PALM should theoretically be similar, given the base training that all academics, regardless of where they work, have seemingly received.

Of the 7% of the PALM who were technikon trained, 63% were lecturers, 21% senior lecturers, and 10% vice rectors, directors, and associate directors. In addition, 90% worked in technikons. Of the five universities, whose ILMs were open to technikon-trained academics (namely, the Universities of Durban-Westville, Natal, Pretoria, Rand Afrikaans and Stellenbosch), only the University of Pretoria had more than five such academics on staff. At this time, only four academics working in SAHES nation-wide were in possession of a doctoral equivalent (either a 'Laureatus in Technology' or a 'Doctor in Technologiae Degree') obtained from the country's technikons.

4.4.2.2. Does the transition bring with it possibilities, opportunities, pressure on academics to upgrade?

By 1998, the qualification base set of individual academics and thus SAHES on the whole improved. Particularly, in that a greater proportion now had doctoral qualifications. Close to two-thirds had a masters or doctorate (or their equivalents), 36% had doctorates and 30% masters. The doctorate had become the norm for both associate and full professors in most fields, and 84% of the professoriate were now in possession of such. However, 12% still only had a masters and 4% another form of qualification. Those with directorships[112] had also

[112] Directors or directorships are used as shorthand for the category of vice rectors, directors, and associate directors

substantially improved their qualifications: 20% now had a doctorate, 36% a masters, and 44% another qualification.

The proportion of senior lecturers with doctorates also increased to 39%, whilst the proportion with a masters remained constant (at 37%), and those with qualifications less than these declined to 23%. The more notable change for lecturers was that a greater proportion had masters' degrees in 1998 than in 1988, 40% compared to 35%. Perhaps somewhat surprisingly, the proportion of junior lecturers with both doctorates and masters declined, now this was at only 3% and 18% respectively.

The proportion of academics whose education was university-based compared to technikon-based remained consistent at 91% to 7%. A small and perhaps not insignificant change is that there were now members of the professoriate who had technikon-education (25 in all or 8.7%), and the consistent 24% of directorships, 5% of senior lecturers and 11% of lecturers had a technikon education. Similarly, of all academic staff with a technikon education, 7% were directors (the only decline), 20% were senior lecturers, and 63% were lecturers.

4.4.2.3. How has restructuring impacted on the PALM and academics' qualifications?

By 2008, the sector had done a fair bit to recover from the substantial decline observed in 2004. In 2004, the overall proportion of academics with doctorates dropped to 29%. By 2008, this was now again at 34%. The proportion with a masters had also declined to 32%, this had now also begun to increase again, and was now at 33%. Those with other qualifications made up the remaining third of academics. The time scale of the regression in academic qualifications coincides with the restructuring period. However, further analysis of specific institutions would be needed to determine whether this was the actual cause for the negative impact on sectoral qualifications around 2004.

The professoriate was particularly affected by these changes. The proportion with a doctorate fluctuated from 84% in 1998 to 75% in 2004, and then began to recover, reaching 78% in 2008. This would continue upward to 84% again in 2012. Meanwhile, directors underwent considerable upskilling. The proportion with a doctorate was 27% higher than it had been 10 years earlier. Therefore, 47% now had a doctorate, 34% had a masters and just 18% had other qualifications. This could of course also be explained, by the declining numbers within this category; and that those who remained were better skilled.

The qualification base of both senior lecturers and lecturers was more or less consistent. However, the proportion of each with masters' level qualifications increased, for senior lecturers by 2% and for lecturers by 5%. Junior lecturers continued on their qualification descent as the proportion with doctorates declined by a further 1%, whilst those with a masters declined by a further 2%. Accordingly, those with other qualifications increased by 4%, to 82%. It may be the case, for some, that more qualified incumbents were promoted between each snapshot. However, further research would need to be done at the HEIs that use the category of junior lecturer in order to benchmark the levels of access into and promotion out of this category, as this does not appear to be uniform across the system. This point is in fact applicable across all levels, as there appears to be considerable discrepancy across SAHES with regard to the relationship between qualification and rank. At the very least, this analysis demonstrates that qualification is not the sole guarantor of entry into or upward mobility towards the next academic grade.

An increasing proportion of the sector's academics do gradually appear to be receiving their training from HEIs beyond the university sector. By 2008, 9% had been technikon educated; including 1% of the professoriate, 24% of directors, 6% of senior lecturers, 13% of lecturers, and 18% of junior lecturers. In addition, of all of those who were technikon-educated, 3% were now professors, 3% directors, 18% senior lecturers, 57% lecturers, and 14% junior lecturers. For the first time, technikon-educated academics have been able to reach all academic grades and also the very top of the academic hierarchy.

The next section discusses these key issues by institutional type and therefore provides further insight on both differentiation and de-segmentation across the sector. This data is provided for 2008 and 2012.

#### 4.4.2.4. A more in-depth look via institutional type data: comparing 2008 and 2012 data

As previously noted, in 2008, 34% of the sector had doctoral qualifications. Both HWUs and HBUs surpassed this average, as 48% and 36% of their academics had doctorates; whilst 23% of academics at NMIs had doctorates. As useful as these averages are, the ranges are again provided to illustrate the intra-institutional differentiation that the average often masks. For HWUs, the range was 37% to 58% and for HBUs, it was 21% to 48%. Meanwhile, NMIs reflected the expansive range of 4% to 46%, broadly demonstrative of the differences between the UoT, and CU and TU sub-types.

Whilst the sectoral average was 78% for the professoriate; HBUs were ahead with an average of 85%, followed by HWUs with 83%, and then NMIs and DI with 72%. The HBU range was negatively skewed by an outlier at 58%, otherwise most HEIs clustered towards the top end, where the top HEI peaked at 92%. The HWU's professorial range spanned 78% to 92%. Excluding the two cases (both UoTs) where NMIs had no professoriate, the range was still expansive at 8% to 100%. In fact, the ranges for the sub-categories were 65% to 93% for the TUs, 67% to 87% for the CUs, and amongst UoTs with professoriates, the range reflected the least and most with doctorates at 8% to 100%. As NMIs were the only ones with directors, the average of 47% pertains only to that institutional type. In fact, only four NMIs still employed academics within this designation. All were UoTs; the proportion with a doctorate at these institutions varied from 21% to 91%.

The sectoral average put senior lecturers at the threshold as 39% with a doctorate and with 39% a masters. At HWUs, however, on average, considerably more, 52%, had a doctorate and just 36% had only a masters. However, 37% to 66% of senior lecturers at the different HWUs had doctorates. Similarly, at HBUs, the majority, 46%, had a doctorate and just 37% a masters. Likewise, the range of those with a doctorate, at HBUs was 31% to 55%. Interestingly, in this regard the CUs had a larger proportion of senior lecturers with a doctorate than the TUs. However, at both NMIs and DI, more senior lecturers had masters than doctorates. At NMIs, 43% had a masters compared to 30% with a doctorate, whilst 35% had a masters compared to 30% with a doctorate at the DI. At NMIs of TU and CU designation, the HEIs reflected the general pattern common of other universities with 35% to 56% of senior lecturers with a doctorate (although each category had an outlier below 20%), whilst the UoTs had 34% to 56% of their senior lecturers with just a masters[113].

Following suit, the majority of lecturers within SAHES had masters' degrees at 45%, whilst just 11% had doctoral degrees. This trend reflected across all institutional types. At HWUs, 54% had masters and 21% had doctorates. With one exception at 9%, all other HWUs were within the range of 19% to 30% of lecturers with a doctorate. However, the predominance of the masters is also patently clear in the 48% to 67% who have this as their highest qualification. At HBUs, 52% had a masters and 13% a doctoral degree. The HBUs are within close proximity

[113] With the exception of the one HEI with no senior lecturers.

to each other, with between 11% and 16% of lecturers with a doctorate. The centrality of the masters can again be seen at 28% to 82%. The 28% is an outlier by as much as 15% and reflects that this specific university has a greater variety of staff qualifications than any of the others.

Barring three outliers at just 1% to 2%, NMIs mostly had 5% to 10% of lecturers with a doctorate. Nonetheless, this again emphasizes the importance of other qualifications, one of which is the masters. 14% to 66% of lecturers at NMIs have a masters. On average this then meant that 41% of lecturers at NMIs had a masters, and 6% a doctorate. Comparatively, at the DI, 35% had a masters, and 8% a doctorate. This will be discussed further (below) but generally first bachelor's and post-graduate bachelor's degrees, as well as honours qualifications, make up the bulk of education of those without a masters or doctorate.

Sector-wide, junior lecturers had qualifications other than those of a doctorate or masters; just 16% had a masters and 2% a doctorate. At HWUs, 22% had a masters, followed by 15% at HBUs, 14% at NMIs and just 3% at DI. At the different HWUs, 11% to 41% of all junior lecturers had a masters' qualification. At HBUs, the range was 10% to 17% with a masters. At NMIs, it was 2% to 26%. However, there was also a small proportion with doctorates: 5% at HWUs, 1% at HBUs and 1% at NMIs. Nationally, 26% had an honours degree, just below 10% had a professional first bachelor's degree, another 10% had the baccalaureus technologiae degree, and 13% had none of the listed qualifications[114].

4.4.2.5. 2012: Back on steady ground but still a world of the professoriate and lecturers…

By 2012, the sector caught up most of the ground it had previously lost. Almost three-quarters had a masters or doctoral level qualification. 39% had a doctorate and 34% a masters as their highest qualification. HWUs had by far the largest proportion of doctorates, with over half their academic staff (52%) with such and another 32% with masters. The University of Cape Town had the highest proportion of academics with doctorates, at 65%, whilst Free State had just 40%. HBUs were also doing well on 39% with doctorates and 49% with a masters. The

[114] In South Africa, the traditional bachelor's degree is typically three years of study. Professional degrees often extend this, typically being four year degrees if still of bachelor equivalency. The honours degree is a one-year post-graduate qualification between the bachelor and master's degrees. The baccalaureus technologiae is typically referred to as the BTec and is offered at CUs and UoTs as a one year graduate study degree after students have first completed a three-year diploma course.

University of the Western Cape had the most doctoral qualified staff of 52%, whilst Zululand had just 27%. Comparatively, the University of Venda had the most staff with a masters at 49%. Meanwhile, NMIs, were also doing fairly for a newly constituted category, with 29% of academics with doctorates and 36% with masters. The range for NMIs was 9% at Mangosuthu University of Technology to 50% of at North West University. Whilst there were exceptions, there were generally more academics with doctorates in the TUs and CUs in comparison to the UoTs. However, both CU and UoTs relied more on academics with masters' qualifications than other institutional types.

85% of the professoriate had doctorates; once more the HBUs exceeded the sectoral average at 92%, HWUs matched the average, and NMIs were on a close 81%. The University of Zululand had the most professors with doctorates at 95% in SAHES, despite being an HBU and a CU. At the other end of the HBU spectrum, Fort Hare had 86%. With respect to professors with doctorates at HWUs, the University of Pretoria had 93%, whilst the University of Free State had just 79%. Noting that not all NMIs had a professoriate, or one that comprised of both full and associate professors. Of the professoriate that was present, and was qualified with doctorates. The professoriate at UoTs were variously qualified. 55% of those at Tshwane University of Technology had a doctorate compared to a full 100% at Central University of Technology, Free State and Mangosuthu University of Technology. The TUs followed a similar trend, with 56% of the University of KwaZulu-Natal's professors having a doctorate to 93% at North West University. The directors at UoTs were also gaining stature: 60% had doctoral and 33% had masters' qualifications. Furthermore, the range for directors with a doctorate was from 40% at Cape Peninsula University of Technology to 97% at Tshwane University of Technology.

Senior lecturers had become increasingly defined by the doctorate. Sector-wide, 47% of all senior lecturers now had a doctorate whilst 34% had only a masters. There was little differentiation between the averages of HBUs and HWUs. Each had in excess of 50% of their senior lecturers with doctorates (56% and 57% respectively) and approximately a third with a masters (34% and 32% respectively). University of Cape Town headed up the stakes with 64%, whilst the University of Free State brought in the rear with 46%. The University of Fort Hare had 60% of senior lecturers with a doctorate, whilst Zululand had 43%. The NMIs were also gaining momentum at 45% with a doctorate and 36% with a masters. There was a mixture of qualifications between the UoTs and TUs. This demonstrated that the qualification profile of

the post-apartheid HEIs (using state provided nomenclature) is not necessarily straight-forward. As demonstrated in the examples below.

The NMIs with the largest proportion of senior lecturers with a doctorate were the University of KwaZulu-Natal (TU) at 73% and Central University of Technology (UoT) at 71%. Meanwhile, of those with less, Mangosuthu University of Technology (UoT) had the least at 15%, followed by the University of Limpopo at 21% (TU). These latter institutions had a high proportion of masters' qualified staff at this level at 70% and 44% respectively. Sector-wide, pre-masters' qualifications made up approximately 13% of the qualifications that senior lecturers had. The honours degree accounted for 7%, and then the post-graduate bachelors' degree, professional first bachelors' degree, and general academic first bachelor's degree each accounted for just less than 2% each, and the national higher diploma contributed 1%.

Lecturers were still very much defined by the masters' qualification, 50% of sectoral staff had just this qualification and a mere 14% a doctorate. 61% of HBU lecturers had a masters and 13% a doctorate; in comparison 54% of HWU lecturers had a masters and 27% had a doctorate; whilst 47% of NMI lecturers had a masters and 11% a doctorate. Over a third of University of Cape Town lecturers had a doctorate (at 35%), in comparison to 20% of Rhodes' lecturers. Whilst at the other end of the spectrum, 45% of Stellenbosch's lecturers and 67% of the University of Free State's lecturers had a masters as their highest qualification. Only a few of the HBU lecturers had doctorates, as shown by the top scoring 16% of the Western Cape versus the 9% at Venda. Meanwhile, in illustration of the predominance of masters' qualifications, 53% of lecturers at the University of Zululand and 80% at the University of Venda had this as their highest qualification (both CUs).

The highest scoring NMI was the University of KwaZulu-Natal (TU) with 28% of lecturers with a doctorate, and Central University of Technology at 14% (UoT). In contrast, both the University of Limpopo (TU) and Vaal University of Technology (UoT) had just 1% with a doctorate. The largest proportion of NMI lecturing staff with a masters was 70%, at Central University of Technology (UoT), whilst the least was, 28%, at Walter Sisulu University of Science and Technology (CU). This thereby illustrated that some institutions had also come to rely on pre-masters' level staff to fill these positions.

As indicated, pre-masters' qualifications are important for this category of academics, and account for 26% of the qualifications they possess. In this case, as many as three-quarters had a university-qualification with 11% of lecturers an honours degree, 4% a professional first

bachelor's degree, 3% a general academic first bachelors' degree, and 2% a post-graduate bachelor's degree. Just 5% had a technikon-qualification, that being the baccalaureus technologiae degree.

As was seen previously, junior lecturers were primarily defined by pre-masters' qualifications. In the sector as a whole, just 20% had a masters' qualification, and an exceptionally rare 2% had a doctorate. 6% of HWUs and 1% of NMIs made up that rare (doctoral) group. Otherwise, those with a masters included 35% from HWUs, 18% from HBUs, and 14% from NMIs. Junior lecturers at the University of Witwatersrand and Stellenbosch were in the highly unusual group of those with a doctorate.

More commonly, if junior lecturers had a masters/doctoral qualification, it was a masters' qualification. This was encapsulated by the 33% of junior lecturers at the University of Free State and the 46% at Stellenbosch (the 3 HWUs with less than 3 academics in this category were excluded from these calculations). Likewise, just 33% at the University of Fort Hare had a masters' qualification, yet even this was ahead of most. For example, only 12% of junior lecturers at the University of the Western Cape had a masters. Whilst 3 junior lecturers within the NMIs did have doctorates, the vast majority did not even have masters. At the University of Limpopo and Central University of Technology just 6% had a masters; whilst at the other end of the scale, Durban University of Technology (at 16%) and Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (at 20%) had the most academics with masters in the UoT and CU sub-categories. Junior lecturers with a masters or doctorate actually only account for 28% of all junior lecturers.

The vast majority have pre-masters' qualifications. As was to be expected, 33% of these were honours qualifications, 14% the baccalaureus technologiae degree, 10% a general academic first bachelors' degree, 7% a professional first bachelors' degree and 4% the national diploma. At this level, only 10 HEIs did not employ some academics with a technikon-qualification. Although, there was often more flexibility at other levels of the academy. An apparent pattern in these 10 institutions may potentially reflect past inflexibilities or the closed nature of these ILMs. The HEIs were all 4 English-medium HWUs (including the post-merger NMI, UKZN), the 4 remaining HBUs, and perhaps something of an anomaly another CU (with former Afrikaans-medium HWU influence). All other HEIs, i.e. all the UoTs, the DI, the other 3 Afrikaans-medium HWUs, and the other 3 NMIs had open ILMs to technikon-educated academics at a variety of levels.

Although 8% appears to be a consistent number of academics who have been educated by technikons, it is worth noting that this represents a gradual increase over time. More technikon-educated academics have moved through the system, into a range of different institutional types, and into a variety of academic grades. However, there were still a total of eight HEIs that employed five or less technikon-educated academics. The lowest number of technikon-educated academics were in HBUs, at a minute 0.5%, although one was a member of the professoriate. Half of the institutions that employed less than five technikon-trained academics were HBUs. 1% of the DI's academic workforce had technikon-education: one of whom was a professor, just less than a quarter were senior lecturers, just less than half lecturers, and the remaining quarter junior lecturers.

Slightly more technikon-trained academics, at 2%, had made in-roads into HWUs. Of these, 15% were amongst the professoriate, 20% were senior lecturers, another 20% lecturers, 9% junior lecturers, and a significant 37% in 'undesignated' posts. However, 3 HWUs, employed less than five technikon-educated academics, including the only institution to still not employ anyone with this type of qualification, as their highest most relevant qualification. Unsurprisingly the largest share of technikon-educated academics worked in NMIs, making up 17% of all such academics. What is significant is that this has increased quite substantially since 2008, indicating two possibilities: that the merger process increasingly opened up the labour market to academics with technikon training; and that institutions also now increasingly reflected academics educated by the NMIs themselves.

Of NMI academics with a 'technikon' qualification, 3% were professors, 3% directors, 15% senior lecturers, 65% lecturers, 13% junior lecturers and 0.7% undesignated. Therefore, 93% of those even employed by technikons themselves were still on lecturing staff. This is something that will need to be monitored over time to determine the full extent of labour market openness to academics with this form of qualification. There was, however, one NMI (a CU) that was also included in the category of employing less than five technikon-qualified academics; this appears to be something of an anomaly. Nonetheless, whilst it is evident that the PALM is beginning to show signs of opening up, the overwhelming majority of academics in every institution, at every academic grade, still has very 'traditional' university training from SAHES' universities. This is likely to remain the case given the fact that of all doctoral level qualifications held by academics, 98.5% are awarded by universities, as is the case with 92.7% of masters' level qualifications.

## 4.5. Segmentation & geo-spatial effects in Regional Academic Labour Markets (RALM)

### *4.5.1. Racial segmentation and regional academic labour markets*

Previously, the discussion focused on the historical segmentation of the PALM through bifurcated institutional types. The intent and effect of this was to further entrench apartheid's socio-economic spatial segregation. In the process, the spatially skewed distribution of HEIs and higher education provision was reinforced. This history has been detailed by many including Badat (2010), Bunting (2006), Reddy (2004), to name but a few. The aim here is to show the spatial effects of this on the PALM, particularly in the ways in which this produced regional racial exclusivity and urban concentration by the 1980s. In addition, it will show how post-apartheid de-segmentation was both spatially diluted and simultaneously reified at the provincial level[115].

#### 4.5.1.1. Distribution of the national academic labour market

Of the nine provinces, the majority of HEIs are clustered within four; three have some provision for higher education, and until 2014, two had none[116]. In 1988, 81% of all academics were located within the Eastern Cape, Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal, and the Western Cape. An appreciable 35% were based in seven HEIs in Gauteng, 24% in five HEIs in the Western Cape, 17% in six HEIs in KwaZulu-Natal, and despite its more rural setting 6% in four HEIs in the Eastern Cape. To a large extent, this set the trend for higher education's clustering within major urban (now metropolitan) centres of the country.

[115] The demarcations and provincial nomenclature given by the post-apartheid government are used throughout.
[116] Only seven of the nine provinces had HEIs (technikons and/or universities). Higher education provision was only delivered directly to the Northern Cape and Mpumalanga, through the Higher Education Act (1997), and with the opening of Sol Plaatje University and the University of Mpumalanga in 2014.

The three (more rural) provinces of the Free State, Limpopo, and North West cumulatively accounted for 15% of the PALM. Limpopo and Free State had two HEIs each and the North West just one; the Northern Cape and Mpumalanga had none. The Distance Institutions[117] accounted for the remaining 4%. Although not reflected in 1988 data, there were also academics based in the HEIs in the (independent) Bantustans[118] of Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda that upon re-incorporation in 1994 would increase the number of HEIs in the Eastern Cape, North West, and Limpopo. The proliferation of HEIs, particularly in the 'big four' provinces and the Bantustans, was closely related to apartheid's quest for racial and ethnic separatism (Reddy, 2004).

Figure 4.6. Provincial share (as a %) of SAHES Academics: 1988 – 2012 (Select years)

| **Province** | **Share (as %) in Select Years** | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **1988** | **1998** | **2008** | **2012** |
| **Eastern Cape** | 5,9 | 8,7 | 10,9 | 10,5 |
| **Free State** | 6,3 | 5,0 | 10,9 | 8,0 |
| **Gauteng** | 34,5 | 26,2 | 28,9 | 26,2 |
| **KwaZulu-Natal** | 16,7 | 16,1 | 15,2 | 13,1 |
| **Limpopo** | 4,4 | 7,2 | 6,6 | 6,6 |
| **Mpumalanga** | 0,0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **Northern Cape** | 0,0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **North West** | 4,4 | 4,1 | 5,9 | 7,2 |
| **Western Cape** | 23,8 | 17,0 | 17,9 | 19,3 |
| **Distance** | 4,0 | 15,7 | 8,4 | 9,1 |

As shown in Figure 4.6, the legacy of racial separatism on the parameters of SAHES was substantial. In 1998, the 'big four' still collectively employed more than two-thirds of all academics. Between 1988 and 1998, the Gauteng and Western Cape regional academic labour

[117] The specific base of Distance Institution staff is not decipherable from the SAPSE/HEMIS data.
[118] Each had a university designated for specific 'ethnically'-categorised African people and there were also two technikons in the Transkei and one in Bophuthatswana.

markets (RALM) contracted, whilst all others grew. Most notably: Gauteng declined from 35% to 26%, Distance Institutions increased from 4 to 16%, and Eastern Cape and Limpopo also increased by 3%. Sites of growth were both due to post-apartheid expansion (Cooper & Subotzky, 2002) and the inclusion of former TBV HEIs.

Post-apartheid, at the provincial level, little was done to increase access to communities under-served by higher education[119]. Essentially, the national restructuring programme meant institution streamlining and the removal of unnecessary duplication through incorporation and merger. Thus, Gauteng emerged with five HEIs; the Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal, and the Western Cape with four HEIs each; Free State, Limpopo, and the North West with two HEIs each; and one national distance institution. In some cases, restructuring meant campuses across provincial lines were co-joined as one institution, adding further logistical and analytical complexity. With 17 of the (now) 23 HEIs in the 'big four' provinces, it was unsurprising that there was a geographical re-concentration of the PALM (at 73% in 2008). However, both in the short and long term, it was typically the provinces with smaller proportions of the PALM where more significant growth was evident. Nonetheless, together these only increased from 15% to 22% of the national share.

#### 4.5.1.2. Racial spatial segmentation

Whilst designed primarily to keep students (as emergent 'citizens') apart, Peacock (1993: 12) is unequivocal: there was no apartheid legislation to enforce racially restrictive hiring policies on SAHES. Despite fairly uniform and conservative institutional practices, there is an acknowledgement of the different political and ideological positions (academic) staff held across the nation. In some cases, academics were actual government appointees, were broadly supportive of government policies or quietly acquiesced and in other instances were part of the broader social resistance to apartheid (Peacock, 1993; Reddy, 2004; Bunting, 2006 & Moss, 2014). However, whilst past and present accounts often detail the ideological debates and

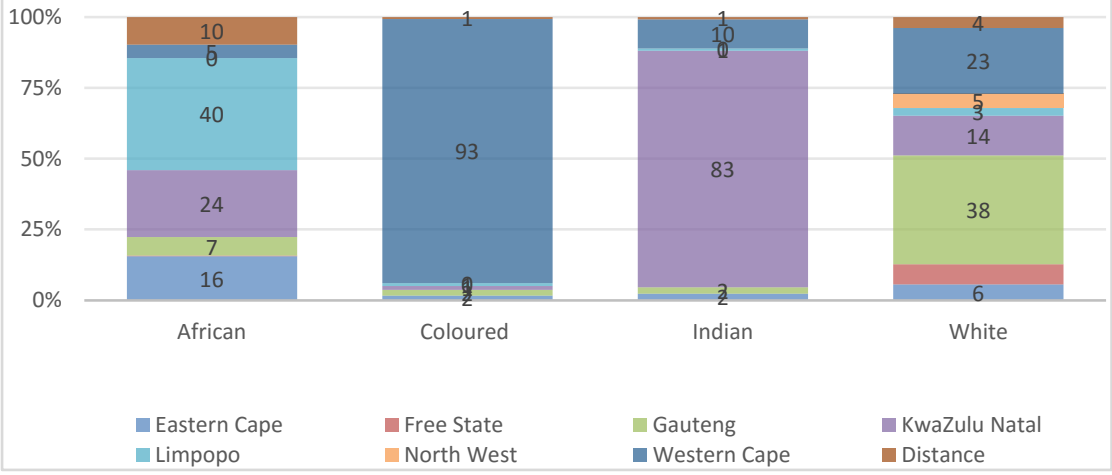
[119] In terms of clarification, access is used to refer to expanded access to HEIs through increased provision of HEIs; as opposed to facilitating access to existing HEIs via bursaries, scholarships, etc. (which was done to some extent).

positioning of academics; what is missing is a particularly a quantitative, spatially located account of how the macro context influences contemporary realities.

By the late 1980s, the effects of racial and spatial segmentation were most clearly seen in racially homogenous and racially distinctive RALMs. Racially exclusive and homogenous White ALMs were evident in the Free State (100%), North West (100%), and Gauteng (98,6%). Whilst often still White-dominated, racially distinctive Black ALMs were present in a number of provinces. Limpopo was both 45,5% Black and African. Although only African academics were employed, it was the only RALM where Black representation exceeded 30%. Black representation in the Eastern Cape was 15,3%, with African academics as the majority at 13,6%[120]. The Western Cape had 13,4% Black representation, with the most Coloured academics at 10,9%. KwaZulu-Natal's representivity consisted of 25,3% Black academics with mostly Indian academics at 18,1%.

Whilst HEIs were themselves segmented according to institutional type, the cumulative effect reflected at the regional and national level. The extent to which racial separatism characterised the apartheid workplace regime within academia is evident in Figure 4.7.

Figure 4.7. 1988 Distribution Of Academics By Race By Province




[120] Both Limpopo and Eastern Cape are under-estimates, at this time, due to the exclusion of HEIs locate in Venda and Transkei.

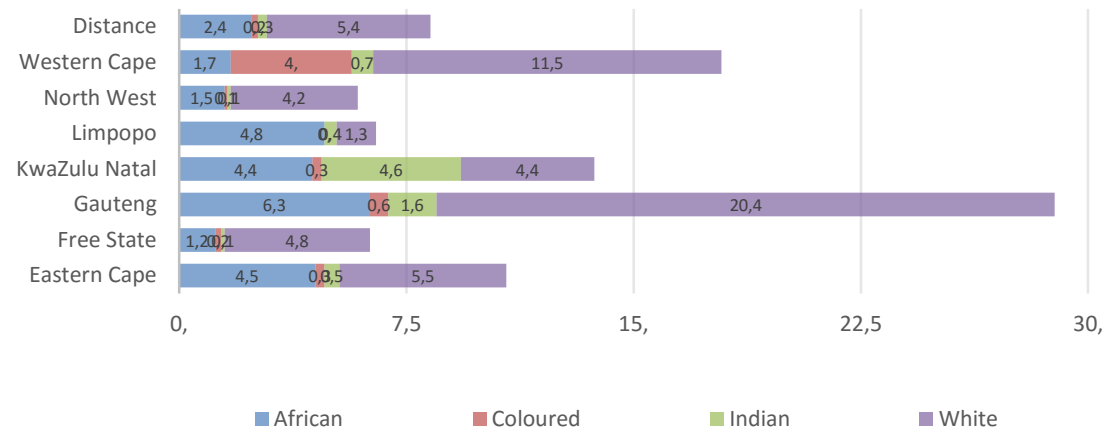
This shows the success of apartheid's segregation, separating Black education from White education and sub-dividing Black education into 'ethnically' and 'racially' pre-determined institutions. Academic labour was vertically segmented and spatially segregated. Whilst the insular experience of Coloured and Indian academics provides the strongest evidence of this, the disproportionate yet differentiated bunching of African and White academics further demonstrates the spatial separatism.

By 1998, White exclusivity had declined at varying paces in the three most homogenous provinces: to 96%, 89%, and 85% in the Free State, Gauteng, and the North West respectively. Meanwhile, KwaZulu-Natal, and Limpopo continued a rapid increase in Black representivity to 42% and 69% respectively, in part due to a faster pace of change at HBIs. African academics were better represented throughout the country. Even the four provinces that in 1988 employed the least African academics, collectively employed 10% more of the national share by 1998, (but still represented only 23,4%).

Similarly, Coloured and Indian academics were also increasingly represented nationally, as fewer HEIs in fewer provinces continued to operate 'closed shops'. The Free State and North West being exceptions. Whilst the overwhelming majority were still employed 'in-province', 32% of Coloured academics and 29% of Indian academics were now employed outside of the Western Cape and Kwa-Zulu Natal respectively[121]. Only Limpopo, Eastern Cape, and Distance Institutions increased their share of White academics. However, the latter's share increased significantly from 4% to 16% and may be worth further investigation.

[121] The claim that Coloured people were located solely in the Western Cape and Indian people in KwaZulu-Natal was of course part of apartheid ideology and reified by its practices. In reality, this essentialism was both utilized and actively resisted.

Figure 4.8. 2008: Distribution of Academics By Province And By Race (as a % of National PALM)




In 2008, nationally, Black academics represented 41% (from 11,8% in 1988). Provincially, the range was large: From the Free State, where Black academics accounted for just 23% to Limpopo where representation was at 80%. Nationally, African academics represented 26,8% (up from 4,6%). African academics were the largest Black constituent category in all provinces except the Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal. African representation was above the national average in Limpopo (at 73%), Eastern Cape (41%), and KwaZulu-Natal (29%) and just below in the North West (25%). Whilst the Free State and Western Cape were at 19% and 10% respectively.

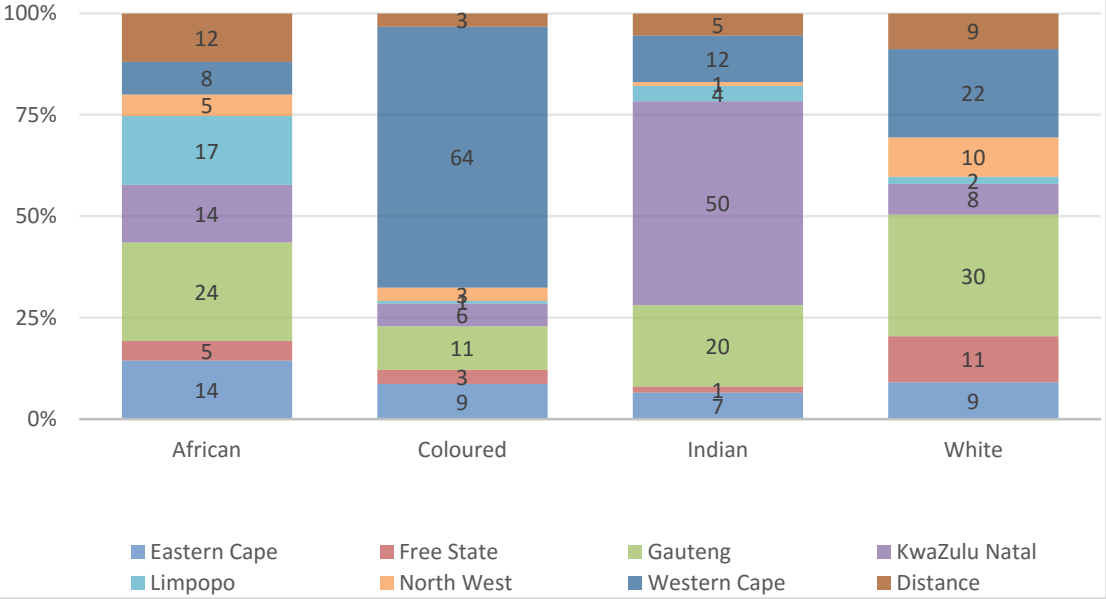
Nationally, Coloured academics increased from 3.9% to 5.8% between 1988 and 2008, with all provinces increasing two to three percent, apart from Limpopo with less than one percent (0.7%). With Coloured academics at 22%, the Western Cape continued to have the largest proportion of Coloured academics, nationally, and it employed 69% of all. The largest employment increases were in the Western Cape, Eastern Cape, and Free State (of 5.6%, 2.9% and 2.6% respectively). Nationally, Indian academics also increased (from 3,2% to 8,4%) with the most notable increases occurring in KwaZulu-Natal (of 12.5%), Limpopo (of 5,5%) and Gauteng (of 5.3%). Indian representivity remained low, though, in the Free State and North West at 1,5% and 1,1% respectively.

The national percentage of White academics dropped from 88,2% to 59% of the PALM, over the period. The largest proportion of White academics in any RALM remained in the Free State at 77%, whilst Limpopo had the least at 20%. The proportional shares for the Western Cape, Limpopo, and KwaZulu-Natal all declined; whilst Gauteng, Free State, Eastern Cape, and the

North West all increased their share of White academics. The actual number of African and Indian academics increased in all provinces, as did Coloured academics except in Limpopo (which declined). Numerically, White academics declined everywhere, except in the Eastern Cape, Free State, and the North West.

This description of the national and regional situation in 2008 illustrates less divergent racial segmentation than in 1988. However, there remained employment 'provinces of choice' characterised by spatial specificity. For the most part these reflected both the legacy of apartheid separatism coupled with intensified urbanism as a result of post-apartheid restructuring. Unsurprisingly, the 'top four' feature predominantly within this list. 91% of Coloured academics and 89% of Indian academics were located within these provinces, with 69% of Coloured academics being employed in the Western Cape and 55% of Indian academics in KwaZulu-Natal. 50% of White academics remained concentrated in Gauteng and the Western Cape. Whilst 75% of African academics were employed in Gauteng, Limpopo, Eastern Cape, and KwaZulu-Natal, and with 25% employed in Gauteng specifically.

Figure 4.9. 2012 Distribution Of Academics Per Racial Categorisation Per Province



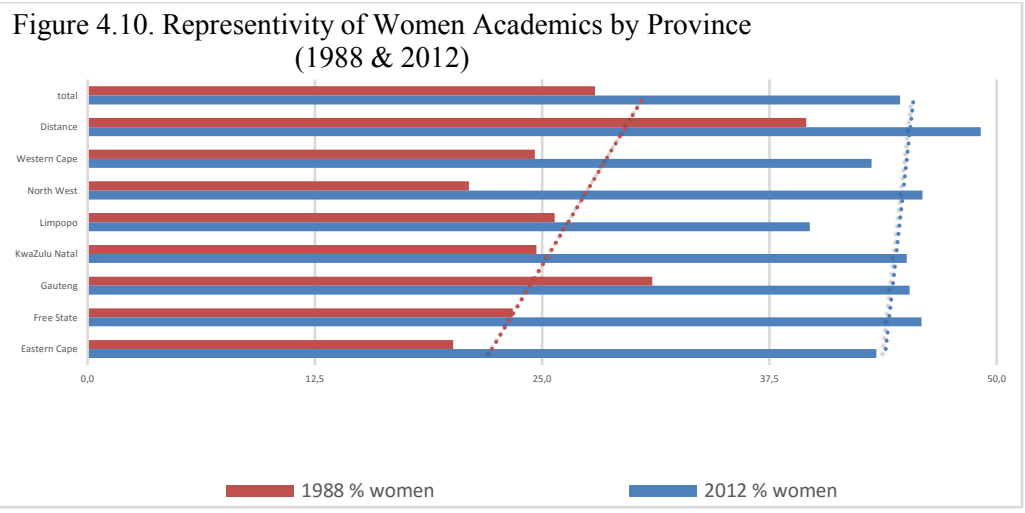

For comparative purposes, Figure 4.9. (using 2012 data) illustrates how academics of all racial categories had better participation in all provinces (than in 1988). Whilst the provincial

distribution pattern for African academics shows good reach across all provinces. The pattern for Coloured and Indian academics also demonstrates considerable de-segmentation, given the 1988 starting points. There is also a fair amount of movement within the White category. However, analysed with the institutional type data, it is likely that this is vertical-movement across provinces rather than de-segmentation within and across provinces, per se.

### *4.5.2. Gender Segmentation Reflected Spatially*

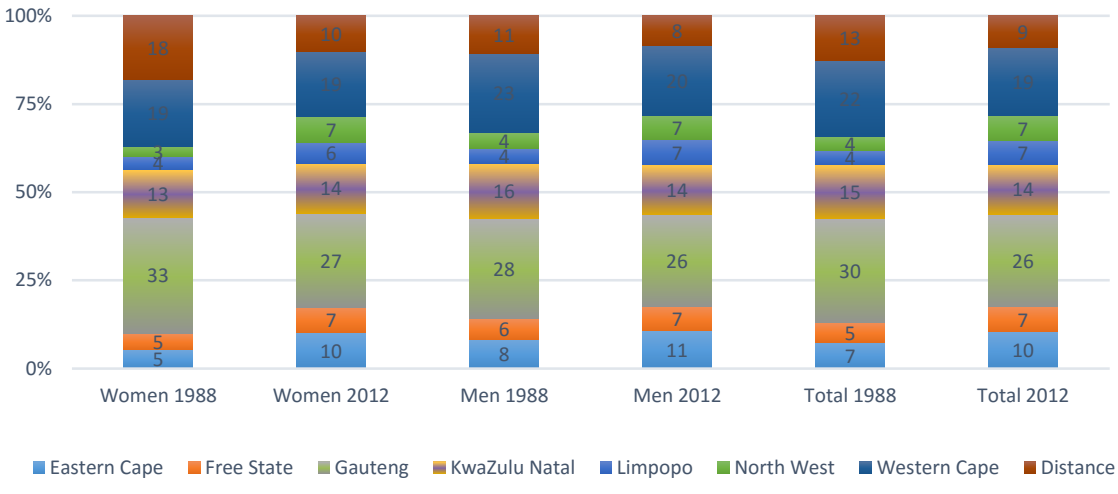
In 1988, Gauteng, Western Cape, KwaZulu-Natal, and the DIs had the greatest share of the PALM. Accordingly, these provinces had the largest shares of both women academics and men academics, the difference being that 33% of women academics worked in Gauteng and a further 17,9% in the DIs. Only 10,0% of men academics were in DIs and were more evenly spread throughout the other 'top' provinces, from 28,4% in Gauteng to 15,8% in KwaZulu-Natal. North West and Limpopo had the smallest national share of the PALM at 4% each. They also had the smallest gender shares, employing 3,1% and 3,7% of all women academics respectively, and 4,4% and 4,1% of men academics, accordingly. Significantly, only Gauteng and the DIs were relatively more feminised in 1998, whilst all others were more masculinised. This is further evident in Figure 4.10, which shows the actual percentage of women academics employed.

Figure 4.10. Representivity of Women Academics by Province (1988 & 2012)



In 1988, less than a third of the national PALM was comprised of women. DIs and Gauteng had the greatest representation of women at 39,5% and 31,1% respectively, whilst the North West and Eastern Cape had the least at 21,0% and 20,1% respectively. However, by 2012, most HEIs had taken considerable strides so as to alter women's representivity and this was reflected in provincial distribution patterns. The gap between the provinces with the lowest and highest representation had narrowed to just ten percent, with women's representation in Limpopo at 39,7%, whilst the DIs remained ahead at 49,1%, followed by Free State at 45,9%.

Figure 4.11. Distribution of Academics by Gender & Province - 1988 & 2012




By 2012, the Eastern Cape had replaced the DIs in the category of top four provincial academic employers. There had also been a shift in the ordering of all places from four through to eight. So too, the employment per gender changed accordingly. The share of women academics in Gauteng (-6,3%), Western Cape (-0,4%), and the DIs (-7,9%) understandably declined as the proportion of women in other provinces increased. The largest relative share increases were in the Eastern Cape (of 4,8%) and the North West (of 4,3%). The movement of men academics (as reflected per provincial share) was less pronounced than that of women academics. Limpopo (+3%), North West (+2,6%), Eastern Cape (+2,4%) and Free State (+1%) were the provinces were the share of men academics increased, whilst all others correspondingly declined.

Strikingly, in 2012, the distribution patterns of men and women academics were fairly comparable. There was only a difference larger than one percentage point in Limpopo, Western

Cape, and the DIs. This thereby demonstrates spatial gender-segmentation had normalised to the same extent as generalised spatial segmentation/PALM distribution. Given that this was not the case for race, the implications of this for intersectionality need to be considered.

The effects of the AWR was profound in the late 1980s. Whilst its legacy has begun to wane post-apartheid, there is still clearly spatial differentiation with regards to the distribution of academic labour by race. Gendered spatial segmentation was and is significantly less marked today. The exploration of RALMs demonstrates how, whilst most amplified within institutional types, the AWR had effects that transcended, and continue to transcend, institutional boundaries, colouring the geo-spatial academic landscape both regionally and nationally. The effects of this will be further unpacked in Chapter 5 with reference to the particular RALM in which the case studies are located.

### 4.6. Brief assessment of methods

The data presented in this chapter is limited both in its depth and scope, particularly in its inability to speak to key intersectional issues, (such as race and gender together), as well as to compare across key indicators (for example, race and rank or gender and qualifications). This significantly limits the explanatory power of the data and thus subsequent analyses.

The data itself, whilst reportedly audited, was found to contain small inconsistencies that required various data cleaning processes. The data was thus recaptured and selective decisions about data use, inclusion, and combination had to be made. Furthermore, the database itself reflected some data capturing differences over time. In addition, not all HEIs reported consistently, as a result of apartheid categorical processes, internal capacity, and the like. Therefore, the comparability of data was at times not always possible. Various decisions, therefore, had to be made about the use of data and working with and around the limits of the data. In this regard, it was decided that it was better to work with limited data; than to throw out the possibility altogether.

Therefore, the presentation of the demographic (race and gender) and academic-related characteristics (qualifications and rank) was made possible – even though these occurred as independent discussions. The presentation focused particularly on discussing this data by individual institutions, institutional types, and for the sector as a whole. This provided for

foundational tracking and understanding of the sector as a whole. Bearing its limitation in mind, this chapter provides a comprehensive and holistic overview of academic staffing for the period. It provides both broad generalized (sectoral) trends, over a 26-year period, together with very specific micro (HEI) level analyses. It captures the nuance and complexity of SAHES in a way that has seldom been done before. Thus, it sheds new light on the topic of academic de-segmentation. In particular, it demonstrates the weight of history and geography throughout and shows where institutional agency is/has broken from these holds, and where these continue to exert a powerful force over HEIs and SAHES as a whole.

## 4.7. Conclusion

This chapter has meticulously detailed the demographic (race and gender) and academic (educational qualifications and rank) characteristics of the professional academic labour market (PALM) across the South African Higher Education Sector (SAHES) between 1986 and 2012.

Academics remain located within a higher education system that is changing but still reflects considerable horizontal and vertical segmentation, within and across higher education institutions (HEIs). The apartheid-designated institutional types proved instrumental in explaining both racial and gender segmentation during the late apartheid period. Differences in academic staffing continue in HEIs today. As a collectivity, there is much more equitability and parity across HEIs, with respect to gender than race. HEIs are still very much burdened by their racialized histories; and gaps between specific HEIs are not necessarily shrinking. The creation of new and merged institutions (NMIs) has masked some of this disparity, whilst in other instances more substantive de-segmentation work appears to have occurred.

It has been shown how universities have consistently controlled the reproduction of academic labour; and how this is very slowly changing, albeit in significant ways, particularly in NMIs. However, traditional universities (TU) particularly, those that were not merged, remain reticent and at least one HEI still remains closed to the employment of technikon-educated academics. On the whole, academics were shown to be less qualified than prevailing lay discourse suggests. Nonetheless, significant improvements are evident post-apartheid. Initially, the restructuring intervention played a significant role in the decline of doctorally qualified academics. At the top of the hierarchy, this took eight years to stabilise. There are still wide

discrepancies across HEIs by institutional type. Although it should be noted that in several instances the qualification base of the professoriate of particular HBUs and NMIs is higher than that of some HWUs. Academic grades and the basis for upward mobility do not appear standardized across HEIs by historical or contemporary institutional type or the across the sector as a whole.

As HEIs have de-segmented so have regional academic labour markets (RALMs). On the gender front, the distribution of women academics across the provinces is reflective of that of all academics. Racial distribution is also considerably less segregated than in the past. However, segmentation remains. The distribution of academics, by race, is notably skewed and racial clustering within specific provinces and regions is still evident.

Thus, this presentation of 26 years of quantitative data has shown many areas of noteworthy change, some areas of stasis and/or reluctant application of change, a range of unintended consequences which add complexity to both the conceptualization and praxis of change, and very many areas where de-segmentation work is still to be done. They key ideas presented in this chapter are further analysed in Chapter 8, where they are actively brought into conversation and contextualized within broader national debates, and where they are interpreted along with the findings from the qualitative case study data from Chapters 6 and 7.

# Chapter 5: Locating the academic material conditions: The case studies in the regional academic labour market

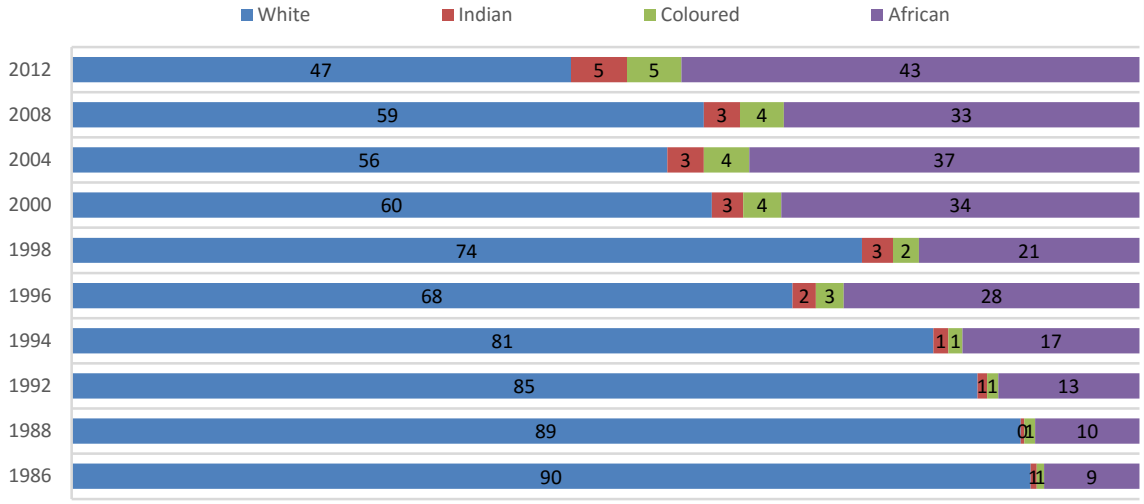
Following on from the overview of the national academic labour market, this chapter focuses specifically on the regional academic labour market (RALM) to establish the provincial context within which the two case studies are set. After unpacking the parameters of the RALM, the academic contours of each case study are individually described. In the process, both the demographic (race and gender) and academic indicators (occupational rank and qualification set) of de-segmentation are presented. A more detailed discussion including institutional diversity, workplace movement, and contribution to the skills pool is also provided for each case study. Lastly, a summative conclusion begins the interweaving of key issues to be unpacked and analysed in subsequent Chapters (6 through 9).

## 5.1. Locating the case study institutions in their RALM

This section provides contextual background to the case study institutions. In accordance with the anonymity request, the province within which Reconciliation Bay University (RBU) and Nxele Valley University (NVU) are located is not named. Nonetheless, it is essential to describe the RALM to sufficiently position and locate the case studies, both for this discussion and that in chapters 6 and 7.

### *5.1.1. A demographic overview of the RALM*

Figure 5.1. Regional Academic Labour Market By Race (1986 - 2012)

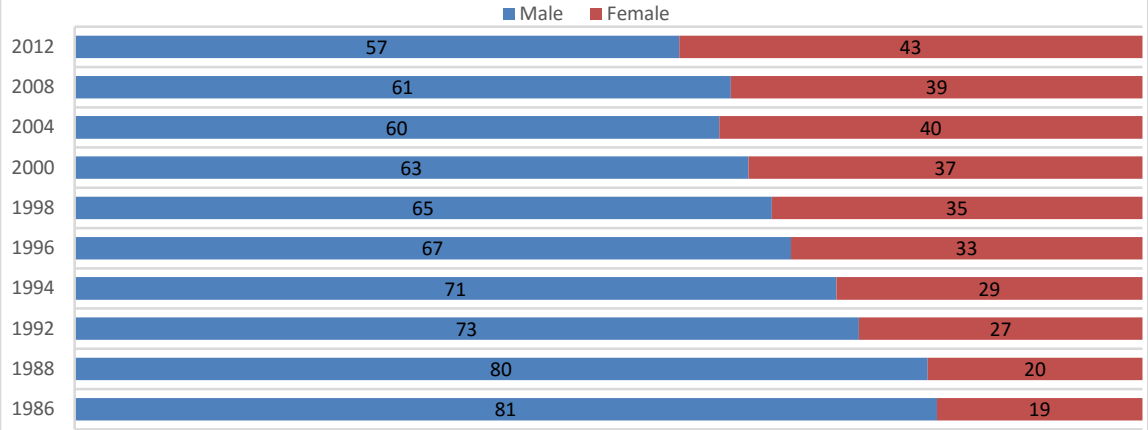



As was the case for several provinces, this RALM was about 90% White in 1988. African academics accounted for 9%, whilst Coloured and Indian academics were together 1,3%. By 1994, the proportion of Black academics had almost doubled. There was some instability between 1996 and 1998[122]. With the introduction of the EEA, Black academics represented 26%, with African academics accounting for 80% thereof. As discussed in Chapter 4, there was a significant amount of restructuring of, and within, HEIs. This also held true, and is reflected in, the provincial data between 2004 and 2008. During this period, the provincial share of White academics actually increased from 55,8% to 59,2%, whilst African academics decreased from 36,5% to 33,3%. Four years later, the 2004 levels were more or less re-established. By 2012, there were more Black academics collectively, within the RALM, than White academics.

This RALM disproves the lay allegation that post-apartheid, gender-based de-segmentation has occurred faster than race-based de-segmentation. In 1988, women academics accounted for 19,3% of the RALM and by 2012 43,4%. Provincial gender de-segmentation was fairly consistent, the only instability in the data relating to the restructuring that occurred between 2004 and 2008.

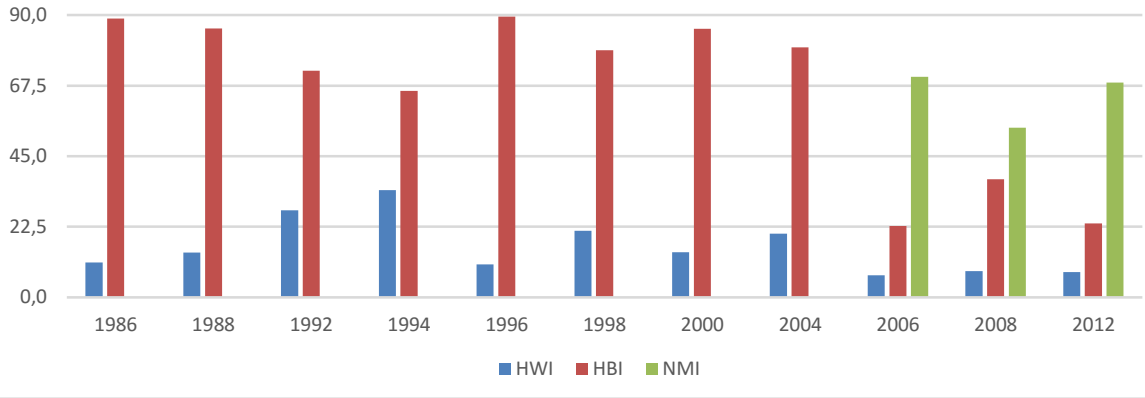
[122] Partly due to changes in the RALM, and partly a data artefact due to non-reporting of some institutions.

Figure 5.2. Regional Academic Labour Market By Gender (1986 - 2012)



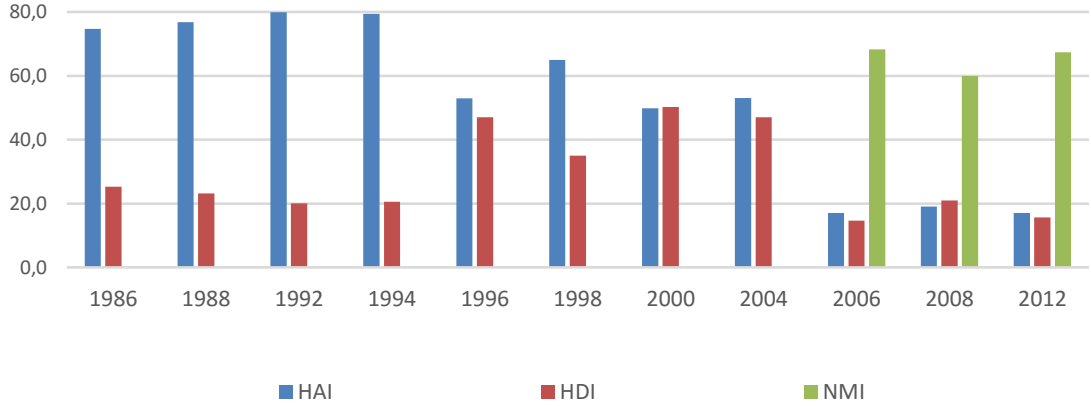

As aggregate RALM data obscures much, and as this province has several HEIs, figures 5.3 and 5.4 (below) illustrate the academic staff differentiation per institutional type. These demonstrate the vast inequities between the HWIs and HBIs in terms of the racialisation of academic labour. 1994 was the high point at which provincial HWIs reached their peak relative to the HBIs. At this point, the gap between institutional type was at its smallest. The unsustainability of this demonstrates that HEIs within this province continued (despite changes in each of their academic profiles), to be comparatively racialized. In 2006, after restructuring began to take effect, the polarity between the HWIs and HBIs declined. As a result of restructuring, the number of HEIs were halved. All institutional types were now represented within the province. However, as evident by 2012, the addition of a third party, (NMIs) only masked the issue and the pattern of racialisation re-emerged. This was now re-entrenched between the NMIs, HBIs, and the HWUs. Therefore, at the provincial level, restructuring did not solve the problem of racial de-segmentation.

Figure 5.3. Proportion of Black Academics per Institutional within the Regional Academic Labour Market (Select years, 1986 - 2012)




The gendered aspect of the RALM is an interesting case. The HWIs employed the majority of women academics and continued to do so until 1994. Efforts after 1994, and the inclusion of other HEIs, equalised the gender distribution between HEIs fairly rapidly. While fluxes in both datasets suggest that there was a high degree of workforce movement; restructuring did little to alter the gender balance between the HWIs and HBIs, other than to reduce the combined employment of all academics, including women academics to just two-fifths of the RALM.

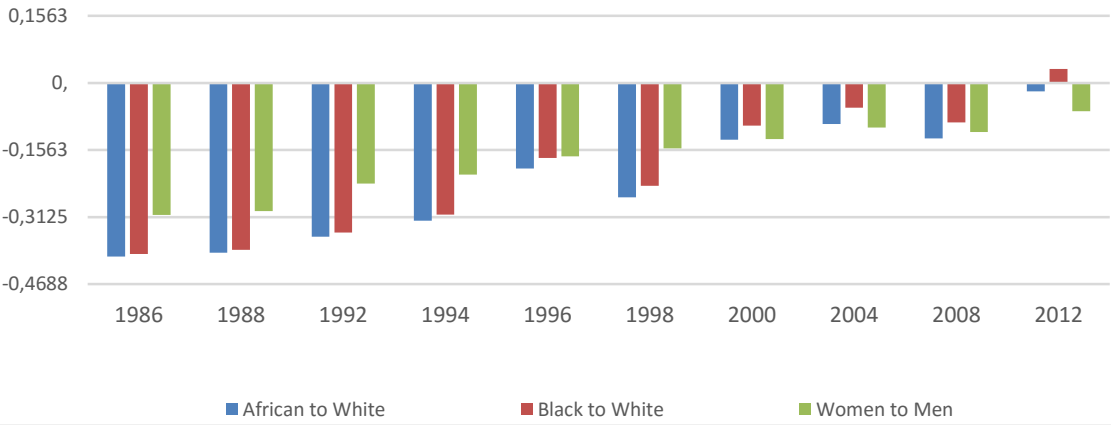
Figure 5.4. Proportion of Women Academics per Institutional Type within the Regional Academic Labour Market (Select years, 1986 - 2012)




As reflected in Figure 5.5, at the 1986 provincial level the greatest dissimilarity was between African academics and White academics, and between Black and White academics, at 0,40,

whilst the dissimilarity between women and men was less at 0,31[123]. Between 1988 and 1998, the largest amount of change (0.15) was between African and White academics, and women and men academics. Between 1998 and 2008, this positive change continued between African and White academics, and between Black and White academics. However, the rate of change between women and men slowed down to just 0,04.

Figure 5.5. Dissimilarity Indices - RALM by Race (African to White & Black to White) and by Gender (Women to Men) (1986 - 2012)




Nonetheless, the dissimilarity indices were much improved at 0,13, 0,09, and 0,11 for Black and African academics (to White academics) and women (to men) academics, respectively. By 2012, African academics surpassed the parity bar and were at (+)0,03. Whilst Black academics collectively were very close to parity at (-)0,02 and women academics had slightly further to go at (-)0,07. Thus, the greatest amount of gender-based change occurred, collectively, with respect to the feminisation of the RALM in the pre-EEA decade (1988-1998). In comparison, there was fairly consistent racial de-segmentation for Black academics in total, in both pre- and post-EEA decades. The amount of African academics employed doubled in each period.

In 2012, women academics' representation was 43,4%, whilst it was 53,2% for Black academics (with African academics totalling 42,9%). In terms of distribution, women

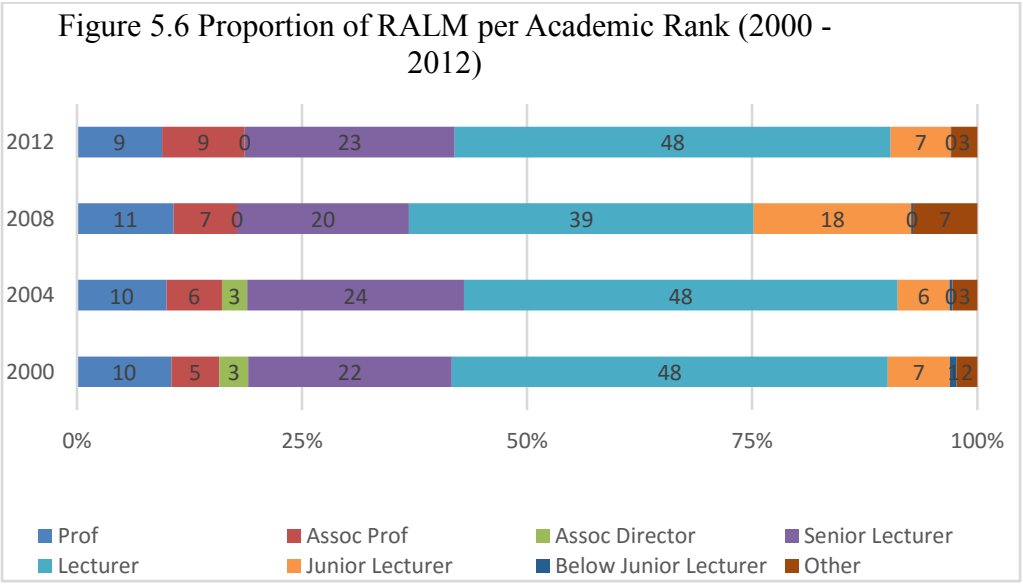
[123] Dissimilarity indices are used here, and in Chapter 8, to highlight the poignancy of the extent of changes to the employment gap between academics of different race and gender categories. As an index, the data is accordingly made more comparable across time, space, and datasets.

academics were employed in the ratio of approximately 1:1:3 in HWIs: HBIs: NMIs; whilst Black academics were employed at 1:3:8,5. This demonstrates the extent of racial de-segmentation that was still evident within the province as a whole (by institution type).

### *5.1.2. A consideration of academic rank and qualifications within the RALM*

In Chapter 4, an assessment of rank and qualification was provided at the national and institutional type (but not at the provincial) level. However, it is important to review this data with respect to the province within which each case study is located, in order to position the institutions themselves. Whilst also a general characteristic of SAHES, this RALM was particularly junior. Between 2000 and 2012, less than 20% of academics were considered senior, and just 10% were full professors. Senior lecturers and lecturers together consistently accounted for 71% or 72% of the RALM, whilst junior lecturers and below accounted for 6% to 8%. Comparing the province to the national ALM, the proportion of lecturers and junior lecturers consistently stands out as above the national average, confirming the juniority of this RALM.

Figure 5.6 Proportion of RALM per Academic Rank (2000 - 2012)



The overall juniority of the RALM is a concern, especially in a context where increasing pressure is being placed on academics to have higher post-graduate qualifications. The streamlining of academic ranks, to those of traditional universities, has for this RALM increased the proportion of the professoriate. However, the long-term sustainability remains to be seen.

In terms of education and training, the RALM has also become increasingly university-educated. In 2000, 72,1% of academics' highest qualifications were from a university, 12% from a technikon, and 15,8% from elsewhere. By 2012, this was 79,6%, 10,3%, and 10,1% respectively. In 2000, of those who were technikon-educated: 70,4% were lecturers, 19,4% senior lecturers, and 4,1% associate directors. None were employed within the professoriate. However, technikon-educated academics were in the minority and did not account for more than 20% of any occupational rank: they were most represented amongst lecturers (17,6%) and associate directors (17,4%). Figure 5.7. (below) shows how university education accounted for two-thirds, or more, of all academics' education (with the exception of lecturers) and the role played by other post-secondary education institutions.

Figure 5.7. RALM by Academic Rank and Education (in 2000)

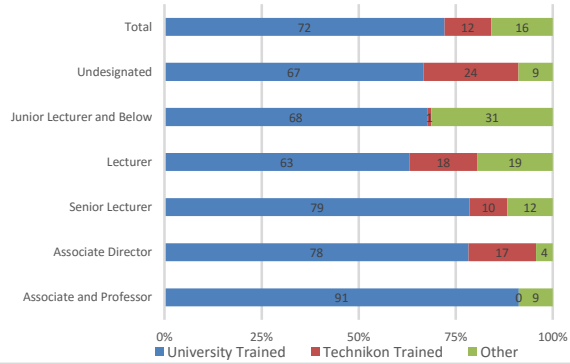
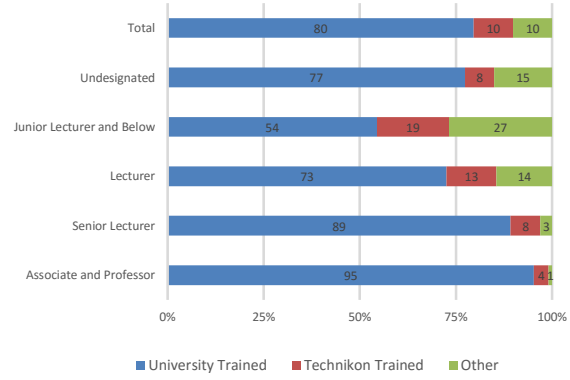



Figure 5.8. RALM by Academic Rank and Education (in 2012)




As seen in figure 5.8, by 2012 the role of universities in the education of academics consolidated, with significant increases at every level (except junior lecturer and below). Of all technikon-educated academics, most were still lecturers (61,2%) and now senior lecturers (17,6%). However, 6,9% of the professoriate were now technikon-educated too. There was a wider spread of technikon-educated academics throughout the academic hierarchy. However, the proportions within each rank decreased, with only junior lecturers being close to 20% (at 18,7%). Therefore, whilst the influence of technikon-training declined in the education of

academics themselves, post-apartheid, those with such qualifications did experience an opening up of the RALM and were more upwardly mobile than before. In addition, the role of other training institutions also declined but continued to be important, particularly at entry level.

As this discussion shows, the RALM as a unit of analysis provides a useful link between the national ALM, institutional types, and individual institutions. It assists in showing where and how these converge into trends and where divergence remains specifically concentrated or located. It was hoped that the reconfiguration of institutions, in this RALM, might assist in narrowing the racial segmentation, in historically racially separated HEIs. However, within four to eight years, racialisation was again evident per institutional type. This demonstrates the endurance of long entrenched patterns in the labour market, showing how what is seemingly institutional is in effect also regional.

In addition, steps towards gender de-segmentation, the further entrenchment of university qualifications as a pre-requisite for academics, the doctorate increasingly becoming an industry norm, and an increasing openness (through vertical and horizontal mobility) towards technikon-educated academics, all appear as regional trends within this particular RALM.

### 5.2. The labour market context of the case studies themselves

The next sections provide the quantitative background to the case studies. They describe the demographic (race and gender) and academic (occupational rank and qualification) profile of each institution between 1986 and 2012. They also provide detail of institutional context (such as faculty differentiation), workplace movement, and contribution to the skills pool. This thereby provides the macro-institutional context within which the meso and micro experiences, detailed in chapters 6 and 7, are located.

### *5.2.1. Reconciliation Bay University (RBU)*

Reconciliation Bay University (RBU) was the result of an incorporation of the regional campus of a HBU, and the merger between a HWU and HWT. The demographic, rank, and qualification profile below pertains mostly to the two HWIs as efforts to collect this same information for just the one regional campus, as opposed to entire, HBU proved futile. Nonetheless, at key points, demographics for the HBU, as a whole, are presented for reference.

#### 5.2.1.1. The demographic landscape of RBU

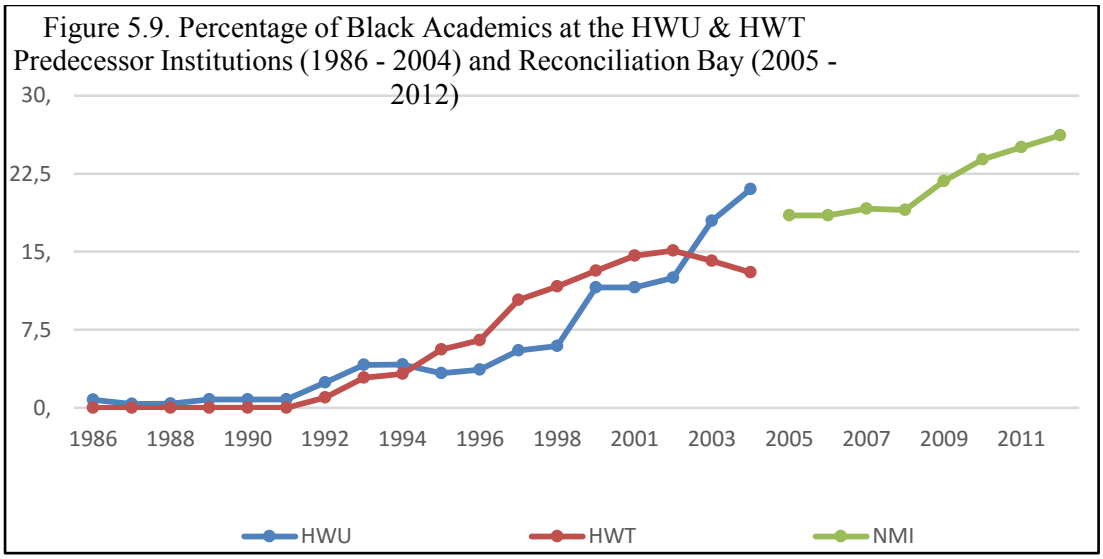
By 2008, merged HEIs staffing had settled into regular patterns. It is therefore, a useful point from which to provide a brief overview of the RBU labour force as a whole, relative to SAHES. RBU was fairly typical with respect to academics, non-professional administrative staff, and specialist support staff who accounted for 35%, 30%, and 8% of all permanent staff. These figures were all within a percentage of sectoral averages. RBU's executive (administrative) management was fairly large at 9% compared to the sectoral average of 4%. Crafts and trades were double the sectoral average at 5% compared to 2%; whilst service staff were just 6%, making this category half the sectoral average (12%). The labour force reflected the same gendered and racialized patterns as were noted at the national level for most occupational categories. As the overall context has been briefly mapped, the focus will now shift specifically to academic staff.

Between 1986 and 2004, the average annual population growth rate of the academic staff at HWU was just 1%[124]. This mostly reflected the incorporation of the HBU in 2003, as this was the first time the HWU reached the size it had been in 1986. In contrast, the academic staff complement of the HWT had an average annual population growth rate of 3%. By 2000, it was twice the size it had been in 1986 s. Peaking in 2001, it was then affected by the pre-merger freeze on new appointments and promotions. It subsequently lost a net 29 posts. In comparison,

[124] As explained in Chapter 4, average annual population growth rate is the measurement indicator of choice used in this study as this provides a more measured evaluation of change over a longer period of time. It is less affected by It also explains why the values are lower than those found in other studies, since such studies often use calculations that do not take cognizance of time as a factor.

it might seem like only six posts at the HWU were 'lost', but this is due to others having been hidden by the 'incorporation boom'. Post-merger, RBU grew by an average annual population growth rate of 1%, almost all occurring after 2009. The cumulative academic staff total, pre-merger, was 576 in 2004. After the merger, this became an official 557 in 2005. This was further reduced to an all-time low of 514 in 2006 as a result of the harmonisation exercise. Small incremental increases began in 2007, and there was a return to 'normal practice' in 2009. By 2012 there were 596 academics. Such a pattern, similar to ones in other NMIs, provides some explanation for the provincial and national patterns discussed above as well as in Chapter 4.

Figure 5.9. Percentage of Black Academics at the HWU & HWT Predecessor Institutions (1986 - 2004) and Reconciliation Bay (2005 - 2012)



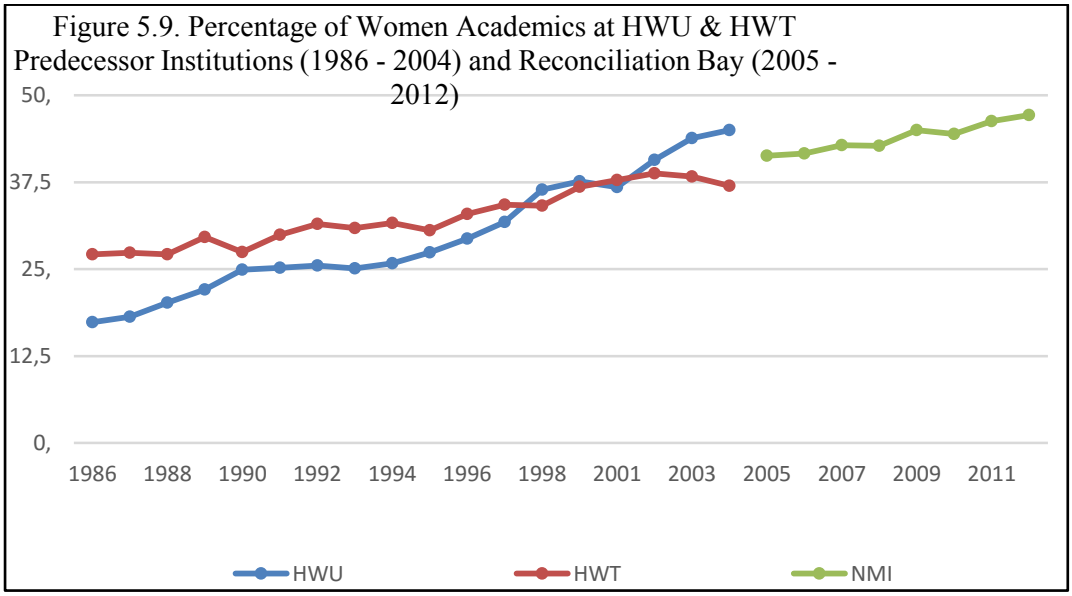

As Figure 5.9 shows, neither of the predecessor HWIs had a sizeable Black academic staff complement until the 1990s. Only after 1994 did they began to take the need to hire Black academic staff more seriously. However, the pre-merger hiring freeze at the HWT, virtually undid the equity gains made post-EEA (15% to 13%). In contrast, the incorporation of the HBU into the HWU facilitated the increase of Black academics from 13% to 21%, between 2002 and 2004.

There was far better representation of Black academics at the predecessor HBU: from 14% in 1988, to 38% by 1998; and 49% just before disbandment in 2003. As mentioned, the exact number of academics that were incorporated from the HBU is unclear, but the change to the profile illustrates a relatively small, yet positive impact. At merger, RBU retained all 103 Black academics from the accumulated institutions. However, in 2006, the numbers declined to 95,

representing 18% of all academics. Efforts were quickly made to return the numbers to what they were at the time of the merger. After 'normal' hiring resumed in 2009, the numbers steadily increased again. In 2012, Black academic representation was up to 26%.

The impact macro processes can have on Black representivity, and efforts to de-segment HEIs, is evident. It should be noted that in 2004, the HWU (with the HBU incorporated) surpassed, for the first time, the provincial average for HWIs. While the emergent NMI has consistently been below the provincial NMI average, it has also been above the HWU one. Thus, regardless of earlier efforts toward de-segmentation, reclassification comes with a new set of obligations and expectations regarding change processes.

Figure 5.9. Percentage of Women Academics at HWU & HWT Predecessor Institutions (1986 - 2004) and Reconciliation Bay (2005 - 2012)




As per Figure 5.9, women academics in 1986 already represented 17% of HWU and 27% of HWT. By 1995, the HWT successfully surpassed the 30%, and in 1998 the 35%, benchmark. The HWU reached the same 1998 milestone simultaneously but after a slower and more gradual pace. At the time of the incorporation, women academics' representivity at the HBU itself was at 45%[125]. The effect of the HBU's incorporation was again evident, as women

[125] An amount which had declined since 2000, when staff numbers declined generally, and the university seemed already unlikely to continue as an independent institution.

academics increased from 41% to 45% between 2002 and 2004. Whilst the cumulative total of women was 240 in 2004, by 2005 only 230 were employed at RBU. In 2006, this declined to 214 and women represented only 42% of academics. After 'normalisation', the representivity of women academics increased to 47%, in 2012. Both RBU, and the predecessor HWIs, were ahead of other comparable regional institutions, on the gender front.

Figure 5.10 is a constructed graph in that the 1992 – 2004 component is a combination of data accumulated from both the HWU and HWT (which at the time existed as separate institutions) but which is presented here as if already one. 2005 – 2011 is RBU's actual data.

Figure 5.10. Numbers of Black Academics at Reconciliation Bay
(Constructed data: 1992 - 2004 & Actual data 2005 - 2012)

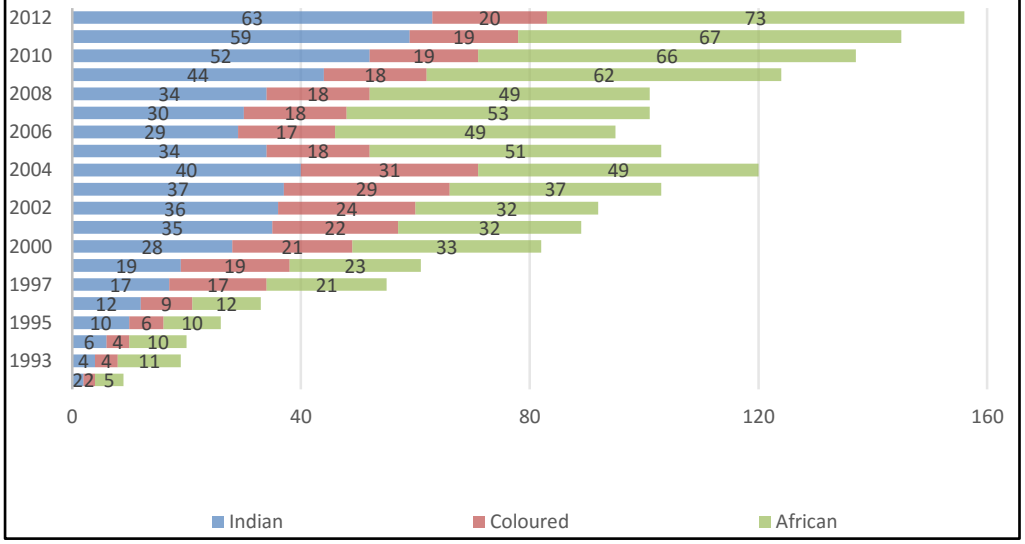



Figure 5.10 begins at 1992 as the HWU employed across all 'racial lines' (although only six Black academics in total) and the HWT employed Black academics (two), both for the first time, this year. Despite its late start, the technikon had twice as many Black academics as the university, by 1998. The combined average annual population growth rate for Black academics at both institutions was then 32%, in comparison to the -1% for White academics. The average annual population growth rate for Indian academics was 43%, Coloured academics 20%, and African academics 29%.

Over the next 6 years, the average annual population growth rates became slower, which is to be expected as the larger the employment base, the harder it is to sustain a consistent exponential growth. Nonetheless, since this was post-EEA, it is worth making the comparison.

The average annual population growth rate for Black academics was then 15%, compared to 3% for White academics (due to the incorporation). The average annual population growth rates for Indian and African academics was at 13% each and 35% for Coloured academics. Therefore, by 2004, 18% of all academics were Black: 48% of these African, 34%, Indian academics and, Coloured academics making up the remaining 18%.

Post-merger, the most-notable decline was that of Indian academics; their proportionality within the Black category dropping to 31% in 2006. It was 2009, before numbers returned to, and exceeded, pre-merger levels. In 2012, Black academics were 26% of all academics. African academics accounted for 47% of Black academics, and 12% of all academics. Indian academics were 40% of the Black academic quotient and 11% of all academics. Whilst Coloured academics had decreased to just 13% of Black academics and a mere 4% of all academics. Therefore, representivity of Black academics as a whole, specifically African and Coloured academics, at RBU, continued to be below the RALM levels.

Thus, the merger advanced collective de-segmentation, but also set back, by a few years, the process for the predecessor (HW) institution that had prior to then, advanced the most. It also had the greatest effect on Black academic employment, in total, and for each sub-component. The institution specifics and workforce movement data below provide further explanation as to the effects of the merger on academic staff as a whole, and from the different institutions.

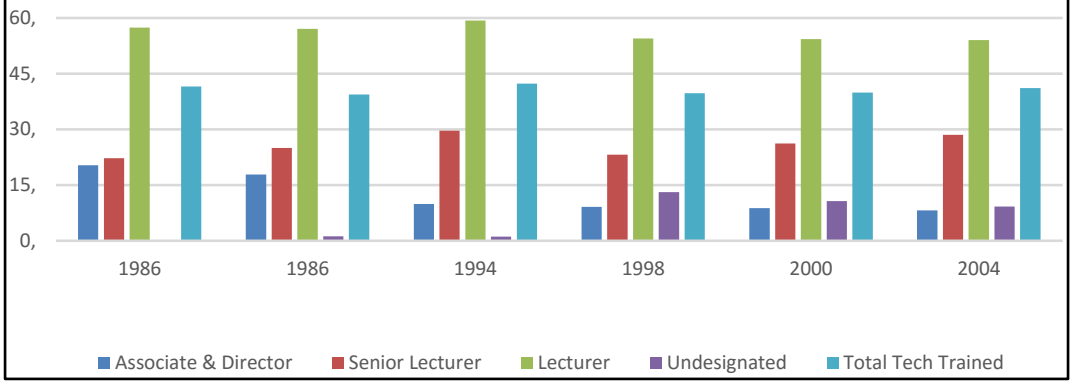
5.2.1.2. Reconciling academic staffing: occupational rank, education and training

Although not atypical, until 2000, the HWU, employed only university-educated academics[126]. In 2004, this was still the norm, as only five academics had technikon qualifications as their highest relevant qualifications: one senior lecturer, three lecturers, and a junior lecturer. Most academics had university qualifications, and the HWT was no exception. At most, 42% of its academics had their highest qualification from a technikon. Nonetheless, this was still considerably above the RALM average. As expected, the frequency with which a technikon-qualification was the highest qualification, decreased as one ascended the occupational hierarchy. It was mainly the entry qualification for lecturers. In 2004, 54% of lecturers were

[126] This was also the case at the HBU where technikon-educated academics still remained at less than 0,5%.

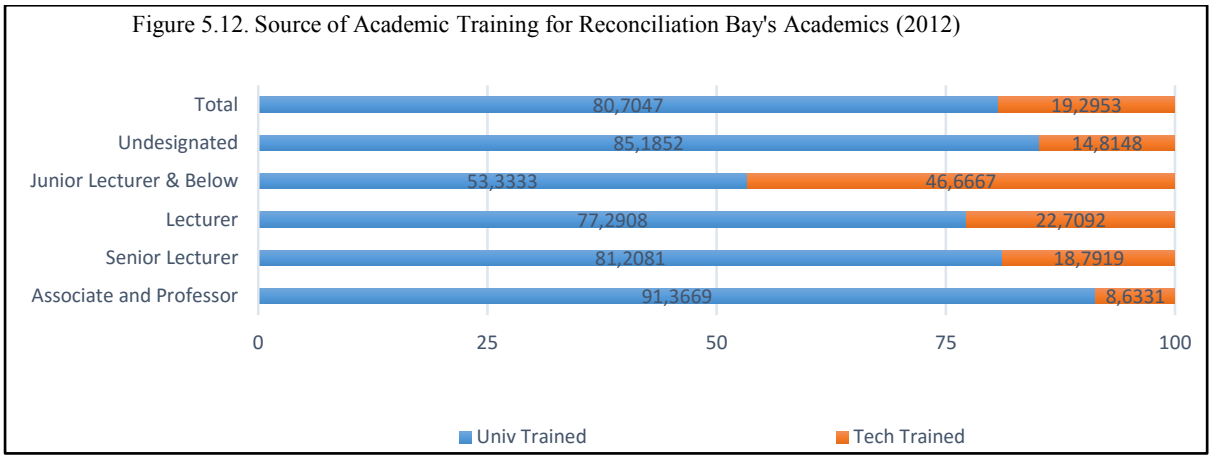
technikon-educated. Nonetheless, its importance for senior lecturers was also clear, as between a quarter and a third continued to be technikon-educated post-1994 (See Figure 5.11).

Figure 5.11. Percentage of HWT Academics with Technikon-Education per Occupational Rank (1986 - 2004)




Post-merger, RBU's academic staff had a varied educational background. Figure 5.12 shows the sources of academics' education in 2012. The difference from each predecessor institution is noticeable, although such is expected after a merger. Most were university educated at 81%, including 91% of the professoriate and 77% of all lecturing staff. However, technikon-education remained a staple for almost 20% of academics, including just under 10% of those in high ranking positions. However, the propulsion towards university-education is clear.

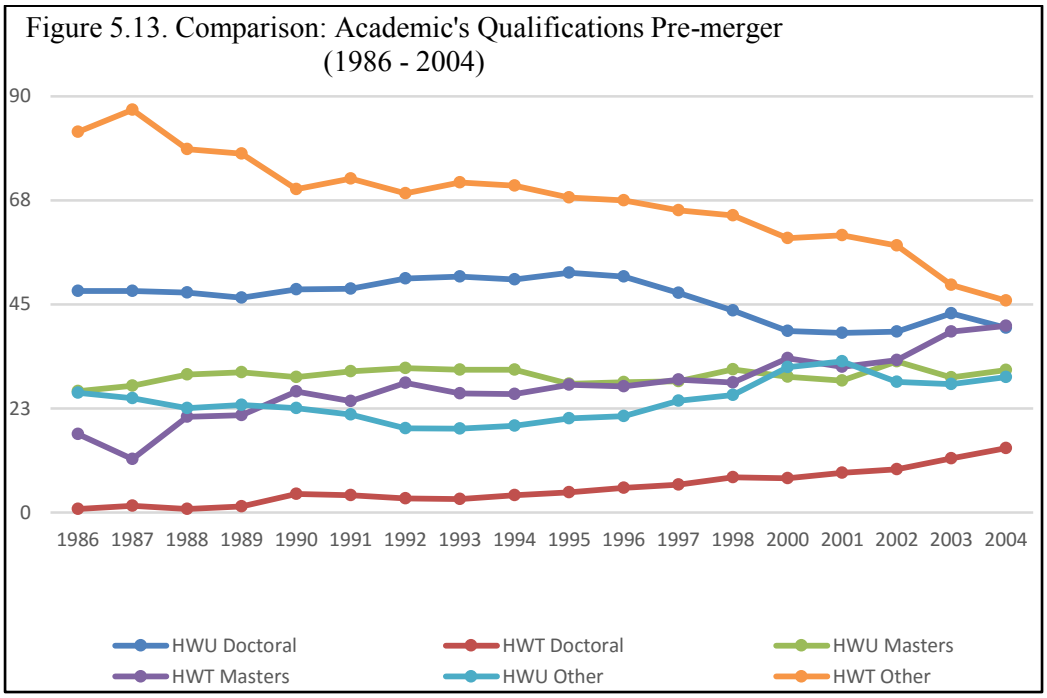
Figure 5.12. Source of Academic Training for Reconciliation Bay's Academics (2012)




Figures 5.13 through to 5.17 illustrate the qualification profile of RBU academics before and after the merger. Of significance was the 20% to 40% increase in masters-qualified academics

at the HWT, and the decline from 50% to 40% of HWU doctoral-qualified academics, pre-merger. The impact of the HBU's incorporation is unclear as whilst there was an initial increase in qualifications, particularly PhDs at the HWU, this then re-stabilized[127].

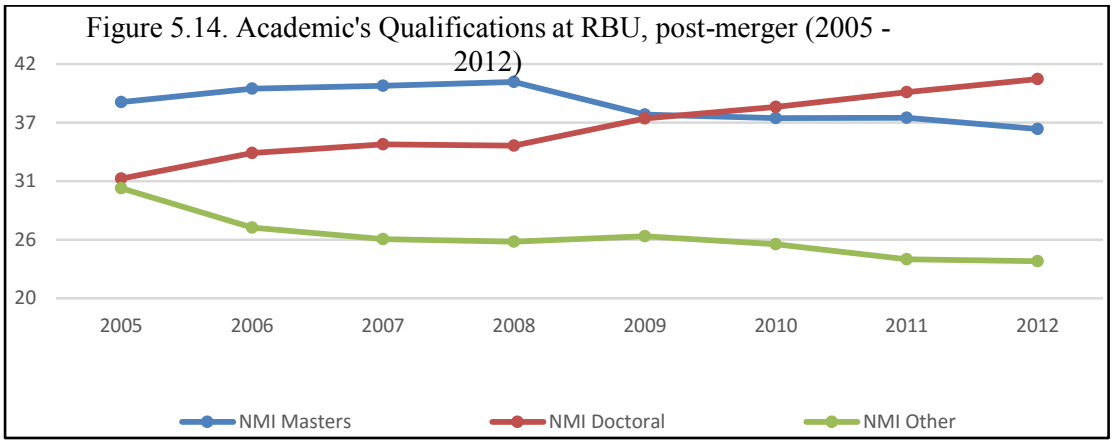
Figure 5.13. Comparison: Academic's Qualifications Pre-merger (1986 - 2004)




In contrast to other indicators, the overall number of those with both a masters and doctoral degree continued to steadily increase, post-merger. As per Figure 5.14, in 2009 the proportion of those with a doctorate equalled that of those with a masters, at 37%, and continued to surpass it. This is no small accomplishment, in light of Figure 5.13. Further, given that the RALM was equally qualified in thirds, RBU's qualification profile is above the province's average.

[127] The HBU as a whole had 18% of academics with a doctorate in 2000, but again it is unclear as to the number and whom of which were incorporated into RBU.

Figure 5.14. Academic's Qualifications at RBU, post-merger (2005 - 2012)




Figures 5.15 and 5.16 reflect possession of a doctorate, per occupational rank. Whilst possession of a doctorate appeared important for senior academics, the difference between the two predecessor institutions was stark. In 1986, just one percent of all HWT academics had a doctorate, as did four percent of academics in directorship posts. In contrast, 48% of all HWU academics, 88% of professors and 94% of associate professors had a doctorate. From about 1998, the HWU experienced a significant decline in the proportion of academics with doctorates; this was at all levels, but especially at that of lecturer and associate professor. In addition to the national decline in the professoriate, this could have been the result of pre-restructuring job freezes which, by 2000, would have meant most academics who had left, would not have been replaced. At its lowest point, only 48% of associate professors had a doctorate. On the contrary, at the HWT, as of 1998, there was a general increase in the proportion of academics, at all levels other than lecturers, with doctorates. Only, just before the merger did the category of associate/directors begin to decline. At its highest point, 36% of academics in this category had a doctorate.

Figure 5.15. HWU Academics with a Doctorate as a Percentage of all Academics per Occupational Rank, Pre-Merger (1986 - 2004)

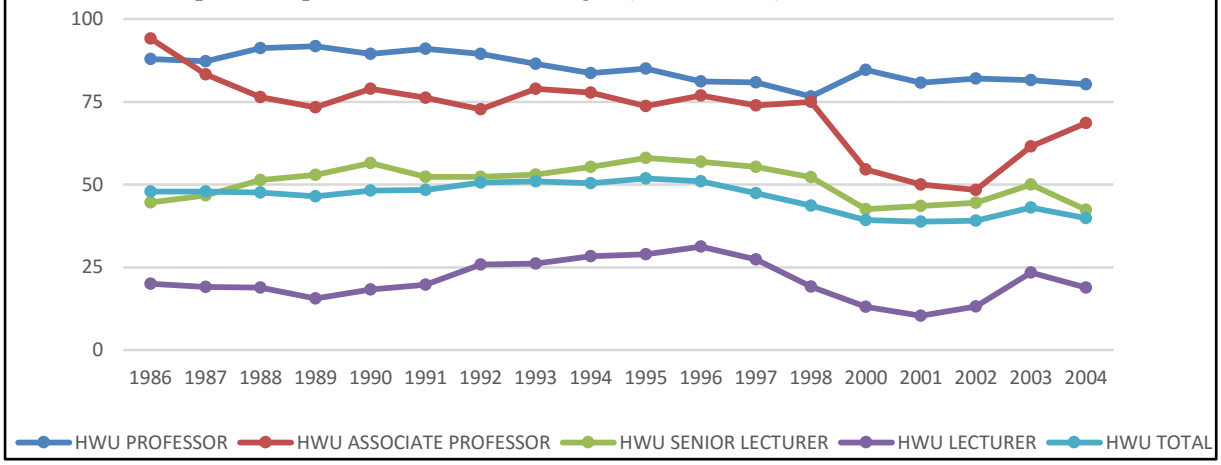
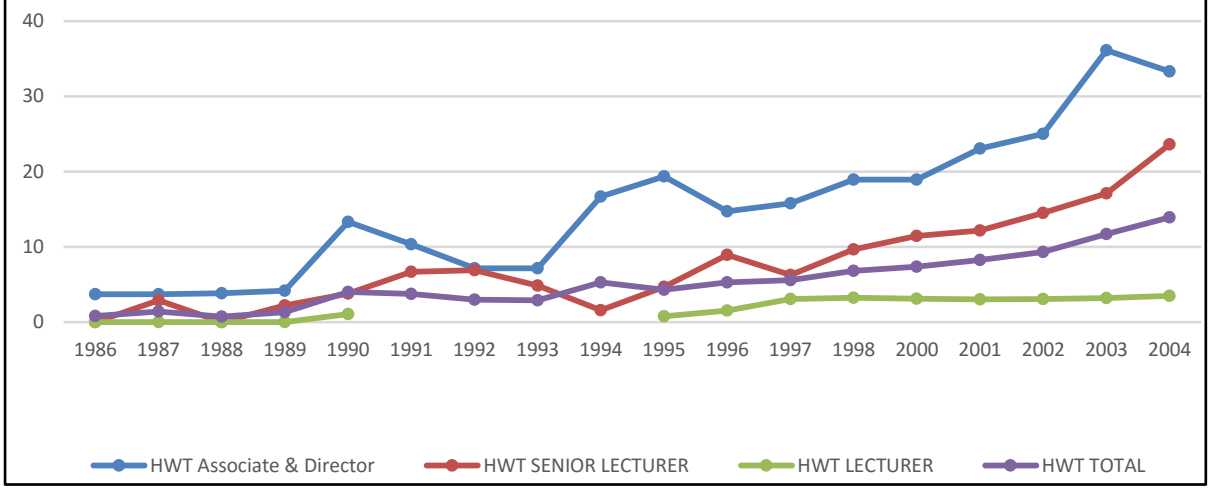
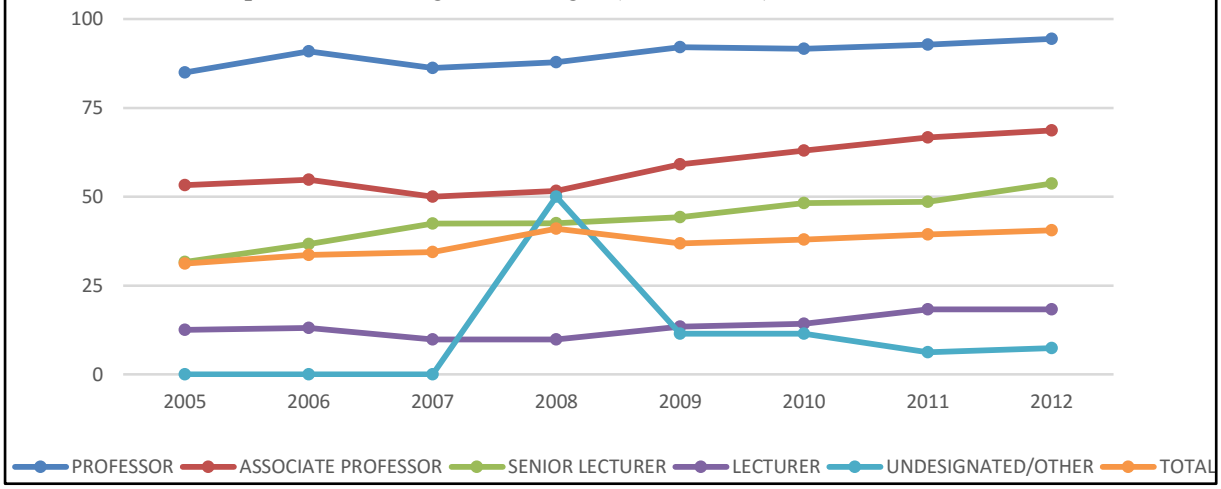



Figure 5.16. HWT Academics with a Doctorate as a Percentage of all Academics per Occupational Rank, Pre-Merger (1986 - 2004)




Post-merger, RBU's occupational profile stabilised. The proportion of professors with doctorates increased and was at 94% in 2012. After an initial decline, associate professors returned to the pre-merger HWU level of 69%. The combined proportion of doctorates for RBU's professoriate was thus 85%. This was ahead of the provincial average of 82% and on par with the national average. For a NMI, this is note-worthy. Senior lecturers with a doctorate increased and were at 54%, whilst just 20% of lecturers had a doctorate. By 2012, 41% of all RBU academics had a doctorate. This also meant that RBU was ahead of the RALM qualification baseline for each occupational rank. The merger therefore appears to have had a positive effect on the qualification baseline for academics employed at RBU.

Figure 5.17. Academics with a Doctorate as a Percentage of All Academics per Occupational Ranking, Post-merger (2005 - 2012)




As universities and technikons had different staffing profiles, with just lecturer and senior lecturer titles in common, reconstituting any new university would be a large task. From 1990, the HWT expanded considerably. As Figure 5.18 shows, the size of all occupational categories increased, especially that of the lecturing staff. On average, lecturers accounted for 49% of the total staff and senior lecturers 30%. Thus, the profile is close to the RALM average with the associate directors at 15%, and 6% of all academics undesignated. This distribution partially explains the HWT's qualification set as well.

Figure 5.18. HWT Academics per Occupational Rank (1986 - 2004)

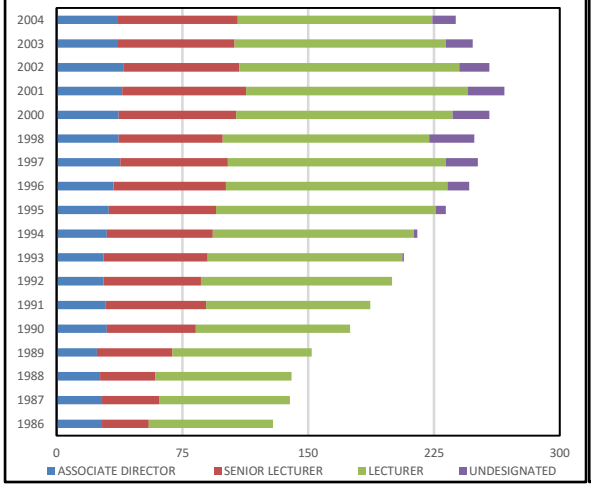
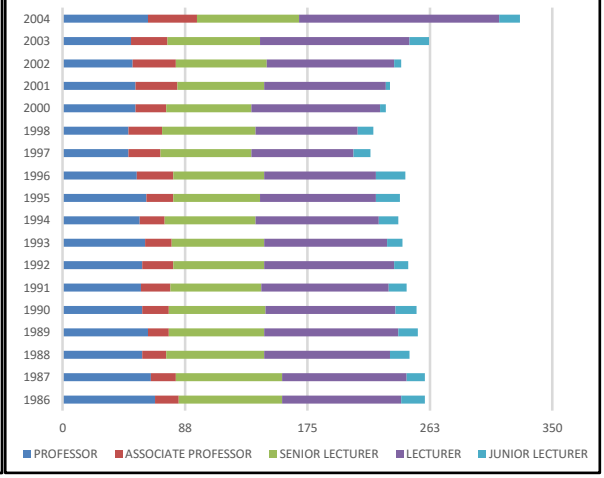



Figure 5.19. HWU Academics per Occupational Rank (1986 - 2004)



Meanwhile, until incorporation, the HWU did not grow very much. On average, the professoriate accounted for just below 30% of the academic staff at HWU (with full professors accounting for two-thirds of this 30%), senior lecturers 22%, lecturers 42%, junior lecturers 4%, and an additional cumulative 3% (not on the graph) shared between below junior lecturers and undesignated academics. Upon incorporation, further increases to the ranks of lecturer, and junior lecturer, were most noticeable[128].

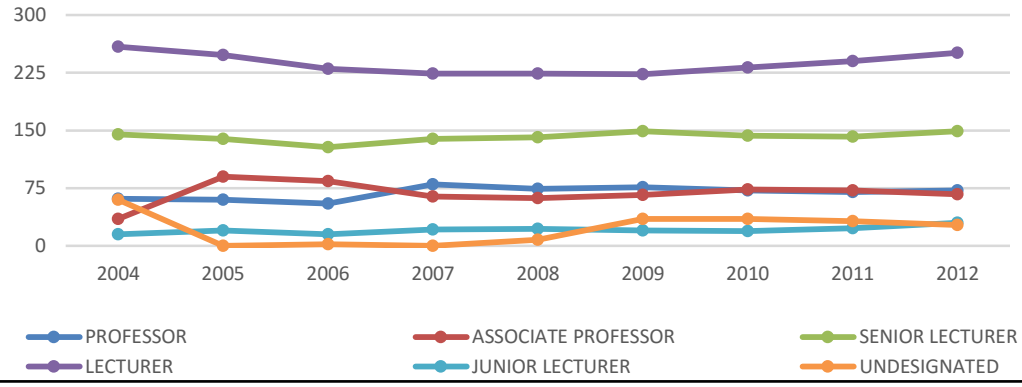
Post-merger, all full professors were initially retained. After five left in the first year, a recruitment drive led to an increase from 55 to 80. Each year, a little more attrition occurred. By 2012, full professors were just 12% of all RBU academics. At merger, the number of associate professors increased substantially to 91, suggesting a combination of retention of HWU associate professors, regrading of HWT associates/directors to associate professors, and the promotion of some previously senior lecturers.

This is partly supported by the fact that in 2004, there were 145 cumulative senior lecturers, but only 139 were employed in 2005. The following year, nine more senior lecturers left. However, in 2007, there was a return to and beyond the original (merger) numbers, such that by 2012, senior lecturers were 25%. Based on 2004 numbers, there could have been 259 lecturers, just 248 were hired in 2005. Significantly, 2010 was the first-time lecturers were again permanently hired. By 2009, the post-merger decline was of another 25 lecturers. Once re-hiring recommenced, the merger numbers were restored in 2012, when lecturers comprised 42% of all academics.

20 junior lecturer appointments were made in 2005. Whilst, this was five more than the HWU, it is possible that the 25 academics not accounted for in the appointments below junior lecturer, or the other/undesignated, may have had to compete for some of these posts. RBU has chosen not to make use of the 'below junior lecturer' post, but has since appointed people to the other/undesignated category. In 2012, this represented 5% of all academics. RBU's distribution per occupational rank is synthesised in Figure 5.20 below.

[128] In 2000, the professoriate was 10,5%, senior lecturers 15,5%, lecturers 59,3% and junior lecturers 12,1% of the HBU.

Figure 5.20. Number of Academics per Occupational Rank at the Time and Post-Merger (2004 - 2012)




Bridging the gap between the poles of the academic hierarchy was an outcome of the merger. Furthermore, stability in the workforce was achieved within five years. However, RBU's priorities were also reflected in its apparent prioritization of the securing and establishing upper levels of the hierarchy, ahead of mid and junior levels.

Whilst essential in mapping broad trends in the PALM (at various levels), a major limitation of the HEMIS data is that portions of the database are not open to public scrutiny. Furthermore, certain levels of intra-institutional detail reside only with institutions themselves. Thus, the final decision on accessibility remains with institutions. The need to respect and protect this autonomous right needs to be weighed up against research limitations that they will likely also engender. Thus far, the basis for the case study discussion is comparable. However, the following sections (5.2.1.3 to 5.2.1.5 and 5.2.2.3 to 5.2.2.5) have differing levels of depth and detail, as necessitated by the research process, levels of access granted, and availability of institutional personnel at each respective case study.

5.2.1.3. Intersectionality and faculty specifics within RBU

In 2008, cumulative Black academic representivity was 19%: African, Coloured, and Indian academics were at 9,2%, 6,4% and 3,4% respectively[129]. Altogether, men academics comprised 55,6%. White men academics were close to a half of all academics (47,5%) and White women

[129] All the statistics in this section have been derived from information supplied directly to the researcher by RBU.

academics, a third (33,5%). More racial de-segmentation occurred amongst women academics. So, whilst there were more Black men (than Black women) academics, at 9,8%, Black men comprised just 17,6% of all men academics. By comparison, Black women academics were 9,2% of the total number of academics, but comprised 21,6% of women academics. Representation of African and Coloured women academics was notable at 11% and 7% respectively, whilst African and Coloured men academics comprised only 8,1% and 6,1%.

In 2008, whilst slightly fewer temporary staff were hired[130], they were still over two-thirds (68,9%) of all of RBU's academics. Therefore, RBU was more reliant on contract academic staff than the national average (CHE, 2014:41). 57,7% were men, and 23,9% Black, academics. Black and more specifically African men academics were 13,4% and 8,6%; whilst Black and African women academics were 10,5% and 7,0% of all temporary academics, depicting better representivity amongst this category. Of course, contract staff generally have less job security and fewer benefits. 96,6% of permanent academics were employed directly by the faculties, whilst only 47,8% of temporary academics were. A further 48,5% of temporary academics were centrally employed for tutorial assistance.

Half the faculties were notably masculinised, employing more than 60% of permanent academic men. Applied Sciences (85%), Engineering (76,6%), and Science (70,3%) stood out[131]. With the exception of Engineering, the gender gap was slightly narrower amongst temporary academics. One faculty, Health Sciences, could be described as feminised with the inverse pattern, as women's representivity among permanent academics was 70,9%. This was even more pronounced amongst its temporary academics. Humanities and Commerce-related faculties were clustered in the 50% to 55% range, either way. Sciences, Applied Sciences, and Law narrowed their gender gap through the employment of temporary academics. The other three faculties recorded fairly similar performance across both sets of academic staff.

Given that Black academic representation, in entirety, was 19%, it was expected that most faculties would also have limited racial de-segmentation and be about 80% White. Law (81,0%), Science (81,2%), Commerce (84,0%), Engineering (96%), and Applied Sciences (100%) were so. The homogeneity of the latter two faculties were obvious red flags. Relative

[130] Based on data from a five-year cycle.
[131] Faculties at both institutions have been given generic descriptions in order to assist with anonymity.

racial de-segmentation was only apparent in the applied professional faculties, namely Health Science and Education at 67,9% and 62%, respectively. This is illustrated in figures 5.21 and 5.22 below. In addition, at this point, four faculties did not employ academics from all racial categories. Furthermore, with the exception of Education, the racialisation of the faculties was in fact maintained or exacerbated by the employment of temporary academics. Whilst Black representation amongst temporary academics in Education was a substantial 74%; the range was merely 2% to 22,2% in all other faculties. Thus, as per apparent existing hiring practices, the contract pool offered few opportunities to alter the permanent staffing profile at that time.

Figure 5.21. Race and Gender Distribution of RBU Permanent Academics per Academic Faculty (2008)

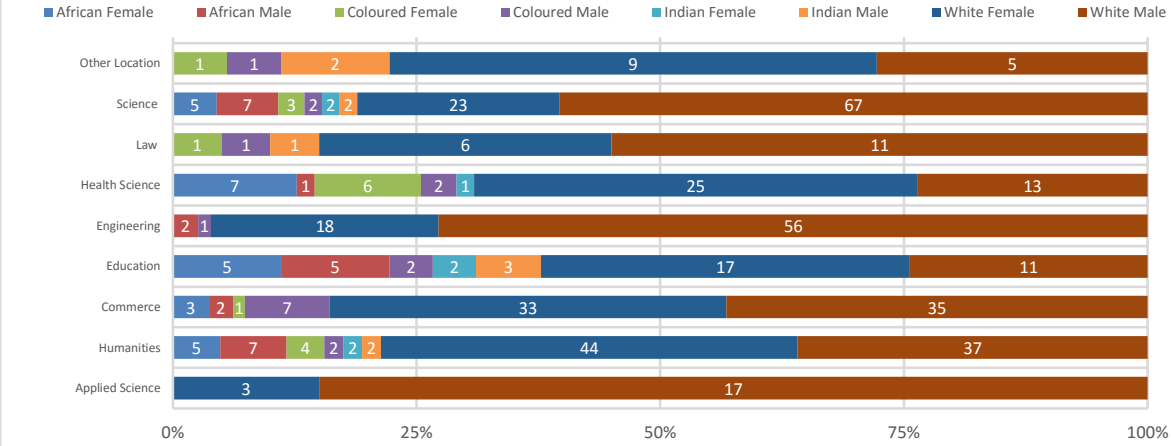
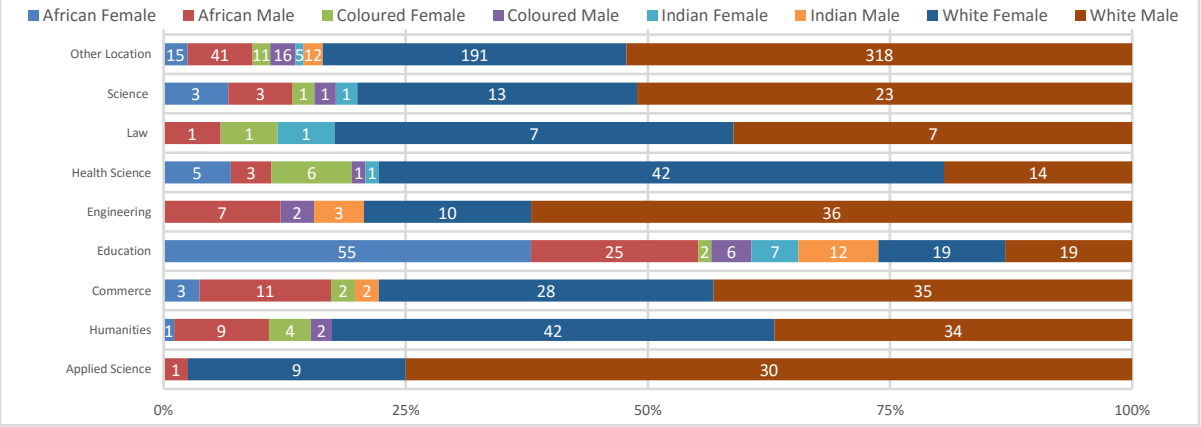



Figure 5.22. Race and Gender Distribution of RBU Temporary Academics per Academic Faculty (2008)




Science, Humanities, Commerce, and Engineering were RBU's largest faculties, and together they employed 70,1% of all permanent academics. The truncated institutional hierarchy was

reflected in their collective distribution pattern of 74,3% of full professors, 68,3% of lecturers, and 54,5% of junior lecturers. Excluding all those assigned to centralised units, Education, Humanities, and Commerce had the largest collective share of temporary academics at 57%. Furthermore, whilst only 1,5% of permanent academics were 'undesignated' by rank; in 2008, all temporary staff were essentially bureaucratically rankless or 'othered'. At this point, RBU's professoriate accounted for 25,6%, whilst lecturing staff made up the majority of all academics, at 72,9%. Commerce, Science, and Engineering each had professoriates proportionally larger than the average, Commerce's professoriate was proportionally the largest at 34,6%. Of the largest five faculties, Humanities and Education proportionally had the largest lecturing components at 79,6% and 82,2%.

In 2008, RBU had the same amount of permanent academics with doctorates (and equivalents) as masters (and equivalents), at 39,5% each. Four faculties had 40% or more academics with a doctorate, namely, Science (55,9%), Education (44,4%), Law (42,9%), and Health Science (40%). Whilst, at the other end of the scale, Engineering (27,3%) and the Applied Sciences (20%) had the least. Several faculties had between 40% and 50% of academics with a masters or equivalent, namely Commerce (42%), Health Science (42,3%), Applied Science (45%), and Engineering (48,1%). This thereby highlighted both the applied nature of such professions, as well as the pressure likely to be brought on a substantial proportion of academics to upgrade their qualifications whilst in full-time employment.

Although 'other' qualifications were less significant for faculties like Health Science (12,7%) and Science (9%); a substantial portion (18,1% in total) still relied on these. They were important for Law (28,6%), Humanities (32%), and Applied Science (35%). These faculties had an academic staffing complement that was diverse in its qualification pool, and drew extensively from all three qualification types. This was partly reflective of the multi-institutional history of RBU, but also at this point illustrated the flexibility and openness of the ILM to a variety of qualifications (at least at the entry level).

The following figures (5.23. and 5.24.) show the distribution of permanent (and full-time) academic staff per faculty according to seniority and juniority[132]. African and Coloured

[132] As deduced from a list of current employees provided by RBU at the time the research was conducted (2011).

representivity had improved and the overall rates of representation were as follows: Black academics at 23,0% with improvements in African and Coloured academics at 11,1%, and 8,6% respectively. However, the proportion of Indian academics and women academics had decreased slightly to 3,3% and 43,2% respectively. Nonetheless, White academics continued to be the majority of all permanent academics, at every level.

Whilst 22,5% of all academics were professors: just 11,7% of all Black academics were professors, compared to 25,6% of all White academics. However, a high proportion of Indian academics were professors, at 23,5%, compared to African academics at 13,8%. 15,1% of women academics were professors compared to 28% of men academics. It is also important to note that 78% of all associate professors and 94% of all full professors were White. However, Black representation was better amongst associate professors where African, Indian, and Coloured professors were 13%, 7%, and 2% of associates, respectively. That associates were 60% of the professoriate, bodes well for the future. At this point, though, there were just four Black women members of the professoriate, two who were full professors and two associate professors.

Figure 5.23. Number of Senior Academics (Professoriate) by Race and by Gender per Faculty at RBU (2011)

| Faculty | African | Coloured | Indian | Black (Total) | White | Female | Male | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Applied Sciences** | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| **Commerce** | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 22 | 6 | 18 | 24 |
| **Education** | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 8 | 4 | 5 | 9 |
| **Engineering** | 1 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 13 | 3 | 12 | 15 |
| **Health Sciences** | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 10 | 7 | 4 | 11 |
| **Humanities** | 3 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 14 | 4 | 14 | 18 |
| **Law** | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 7 | 2 | 6 | 8 |
| **Science** | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 28 | 8 | 22 | 30 |
| **Total** | 8 | 2 | 4 | 14 | 103 | 34 | 83 | 117 |

Commerce and Science had the largest share of the professoriate at 25,6% and 20,5% respectively. However, both also had the smallest proportion of Black professors at 8,3% and

6,7%. At 22,2%, Humanities had the largest proportion of Black professors. Although, in all cases, no faculty had more than five Black professors[133]. Commerce and Health Sciences had the largest proportion of women professors at 44,4% and 63,6%; whilst Applied Sciences (0%), Engineering (20%) and Humanities (22,2%) fell at the other end of the spectrum. In total, women professors accounted for 29% and Black professors for 12%, of all faculty-based professoriate. Thus, albeit to different degrees and often reflective of disciplinary trajectories, the apex of faculties and thus the academy remained both racialized and gender-segmented.

Figure 5.24. Number of Junior Academics (Lecturing Staff) by Race and by Gender per Faculty at RBU (2011)

| Faculty | African | Coloured | Indian | Black (Total) | White | Female | Male | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Applied Sciences** | 1 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 20 | 7 | 16 | 23 |
| **Commerce** | 8 | 12 | 0 | 20 | 46 | 36 | 30 | 66 |
| **Education** | 9 | 3 | 4 | 16 | 16 | 21 | 11 | 32 |
| **Engineering** | 2 | 4 | 0 | 6 | 63 | 15 | 54 | 69 |
| **Health Sciences** | 8 | 8 | 1 | 17 | 25 | 31 | 10 | 41 |
| **Humanities** | 9 | 7 | 3 | 19 | 61 | 48 | 32 | 80 |
| **Law** | 1 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 10 | 6 | 8 | 14 |
| **Science** | 12 | 5 | 4 | 21 | 58 | 27 | 52 | 79 |
| **Total** | 50 | 43 | 13 | 106 | 299 | 191 | 213 | 404 |

Comparatively, for the other 77,5% of academics employed as lecturing staff, women academics accounted for 47,3% and Black academics 26,2%. Thus, whilst vertical segmentation within RBU was clear, it is also evident of change from the bottom up. Nonetheless, an egregious disproportionate 95,6% of all Coloured academics were lecturers; as were 86,2% of African academics, and 84,9% of women academics. In fact, almost two-thirds of Black academics were employed at designations below that of senior lecturer, whilst

[133] Applied Sciences technically had the largest proportion at 50% but given that there were only two professors in total, this was footnoted rather attributed as a major trend, yet.

only one-fifth of White academics were similarly ranked. At the time of the research, the rank of senior lecturer was the effective glass ceiling for Black academics.

Although institutionally a minimalist category of 3% of academics, associate lecturer had the most, Black representivity at 47%, followed closely by lecturers at 43%. Whilst Black academics represented only 19% of senior lecturers. The Humanities (19,8%), Science (19,6%), Engineering (17,1%) and Commerce (16,3%) employed the largest amount of lecturing staff. Whilst, Education, Health Science, and Commerce had the most representative lecturing staff at 50%, 41,5% and 30,3% Black respectively. Women made up 47,3% of all lecturing staff and Health Science (75,6%), Education (65,7%), and the Humanities (60%) were the most feminised. Engineering had the least representivity for both Black and women academics, at 8,7% and 21,7%, as did Applied Sciences at 13% and 30,4% respectively.

Whilst having minute numbers of Black academics, Engineering and Applied Science had made efforts at the senior levels, such that they had higher levels of representivity at the senior compared to junior academic levels. Humanities was the closest to having comparable proportions of Black academics at both the junior and senior levels (at 23,5% and 22,2% respectively). Law (28,6% and 12,5%) and Commerce (30,3% and 8,3%) were the next two faculties with the least differentials between Black representivity at junior and senior levels. In addition, Education, Health Science, Science, and Law all had above 25% Black representivity amongst contract staff as well. Thus, each of these faculties shows potential for taking initiative towards the development of an internal supply chain of future academics.

The comparison of women's representivity at junior and senior levels per faculty mostly illustrates the continuity of horizontal gender segmentation. Engineering, Health Science, and Science have the smallest differentials between the two levels but each demonstrates the highly-gendered nature of their disciplines. Engineering (21,7% and 20%) and Science (34,5% and 29,1%) have low levels of women's representivity whilst Health Science has the inverse (75,6% and 63,6%). Education is probably the only faculty with a differential that may be changing, and its large base provides ample opportunity for this (65.6% and 44.4%). Thus, whilst most faculties have higher rates of women's representivity at both junior and senior levels (than Black academics); the appointment and/or retention and upward mobility of women academics into senior positions also clearly remains an institutional challenge.

In 2007, RBU was particularly strong in the Sciences (31,9%), Humanities (24,7%), Commerce (17%), and Health Science (10,4%) for which the university had larger shares of academics

with doctorates than the national distribution pattern (Assaf, 2010: 60)[134]. Further, post-merger RBU encouraged its staff to apply for NRF rating and had gained recognition in the two main categories of 'Natural Science and Engineering' and 'Social Sciences, Humanities, and Law', with more than 10% of its academics rated (NRF, 2014: 8 – 12)[135].

5.2.1.4. Academic workforce movement

Between 2005 and 2010, there were 221 terminations and 169 recruitments[136], and 101 promotions of permanent academic staff. Over the period, the attrition rate fluctuated but on average was 6,8%. In 2005, it was at a low of 5,02%, followed by a high the next year of 10,3%. Academic attrition rates are generally lower than in the private sector, but the variability at this point is most likely to be context dependent. As expected, resignations accounted for 45,7% of terminations, followed by retirements at 26,2%, and 'other' at 22,2%[137]. On aggregate, the proportionality of racial and gender categories reflected a slight over representation of both Black and women academics. This is worth keeping in mind, given the earlier discussion about the departure of both Black academic staff and highly qualified academics.

Black academics represented 29,7% of resignations. This was ahead of the average employment over the period (20,1%). Two-thirds of resignations by Black academics were of Black men academics (65% of these were African men, 20% Coloured men, and 15% Indian men). On the other hand, Black academics only accounted for 8,6% of retirements. All Black academic retirees over this period were women (three African and two Coloured women).

[134] Using the broad categories as defined by such (e.g.: Sciences is Natural and Agricultural Science so would therefore include both the faculties of Science and Applied Science. Humanities would be inclusive of Humanities and Education, etc.

[135] The National Research Foundation (NRF) has a rating system designed to enhance South African research. It is a form of peer review based on research output and impact over an eight-year period. Rating enables researchers to leverage further research funding and HEIs use it position themselves locally and internationally. There are five rating categories including A (leading international researchers), B (internationally acclaimed researchers), C (established researchers), P (prestigious awards) and Y (promising young researchers). (http:www.nrf.ac.za)

[136] The figures for recruitments and promotions refer just to the academic faculties. There were for example, a total of 237 recruitments (with 68 being of academics located outside of faculties). However, for confidentiality reasons, termination data does not detail the previous location of academic staff. This, therefore, could include academics in non-faculty locations as well.

[137] 'Other' was an institutional category that excluded non-renewal of contract, dismissal: retrenchment, dismissal: misconduct, and death.

The aggregate category of women academics was similarly represented in resignations and retirements at 44,8% and 44,6% respectively. Both of these were slightly ahead of women's representation for the period (43,1%). There were only two official recorded cases of retrenchment[138] and one non-renewal of contract. The first applied to two White men and the latter to a foreign woman academic. Whilst these statistics present an account, they do not of course provide the circumstances or reasons behind the terminations (particularly in the case of resignations).

Given that this was immediately post-merger, the recruitment process was fairly constrained. The average for the period was an increase of 39,5 academics per year. Both 2005 and 2006 were affected by job freezes with only 5 new faculty-based academic employees recruited; comparatively there were the most recruitments in 2009 with 68 new hires. On the whole, Black academics represented 33,1% of recruits, whilst women academics accounted for 56,2%. This was both ahead of the proportion (then) currently employed as well as those lost through termination. Of all Black academics recruited, there was a fairly even split between African and Coloured academics at 46,8% and 49,4% respectively. In addition, in both instances, about 60% of new hires were Black women academics. White women academics represented a similar proportion of all White academic recruits.

Whilst more women than men were recruited, White recruits were still clearly very much the majority (61,6%). Engineering and Health Science continued to illustrate their diametric gender segmented patterns with women represented at 14,8% and 81,8% of new recruits respectively. Interestingly, these two faculties also framed both sides of the spectrum in the recruitment of Black academics at 18,5% and 50% respectively. Most faculties, though, had made some progress to alter their current profiles through the recruitment of a greater number of both Black and women academics. Although termination data does not specify location, on the whole, there was a net increase of 10 African academics and 19 Coloured academics, 11 White women academics; in addition, an equalization of Indian academics and a net loss of 24 White men academics.

[138] This is based on RBU official termination records. Some academic staff may possibly have been recorded as such on the predecessor institutions' records if such was in place before the incorporation and merger. Furthermore, other actions may have been coded in other ways if for example, academics took early retirement.

Promotions were similarly constrained by the merger process, with an average of 16,8 promotions per year. There were three years when a maximum of two promotions were awarded. Only by 2009 was a full complement of 33 promotions awarded[139]. Black academics accounted for only 20,8% of promotions and women academics, 54,5%. As promotions are highly dependent on the staff complement and internal conditions and processes, the faculties of Humanities, Science, and Health Science recognised their Black academic staff with representivity in promotions at 31,3%, 26,3%, and 22,2%. Black women academics comprised of a slightly larger proportion than Black men academics attaining promotion (52,4% compared to 47,6%). 47% of promotions awarded to White academics were awarded to White women academics. On the whole, women academics were recognised through promotion, accounting for between 50% and 65% in most faculties. Science and Humanities were negative outliers at 42,1% and 46,8% whilst Health Science was at the other end of the scale with 88,9%.

5.2.1.5. Contribution to the skills pool

Between 2000 and 2007, RBU graduated a total of 214 doctorates, contributing to 2.9% of the nationwide total (Assaf, 2010: 131). Nationally, doctoral students had on average 1,75 supervisors; RBU's average was 1.58 (Assaf, 2010: 46). Thus, RBU doctoral students are likely to have a mixture of either one or two supervisors. Whilst all faculties provided masters and doctoral qualifications, some were more equipped to deliver them.

Commerce (546) and Arts (504) graduated more masters and doctorates, between 2005 and 2010, than all other faculties combined. However, Science and Education had high proportions (30%) of doctoral graduates as a percentage of all higher degree graduates. The proportion of doctorates were 41,1% and 41,4% the number of masters' graduates from these faculties. This suggests good continuity between the two sets of degrees. Thus, these four faculties were in a better position to access a home-grown skilled applicant pool, unlike the t Commerce, Applied Sciences, and Law faculties that had very low proportions of doctoral graduates at 6%, 4%, and 4%. These were therefore more likely to rely on an entry level applicant pool with a diverse set of qualifications.

[139] The records do not reflect any detail as to the level of promotion.

RBU masters and doctoral graduates tend to reflect the faculty they were trained by. Thus, Health Science, Education, and Humanities, if employing their own graduates, should have a good proportion of women candidates to select from, but Engineering, Law and Commerce may face some challenges. The extent of gender reproduction can clearly be seen in the 84% of male doctoral Engineering graduates and the 84% of female Health Science doctoral graduates. Therefore, gender segmentation is expected to continue in the applicant/skills pool for quite some time.

Humanities and Education had a good representation of Black graduates through to the doctoral level, whilst Commerce and Law only maintained this until masters. Whilst Applied Science was yet to cultivate a post-graduate base yet. For RBU as a whole, the proportion of African and Coloured graduates decline between the masters and doctoral levels. Black graduates were 57,9% of all masters and 48,3% of all doctorates. African students were 75% and 71% of all Black masters and Black doctoral graduates, whilst Coloured students were 20% and 16% respectively.

Racialisation applied to subject specialisation, which was varied but evident at the masters' level and became more pronounced at the doctorate level. Commerce was the faculty of choice for African (36%), Coloured (34%) and Indian (36%) masters' students. Humanities and Science were also significant to differing extents: for African students, 32% and 8%; for Coloured students 21% and 16%; and for Indian students, 12% and 10%, respectively. Education (11%) was also significant for Coloured students, as was Health Science (18%) for Indian students. However, by the doctorate, most Black students further narrowed in on science and education. Science was now taken by 32% of African, 39% of Coloured, and 34% of Indian doctoral students. Education was taken by 15% of African and 33% of both Coloured and Indian doctoral students. Humanities (25%) still remained important for African students as did Health Science for Indian students (13%).

Representivity of Black doctoral graduates was highest in Humanities and Education at 63,9%. Whilst Law and Engineering had the least at just under a third. Education was the most heterogeneous doctoral qualification with the most diverse group of graduates. Many other degrees still reflected historic racial and gender segmentation. In particular, more focus needs to be paid to the pool of masters' students, especially to ensure that increasing proportions of Black candidates, especially African and Coloured women are recruited and retained. Nonetheless, several faculties appear to have taken steps to cultivate the next generation of

doctoral students, if not scholars. Whilst for others, this effectively stopped at the masters' level, and a few thinned out even before then, raising doubts about the existence of even a pipeline, from which to contribute to the skills pool, let alone grow future academics.

RBU has made steps towards both race and gender de-segmentation. Race-based change remains its greatest challenge. Post-merger, efforts are evident of recruitment and promotion particularly of members of designated groups. RBU has also brought its staff onto a single grading system and had an increase in academics with doctorates. Its scholars have been recognised by the NRF and it has also made attempts in several faculties to transform the academic staff profile and to contribute to future generations of skilled professionals. Nonetheless, several faculties (especially Engineering and Health Science) are highly gender segmented as reflected in both staff and graduate profiles.

### *5.2.2. Nxele Valley University (NVU)*

#### 5.2.2.1. The demographic landscape of NVU

Nxele Valley University (NVU) is a HWU that was minimally affected by the restructuring process. It did not incorporate or merge with any other HEIs. However, one of its campuses was incorporated elsewhere. In terms of NVU's labour force as a whole, this is quite distinctive. Post-2000, NVU retained relatively large proportions of non-professional staff in a context when many other HEIs outsourced such work. For example, in 2008, NVU's craft and service workers made up 12% and 31% of all permanent staff, respectively. The SAHES average was just 2% and 12%, respectively.

NVU, therefore, has relatively smaller complements, of for example, academics at 24% and non-professional administrative staff at 19% (compared to the sectoral averages of 36% and 30%, respectively). These reflect decisions the HEI has taken about its staffing. Whilst reflecting the generalized racial and gendered patterns at most occupational categories, there are some further distinctive features. Attention will shift to examining these specifically by focusing on academic staffing per se.

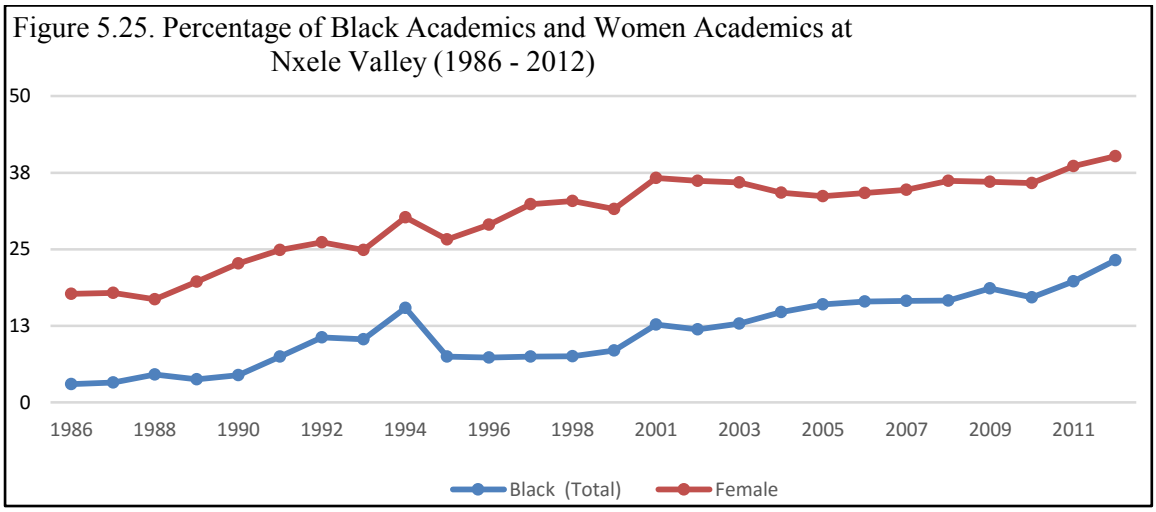
Between 1986 and 2012, NVU's academic complement increased by only 1%[140]. The average annual population growth rate of women academics was 4%, whilst for men academics it remained static at 0%. From an overall representivity of just 18% in 1986, women academics increased to 40% by 2012. Such representivity was fairly standard for HWIs but was slightly less than the averages for this specific RALM and the national trends.

Between 1988 and 1998, a net increase of 19 posts were added/filled: a net increase of 55 posts were filled by women academics, coupled with a corresponding decline of 33 posts previously filled by men. Over the next decade, NVU only increased by three net posts. There was a decline of eight posts that had previously been filled by men; these plus another three, were now filled by women[141]. This gender pattern reflects the generalised PALM, but more specifically the RALM.

Figure 5.25. illustrates how the proportion of women and Black academics were mostly subject to simultaneous ebbs and flows. However, at times (particularly between 1995 and 1998, and 2008 and 2010), there appeared divergent patterns. Furthermore, between 1986 and 2012, White academics increased by 0%, whilst Black academics increased by 9% (as per the average annual population growth rates). Due to the low initial base, the number of Black academics almost increased tenfold. Additionally, from a mere 3% in 1986, Black academics represented just under a quarter (23%) in 2012.

[140] As per the average annual population growth calculation.
[141] This is not to say this was the total extent of workforce movement for NVU but just that which was 'net' and thus decipherable from the aggregate, year on year figures.

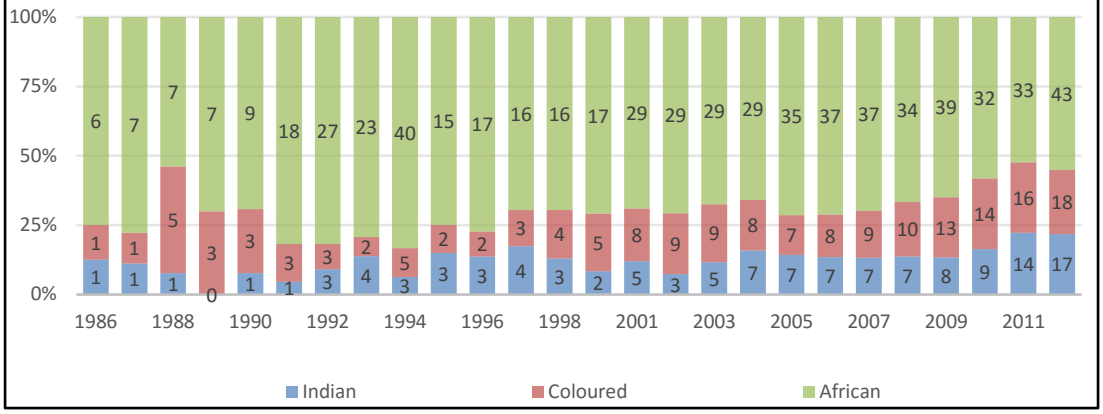
Figure 5.25. Percentage of Black Academics and Women Academics at Nxele Valley (1986 - 2012)




Comparatively, of the 19 net additional posts between 1988 and 1998, eight were filled by White academics and 11 by Black academics. Much more race-based change continued in the first EEA decade: there was a decline in 24 positions previously held by White academics and a corresponding increase of 28 posts filled by Black academics. As figure 5.41 illustrates, NVU consistently had more African academics. However, the overall proportion of Black academics was subject to a fair amount of flux, potentially indicating continuity and long term employment was an institutional challenge.

Furthermore, the post-1994 decline (discussed at the national, RALM, and institutional type level) is evident here too. Black representation dropped considerably from 15% in 1994 to 7% in 1995. It would take another 10 years to return to this level of representivity. This was particularly due to a 7% decline in African academics in the same year. African representivity would only recover by 2009. Furthermore, the number of both Indian and Coloured academics was fairly small, so that any change was noticeable in the statistics.

Figure 5.26. Proportion Of Black Academics Per Racial Designation At Nxele Valley (1986 - 2012)




Whilst NVU lagged behind all parameters with respect to Black representivity, the proportion of Coloured academics at various points surpassed the average for the RALM. It appeared NVU experienced some specific institutional challenges in the continuity of academic staff employment, specifically Black academics, which made this case worth researching further.

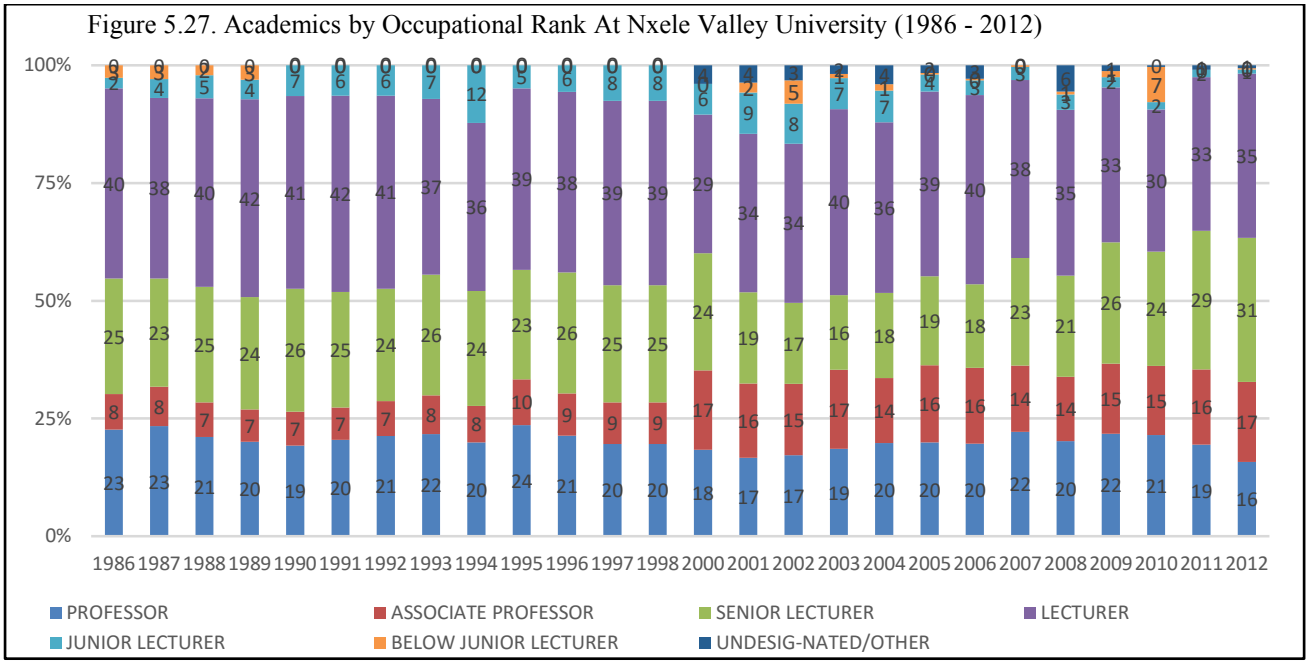
It is also worth noting that in 2004, a campus of NVU was incorporated into one of the other regional universities. It has been difficult to establish the exact number of academic staff affected, especially as NVU's overall total academic workforce fluctuated considerably between 2001 and 2007. On the whole, the average annual population growth rate (during this time) remained at less than a percent; however, some years reflected increases as high as 4% whilst other years (such as 2003/2004) underwent negative growth of almost -11%.

Nonetheless, according to the HEMIS data, in the year of the restructuring, a decline of 36 academics overall was evident. This included 37 White academics whilst there was a gain of one Black academic (more precisely, there was an increase of two Coloured academics and a loss of an Indian academic); exactly half of the academic posts lost were of men and the other half women. By comparison, in the same year the HEI that was at the 'receiving' end of the incorporation, increased by 49 academic staff, 26 of whom were White academics. Therefore, it is possible that at most, two-thirds to 70% of the academics that left NVU in the 2003/2004 year were because of merger-related reasons and took up employment where placed. The majority were White academics who went to join a Historically Black University (HBU).

5.2.2.2. NVU occupational rank, education and training

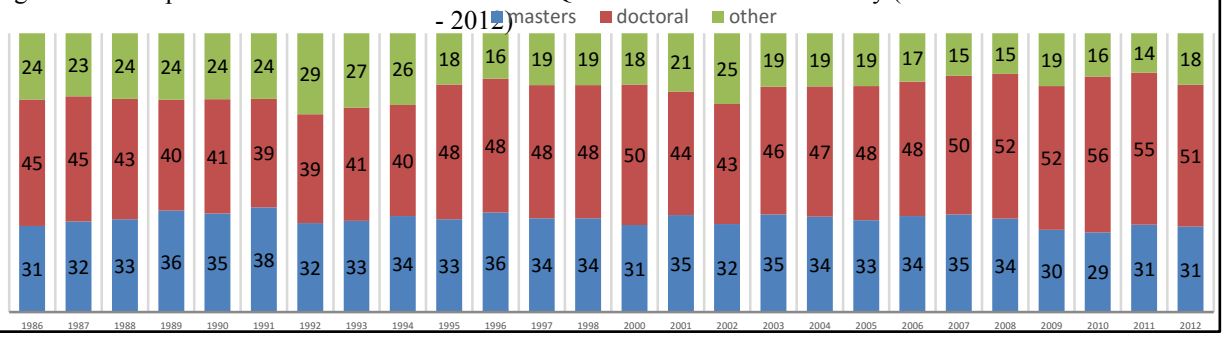
As per Figure 5.27., full professors were about 20% of all NVU academics, with the professoriate, in total, about a third of all academics. The numbers of full professors were in flux, at the lowest representation in 2000 and the highest in 2007; whilst associate professors almost doubled since 2000. Thus, the professoriate was a significant component of the academic staff. As per the national and provincial trend, lecturing staff were the majority of academic appointments, with lecturers occupying more than half of such posts. During the period 2011 to 2012, the decline in lecturers corresponded to an increase in senior lecturers. Such convergence between subsequent ranks likely indicates promotion, whilst at other times divergence may signal possible resignation.

Figure 5.27. Academics by Occupational Rank At Nxele Valley University (1986 - 2012)



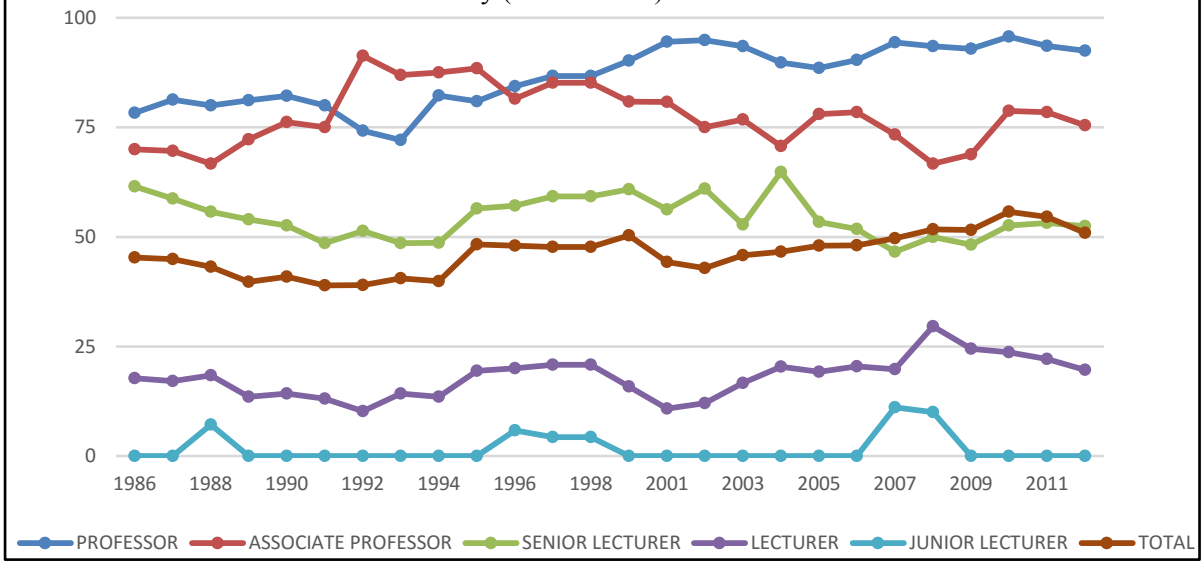

Over this period, NVU had more academics with doctorates than any other qualification. In 2000, the milestone of 50% of all academics with a doctorate was reached. This thereby set NVU significantly above the provincial and national averages. However, as per figure 5.43., this proved not to be a singular goal to be accomplished only once, but (due to attrition), a moving target. Nonetheless, since 1995, more than 80% of academics have had either a masters or a doctoral qualification. All of NVU's academics were university-educated.

Figure 5.28. Proportional Distribution Of Academic Qualifications At Nxele Valley (1986 - 2012)




The distribution of academics per occupational rank provides both an indicator of the qualification set and the importance of qualifications in promotion. On average, over the 26 years, 46% of academics have had a doctorate: 87% of full professors, 78% of associate professors, 54% of senior lecturers, 18% of lecturers, 2% of junior lecturers, 6% of those below junior lecturers, and 13% of those undesignated/other. Figure 5.44 suggests marked workplace movement. More stability in the graph, at the levels of senior lecturer and upwards, would generally be anticipated. The absence of this suggests that attrition could be a serious challenge and/or that qualification pursuit whilst in full time employment may be a regular expectation for academics, at various levels of the hierarchy.

Figure 5.29. Academics with a Doctorate as a Percentage per Occupational Rank at Nxele Valley (1986 - 2012)



In 2012, NVU's aggregate academic qualification set surpassed that of the national and provincial averages although at the highest occupational ranks some other HEIs outpaced NVU's performance. For example, RBU had a greater proportion of full professors and senior lecturers with doctorates.

5.2.2.3. Intersectionality and Faculty distribution within NVU

At the time of the research (2011), NVU's academic profile was more oriented towards permanent staff than most others across the sector[142]. Permanent academics represented 85,4% of all academics employed. Furthermore, temporary academic staff were mostly employed in specific faculties, such as Humanities (21%) and Education (53,3%).

Black academics represented 13,5% and women academics 40,1% of all employed in academic faculties and units. African academics were 44,7% of all Black academics, whilst Coloured and Indian academics made up the remainder, at 29,8% and 25,5% respectively. There were more black women academics (57,4%) than men, particularly African and Coloured women academics. The total number of foreign nationals was equal to the number of South African Black academics. White academics were by far the vast majority at 73,1% of all academics, whilst White men academics were 61,2% of all White academics.

Most faculties were still skewed towards the employment of more men academics. For example, Science (73,9%), Commerce (69,2%) and Health Science (58,8%) all had significantly more men than women. Whilst Education and Humanities had more women than men at 60,9% and 54,9% respectively. Thus, academic staffing was still largely segmented along racial lines but also exhibited forms of gendered segmentation as well.

NVU was slightly more senior than the norm for HEIs, as the professoriate comprised 32,4% of all academics. Lecturing staff represented 59,6% whilst 'others' accounted for 8%[143]. However, a disproportionate amount of all women academics (88,7%) and all Black academics (88,6%) were in junior positions. Comparatively, just 51,3% of all White men academics were

[142] The sectoral average in 2012, for permanent academics was 34% (CHE, 2015: 284).
[143] This was typically those with job descriptions not easily categorized or equivalent to specific academic ranks. In the majority of cases, it included research, teaching, and technical assistance and was done by contracted academic staff.

employed in junior positions. Furthermore, women academics and Black academics accounted for 39% and 11,7% of all lecturing staff, respectively.

Figure 5.30. Distribution of Junior Academics (Lecturing Staff) at NVU (2011)

| Faculties | # of Black academics | # of Women academics | # Black and/or Women Contract academics | | | Total # all junior of academics |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Commerce** | 3 | 11 | 1 academic (BW) | | | 36 |
| **Education** | 1 | 4 | 6 academics (1BW & 5WW) | | | 17 |
| **Health Science** | 3 | 4 | | | | 13 |
| **Humanities** | 16 | 40 | 2 academic (WW & FW), 18 academic assistants (6BW, 2BM, 8WW & 5 FW) | | | 82 |
| **Law** | 1 | 6 | | | | 11 |
| **Science** | 0 | 15 | 1 academic (BM), 2 research assistants (BW & WW) | | | 46 |
| **Total** | 24 | 80 | 12 (B) | 24 (W) | 5 (FW) | 205 |

Of all the academic faculties, Health Science and Education had the largest proportion of lecturing staff at 76,5% and 73,9% respectively (lecturers per se accounted for 70% and 60% respectively). As noted, Health Science was distinctive in having more men academics than usual, and this also applied to the lecturing staff. Education had more women lecturing staff but relied heavily on contract staff. Science and Humanities had a proportionally smaller amount of their faculty academics employed as lecturing staff at 57,3% and 50%. Humanities had the largest proportion of permanent Black lecturing staff at 42,5%, followed by Health Science at 17,5%; whilst Science had no permanent Black lecturing staff at this time. In most faculties, Black women were overwhelmingly employed as lecturers.

Law and Humanities had the largest proportion of women employed on lecturing staff at 54,5% and 48,8%; whilst Commerce and Education had fairly low proportions at 30,6% and 30,8%. Humanities had the largest number of Black women (mostly African) on lecturing staff. Although proportionally, they were just 19,3% of the faculty's women academics, and 7,7% of the faculty's academics. Comparatively, Science (52,9%) and Law (85,7%) had more women academics in senior lecturer positions as compared to other faculties (e.g. Humanities at 22,2% and Health Science at 20%), where larger proportions of this group occupied lecturer positions.

Of all the temporary and junior academics NVU employed, 23,5% were Black, 47,1% women academics (of whom 17,6% were Black) and 9,8% were foreign women academics. Thus, more change was evident in this layer of academic staffing. However, given job insecurity, the sustainability and whether it would solidify into the permanent pipeline remains to be seen. Figure 5.31 shows the situation further exacerbated at the apex of the academic hierarchy.

Figure 5.31. Distribution of Senior Academics (Professoriate) at NVU (2011)

| Faculties | # of Black academics | # of Women academics | # Black and/or Women Contract academics | Total # all senior of academics |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Commerce** | 0 | 2 | | 16 |
| **Education** | 1 | 2 | | 6 |
| **Health Science** | 0 | 2 | | 4 |
| **Humanities** | 3 | 9 | 1 academic (WW) | 39 |
| **Law** | 2 | 0 | | 5 |
| **Science** | 2 | 4 | | 41 |
| **Total** | 8 | 19 | 1 (W) | 111 |

Women professors accounted for 17,1% of the professoriate, whilst Black professors represented just 7,2%. Three faculties did not have both women and Black professors amongst their professoriate, and only two faculties had more than five professors across both categories. Admittedly in most of these cases, the size of faculties' professoriates was small to begin with. Nonetheless, faculties like Health Science and Law did favourably well on one indicator each, gender (50%) and race (40%) respectively. Education and Humanities had better records on gender than race, with each scoring above 20% (33,3% and 23,1%) for women's representivity.

On the whole, given the size of their professoriates, neither Humanities nor Science fared well, especially with regard to Black professors. Black professors represented just 7,7% of all Humanities' professors and 4,9% of Science professors. There were five Black men professors,

four of whom were full professors, employed across the university. The professoriate included an African man, two Coloured and two Indian men academics. In addition, there were six foreign national men who were also a part of the professoriate. In terms of Black women professors, there were four Coloured women associate professors, university-wide. In addition, there were three professor equivalents, on contract, all were White: two were men and one was a woman.

NVU provided information on its academic staff from outside of South Africa. 70,2% of the foreign nationals employed were male, and in entirety, represented 13,5% of all academics. Over 40% were employed within Humanities, another 36,2% in Science, and 12,8% in Health Science. 21% were permanent members of the professoriate, all were men academics. More than three-quarters of foreign nationals were on lecturing staff. As part of the Department of Labour (DoL) requirements, data on foreign nationals is recorded to differentiate such staff, from potential EE beneficiaries. Whilst gender is recorded, racial categorisation is not[144].

The structure of the labour force and its segmentation characteristics make comparisons across junior and senior ranks per faculty a challenge. Most faculties were yet to have sufficient numbers of Black academics amongst the junior ranks, from which to prepare for future seniority. Science had no permanent lecturing staff; whilst Commerce and Health Science had no senior Black academics. Science, Law, and Education had greater proportions of Black senior academics than junior academics, not necessarily because of critical mass but rather more likely due to interventions in the context of very small professoriates. Therefore, only the Faculty of Humanities remained for a comparison. A comparison of Black representivity at senior with junior levels, showed this was about a third (7,7% compared to 23,1%). Thus, overall upward mobility was very moderate.

[144] Conceptually this is understandable, as to impose apartheid-related categories on people from outside of South Africa, makes little sense, especially in the context of post-apartheid redress. This also potentially explains the discrepancy between the institutionally-supplied data and the HEMIS data. Such a discrepancy appears for other institutions as well. It is surmised that this is due to the aggregate and undifferentiated nature of the HEMIS data. Which presents a holistic depiction of all permanent academic staff employed, regardless of their nationality (something the EEA attempts to by-pass). As the data serves two different purposes, it is useful to have different means of measurement, as long as the databases remain comparable for cross-checking purposes. Of which, there are some questions.

Similarly, with women's representivity, there were no senior women in Law. Education had a higher proportion at the senior level (with representation of 23,5% and 33,3% respectively). Humanities (48,8% and 23,1%) and Commerce (30,6% and 12,5%) had relatively fair differentials. However, all faculties could do with improving representation at all levels as well as focusing on staff retention and upward mobility.

NVU had NRF rated scholars in most rating categories, and performed well in both scholarship clusters, with double the number of rated scholars in the 'natural sciences and engineering' cluster (NRF, 2014: 8- 12). NVU was well resourced in the Sciences, Humanities, Commerce and Health Sciences which made up 39,2%, 33,9%, 10,2% and 7% of NVU's academics with doctorates. NVU was particularly well resourced in the Sciences. It had an institutional share of academics with a doctorate, above the national average and gaining the university further recognition (Assaf, 2010: 57 – 60).

5.2.2.4. Professional Workforce Movement

It was not possible to incorporate faculty detail into NVU's workforce movement analysis. Nonetheless, some insights into institutional dynamics are presented. The analysis is based on a three-year evaluation (2010 – 2012) of workforce movement as derived from NVU's EE reports. These utilise the DoL's categories as opposed to sectoral or institution-specific 'academic' designations. Despite this, the majority of academics reported, fell within the (core) 'professionally qualified' category. Therefore, patterns within this category are taken to be representative of NVU academics as a whole. Over the three years, the core workforce[145] averaged at 79,4% of the professionally qualified category.

As a comparative benchmark, Black professionals constituted 21,6% of NVU and 18,1% of the core professional labour force. At the same time, there were 43,1% women professionals in general and 39,6% women in the core professional workforce[146]. Additionally, there were 11,5% foreign nationals at NVU in general and 12,4% in the core professional group. Interestingly, all EEA beneficiaries were in lower proportions in the core workforce. There

[145] NVU states that core operations include "all academic and research staff" (EEA, 2011: 4).
[146] As this data comes from the EER, the professional workforce extends beyond academic staff, although the core professional workforce is thought to be a reasonable approximation of academics.

were more women than men in each constituent Black category. Whilst in contrast, in 'non-designated' groups (White and foreign national) there were more men than women.

Over the period, there were 405 recruitments, 68 promotions, and 353 terminations in NVU's professionally qualified workforce. Thus, an overall net increase of 52 posts. In 2011, there were the most recruitments, 200, followed the next year by the least, just 42. Ironically, 2011 was the year when all three categories (Black, women, and even foreign nationals) were proportionally at their lowest levels. Correspondingly, White professional recruitments thus increased and accounted for 62% of all new hires.

The recruitment of designated groups peaked in 2012 when Black professionals represented 42,9%, and women professionals 52,4% of all recruits. These were proportionally above the average employment for professionals within NVU. Even the average recruitment for the three-year period was above the average employment figures, signalling efforts to change the staffing profile. The number of women recruited in each category was greater than the number of men, except for Coloured women and foreign national women (there was a 10% and 20% differential in each case). The number of White professionals was far greater than Black professionals. Such that there was a 25,4% difference. Recruitment of foreign national professionals increased to 7,4% in 2012.

Compared to 2010, there were also double the promotions in 2012; and the most actual promotions by Black professionals. However, due to an all-round increase, the proportionality decreased. The number of promotions by women was double that of Black professionals. On average, over the three years, Black professionals accounted for 35,3% of all promotions, whilst women represented 52,9% and foreign nationals just 7,4%. The number of women awarded promotion in each category exceeded the number of men; except for Indian women (who equalled Indian men with only one promotion each) as well as foreign women.

There were a lot of terminations of Black and women professionals in 2012. Over the three-year period, foreign nationals were less than half the number of Black professionals that left NVU, whilst Black professionals were themselves about half the number of women professionals (at 11%, 24,6%, and 44% respectively). More men terminated their employment than women except for African women (57,6%) and Coloured women (who left in equal proportions to Coloured men). This is itself an EE challenge, and acknowledged as such by NVU.

The average attrition rate[147] was 17,2% (21,7%), it was lowest in 2010 at 8,8% (11,1%). In 2011, it rose to its highest level of 21,2% (26,1%). These levels of attrition are high, especially for academics. The three most common reasons for termination were end of/non-renewal of contract (62,6%), resignation (18,5%), and retirement (10,7%). NVU explained the high attrition as due to the DOL's conception of 'permanent', which necessitated that fixed contracts for longer than three months were included in the data (EEA, 2012: 5-6), significantly affecting turnover. NVU was at pains to note, in each EE report, that the proportion of terminations was not significant relative to the overall proportion of Black or women professionals employed. However, small differences in the reasons given for termination are telling.

For foreign nationals, non-renewal of contract was, on average, the most common reason for termination. It explained 85,2% of all foreign national terminations. This affected foreign national women (56,5%) more than men, although foreign nationals only represented 9% of all cases of termination in this category. Furthermore, 61,9% of women and 50,1% of Black professionals cited this as their reason for termination. Black professionals were just less than half of all terminations due to concluded contracts (48,4%). African women were a disproportionate amount of all non-renewal of contracts, at 48,9% of cases amongst Black, and 17,6% amongst all, professionals. These proportions exceeded employment rates. In 2011, it was particularly evident that a large number of fixed term contracts were concluded, which also explained the 2012 increase in recruitment. Whilst fix term contracts are a staple across the PALM, the long-term implications for *Transformation* need to be considered further.

Resignation was the reason provided for the fact that 22,8% of women left NVU. On average, women professionals represented 60,3% of all resignations. This mostly affected White women (31,8%) and African women (23,2%) and was above their comparative employment proportions. There was also a high proportion of African men who resigned, at 12,6%, just slightly less than White men at 13,2%. These professionals could have taken up other opportunities within SAHES or at minimum remained within the skills pool.

Black professionals accounted for similar proportions of both resignations and retirements. There was, though, a slightly higher percentage of the latter, at 52,9%. White men were still

[147] Taking the total number of professionals as the expanded definition this is written in text and the narrow definition as only the core professionals (which is provided in brackets).

the single largest category of retirements, at 32,2%. Both these figures are reflective of their continued employment until retirement, and are expected, given their numerical majority in the workplace. Nonetheless, Black professionals represented 40,2%, with African men and women at 24,1% and 20,7% respectively. Thus, a significant proportion of Black academics at NVU reached retirement age. None of the NVU information details any posts such as Emeritus Professor or any other opportunities for retirees to remain academically connected to the university were available. This disaggregated examination provides a more meaningful appraisal of the institutional context and conditions.

5.2.2.5. Contribution to the Skills Pool

Between 2000 and 2007, NVU graduated 352 doctorates, on average this was 4,2% of all those within the sector (Assaf, 2010: 131). On average, doctoral students at NVU were also more likely to be supervised by one supervisor (1,4), whilst the sectoral average was closer to two (1,75) (Assaf, 2010: 47). Between 2004 and 2012[148], the Faculty of Science consistently graduated more than 50% (and usually more) of NVU's annual doctorates. Although often not consistent, Humanities (25,6% in 2006) and Health Science (21,9% in 2012) also had strong contingents of doctoral graduates. This is likely to be reflective of the sectoral trend where post-graduates in different disciplines take variable lengths of time to complete the degree. Nonetheless, these three faculties have contributed to the skills pool based on the production of their own post graduates.

Education (14% in 2006 and 9,4% in 2012) and Commerce (7% in 2006 and 6,3% in 2012) also had a steady but generally smaller supply of doctoral graduates. Recently, there was a notable increase in the Health Science's and Education's doctoral graduates. Law had been conspicuously absent in the generation of doctoral graduates. Whilst this most likely reflects professional specificities, it may be worth considering the implications of this for Law in the academy.

The Faculty of Science regularly had half the number of doctoral students as masters' students graduating. Whilst there is no direct relationship between these two cohorts (within the same

[148] For years where data was available, as sourced from NVU's Annual Research reports.

year), this is a high ratio (1:2), and does suggest that a significant proportion of masters' students do become doctoral students. In comparison, in Humanities and Health Science, doctoral students were about one-quarter of masters' students (1:4); whilst in Commerce and Education, they were just 13%. Such has a direct bearing on the sustainability of the professionally qualified skills pool, but more especially the viability of academia itself.

NVU has institutionally had less to contend with, not having undergone a merger. However, it has had its own challenges, particularly of staff attrition. This is evident in Black academic staff data. NVU has had more success with gender-based change. Barring one faculty, the numbers of Black academics are generally low throughout the institution. NVU has a very high rate of academic staff with doctorates, a professoriate proportionally larger than average, and very little reliance of contract staff. All distinct advantages in the PALM. Despite this there has though not been uniform focus on post-graduate development or EE amongst academic staff.

### 5.3. In summation

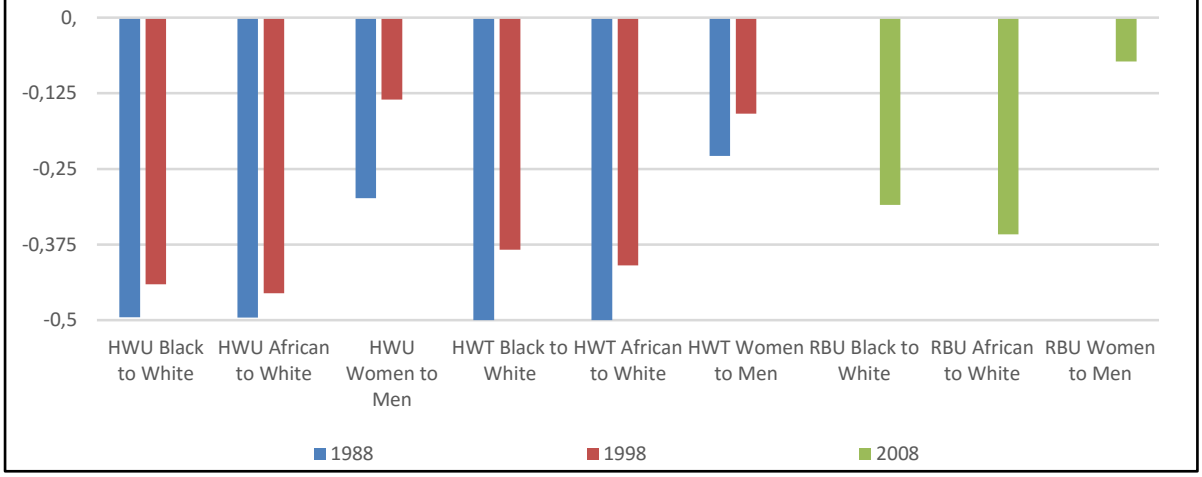
This chapter has focused on the academic workforces of the two case studies within the province where they are located. It has provided a detailed description of the demographic profile (by race and by gender), the qualification set, and occupational rank of academics between 1986 and 2012. In doing so it has provided evidence for areas of change and areas within which segmentation remains. It has examined each university's internal workforce diversity, workforce movement, and contribution to the skills pool in order to contextualise recent attempts at change. These provide a quantitative mapping of the universities' material conditions within the context of the regional labour market; and within which the qualitative insights and experiences of chapters 6 and 7 can be located and against which they can be compared. In the paragraphs that follow the main highlights are flagged for further discussion and analysis in Chapter 8.

Both universities have chequered histories of racial and gendered academic segmentation. Using indices of dissimilarity, the extent of change is evaluated over a 20-year period, pre and post-democracy, and before and after the implementation of the EEA. RBU's predecessor institutions were still fully racially segregated in 1988. The HWT made considerably more progress towards de-segmentation than the HWU. However, by 1998, the dissimilarity indices

for the former were still only at 0,38 and 0,41 for Black and African academics (to White academics). It thus lagged 0,14 and 0,11 points behind the dissimilarity indices for the RALM as a whole. Post-merger, racial de-segmentation at RBU stood at 0,31 and 0,36 for Black and African to White academics by 2008. Thus, the gap between the institution and the RALM had actually grown to 0,22 and 0,23.

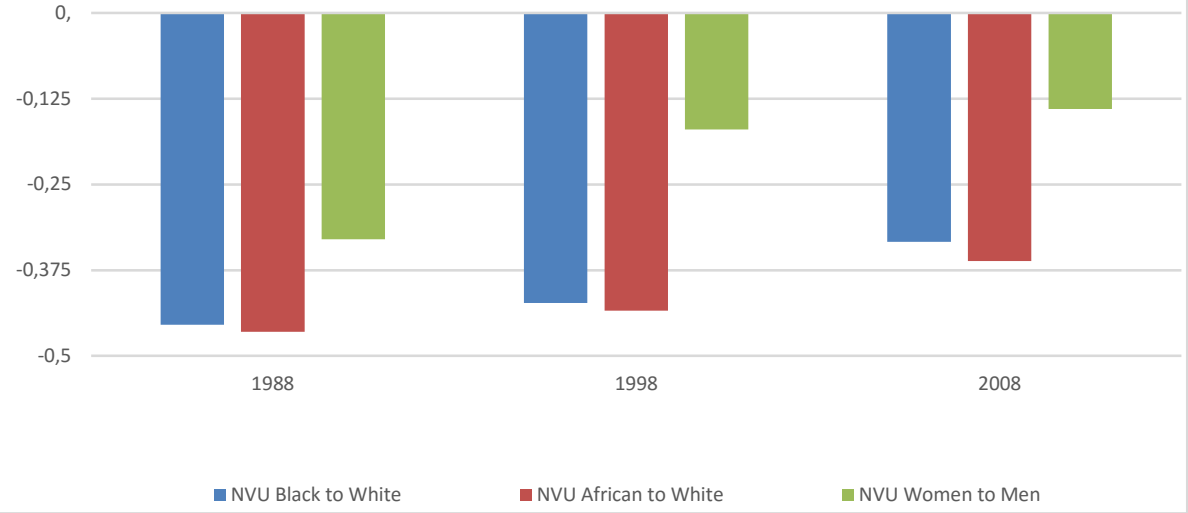
The initial margin of difference between women and men academics was smaller at 0,30 for the HWU and 0,23 for the HWT in 1988. However, the HWU took greater strides towards gender equity, and was at 0,14 in 1998, keeping pace with the RALM. The gender dissimilarity index score for RBU in 2008 was 0,07. Thus, on each index, RBU advanced at a similar pace, from its more equitable predecessor institution. However, relative to the RALM, only gender de-segmentation was above average (+4), whilst racial de-segmentation was sorely lagging.

Figure 5.32. Dissimilarity Indices by Race (Black to White & African to White) and by Gender (Women to Men) for Reconciliation Bay University & Predecessor HEIs (1988, 1998 & 2008)




Comparatively, in 1988, NVU had already taken initial steps towards racial de-segmentation at 0,45 and 0,46 for the dissimilarity indices of Black and African academics (to White academics). However, by 1998, the overall rate of change was minimal at 0,42 and 0,43. By 2008, more de-segmentation was clearly evident at and 0,33 and 0,36. Needless to say, NVU was consistently behind the RALM. The gap widening with time. In 1988, it was only 0,06 and 0,07 but by 2008, it was 0,24 and 0,23.

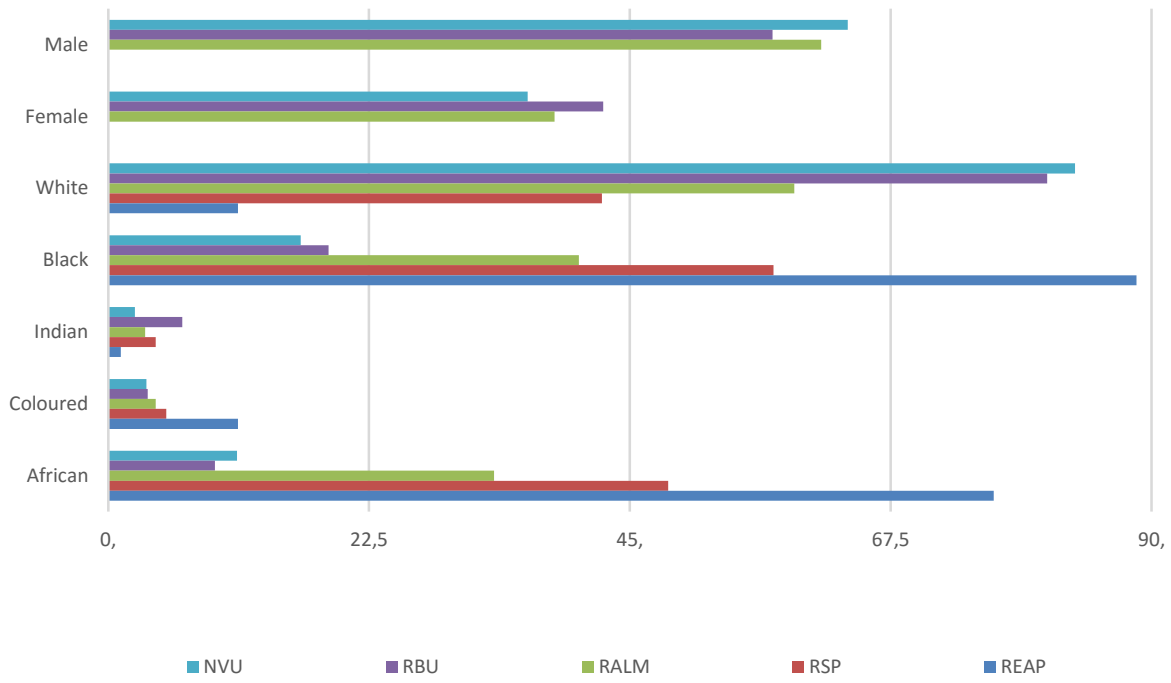
Figure 5.33. Dissimilarity Indices - by Race (Black to White & African to White) and by Gender (Women to Men) for Nxele Valley University (1988, 1998 & 2008)




The 1988, starting base for the gender-dissimilarity index was 0,33, indicating that the initial gender situation was more equitable than the racial ending point. By 1988, the gender gap reduced considerably to 0,17. However, the pace of gender de-segmentation then slowed and was only 0,14 in 2008. Regardless, NVU has continually been slightly behind the RALM at each juncture. Thus, both universities are closer to gender than racial parity. Whilst change in the latter is evident, it is unremarkable. Furthermore, growing gaps between these universities and the RALM suggests increasingly divergent (racialized and gendered) employment patterns between the regional HEIs. This is a cause for concern overall.

Figure 5.32. (below) compares RBU and NVU to a range of provincial indicators. The regional economically active population (REAP) is double the proportion of Black (as a collective) and African academics in the RALM. In each case, the actual percentage of Black and African people in the skills pool exceeds the percentage employed within the province as academics. In addition, the proportion of Black academics at RBU and NVU are half that of the RALM. This reduces to a third for African academics. Coloured academics in the RALM compare with 82% of the regional skills pool, whilst the case study institutions employ at approximately 82% of the RALM.

Figure 5.34. Comparison of Select Regional Indicators against NVU & RBU (2008)




Skilled Indian and White people surpass their REAP proportions quite considerably. The proportion of Indian people in the skills pool is more than three times the REAP. The RALM is slightly less, at 78% of the skills pool. NVU employs proportionally 72% of the RALM; RBU employs exactly double the RALM. The proportion of White people in the provincial skills pool is 380% more than the proportion in the REAP. Similarly, the proportion in the RALM exceeds the proportion in the skills pool by 139%. RBU, which employs slightly fewer White academics than NVU, employs 137% more than the RALM.

If we take the most extreme cases, African academics at RBU equate to 14% of the REAP and White academics at NVU equate to 745% the REAP. More comparably, African academics at RBU equate to 23% of the skills pool and 33% of the RALM; whilst White academics at NVU equate to 196% of the skills pool and 141% of the RALM. Nonetheless, both versions demonstrate the extent of racial redress still needed. Whilst the full range of indicators were not available for gender, it was clear that RBU had an academic workforce closer to gender parity, than either NVU or the RALM. Whilst NVU was more masculinised than both. Thus, race and gender-based segmentation are still both large concerns for the case study institutions and the province as a whole.

Post-merger, RBU made strides in solidifying its academic staff qualification profile, both through increasing the proportion of academics with doctorates throughout the academic hierarchy, and the proportion with masters' degrees at lower levels. As a result, it surpassed regional benchmarks. RBU adopted a flexible employment approach, essential given its multi-institutional history. It employed both university and technikon-educated academics. Post-merger, technikon-educated academics decreased in proportionality (compared to the HWT), but become increasingly upwardly mobile.

NVU consistently maintained a very high proportion of academic staff with a doctorate such that it was ahead of both regional and national benchmarks. Its ILM was, though, closed to technikon-educated academics. NVU had a professoriate proportionally larger than the sectoral average, whilst RBU had a slightly more junior labour force, more in keeping with the RALM. Both universities actively encouraged NRF rating of academics and gained recognition for the numbers and ratings of their scholars.

Both universities had more women and black academics in junior positions. Despite this, the actual numbers of staff in some faculties were unacceptably low. Faculties themselves, in line with general disciplinary traditions, were notably gender-segmented. Variable progress toward race and/or gender change was made both institutionally and within institutions themselves. Seldom were both achieved. At the university level, the employment of more Black staff post-1994 and post-EEA was definitely noticeable, whilst the rate of women's participation slowed down post-EEA.

Both universities had high attrition rates, with NVU's being higher. However, both experienced growth, albeit limited, of designated groups. Termination due to resignation, particularly of academics from designated groups, requires further investigation at both universities. Non-renewal of contract was also of concern at NVU. Recruitment and promotion at RBU were greatly affected by the merger process, but latterly, consistent efforts to acknowledge black and women academics have been made.

In keeping with the points noted above, faculties at both of the case study institutions had differing capacities to contribute to the skills pool through the awarding of masters degrees, but more specifically of doctorates. This potentially provided new members of the professionally qualified skills pool. Faculties and students, through their accessibility and selection, also shaped the race and gender composition of the skills pool. This thereby shaped the pool of potential and actual future academics.

Hence, as per this chapter and its summative conclusion, it is clear that the case study HEIs have made various efforts to de-segment their academic labour forces. However, the success of these has been limited and at times partial and piecemeal. Efforts that have borne the greatest reward were most closely connected to the academic project per se, for example, increasing the number of staff and/or graduates with higher degrees. However, even these have not had uniform application or success. Race and gender de-segmentation remain serious challenges, in and of themselves, and especially in the dual or combined process of simultaneous roll out. The quantitative data also shows a need for concern for the future sustainability of the skills pool in a number of areas. This is all within a context in which, at least provincially, the case study HEIs lag behind on race and gender indicators but are ahead on academic productivity indicators. Such is the background context for chapters 6 and 7, which engage academics' own understandings and experiences of *Transformation* of the academic workplace.

# Chapter 6: Reconciliation Bay University (RBU)[149]

In Chapter 5, the quantitative indicators provided a relatively positive account of de-segmentation at RBU, post-merger. The need for continued racial de-segmentation was pervasive and ongoing; whilst vertical gender segmentation remained more pronounced in particular faculties. Improvements on the academic indicators were noted. These gave the impression of a coordinated and seamless transition.

This chapter adds texture and nuance to that account. RBU, as a case study, provides an excellent opportunity to explore the intersections of the core research concepts in practice. Through a summative account substantiated with select extracts from interview data with academics, it demonstrates the complexity of the *Transformation dynamic*. This thereby, shows how RBU approached *Transformation* sequentially, the rupturing effects of institutional restructuring (incorporation and merger), and what this subsequently meant for the practice and response to employment equity and transformation initiatives, and the cumulative effects on the re/production of current and future generations of academic labour. Throughout, it illustrates the predominance and overtones of institutional racialization(s) and discusses the multiple operative discourses that accompany them.

## 6.1. Institutional Setting

### *6.1.1. Institutional Context*

Reconciliation Bay University (RBU) is now a Comprehensive University (CU), a 2005 product of the post-apartheid restructuring of the higher education landscape. Its mission today is quite different from the past. Each of its predecessor institutions, in merger form, were less than 50 years old and designed by the apartheid government to serve particular sections of the

[149] Pseudonym given to case study institution.

South African population. The intention was to bring about particular kinds of education, training, and development for specific, racially defined constituencies.

The post-apartheid institutional redress that brought institutions such as RBU into being, deliberately merged historically Black and White institutions as well and made "demands for greater efficiency and effectiveness" (Pandor & Badsha, 2010: 275). RBU's predecessor institutions had been under the administration of different education departments. The HBU was under the Department of Education and Training, and the HWU and HWT under the House of Assembly, this influenced each institution's overall character, culture, and racial composition (Bunting, 2006: 36). Despite their different contexts, RBU's predecessor institutions have been described as highly instrumentalist, racially and gender segmented, with different yet similarly authoritarian systems of governance, and differing salary scales and benefits (Bunting, 2006; Peacock, 1993). Under apartheid, differential salary scales were also applied across race.

Previously, academic and vocational training were offered in different institutions, for the most part designated to serve students and staff of different racial categorizations. As shown in chapters 4 and 5, this applied at the national and regional level, and was no different for these specific HEIs. For example, in 1988, one of the last years before the demographic transformation became evident within student numbers: the HWU's student headcount was 90% White, the HWT was 87% White, and the HBU was 99% Black (Cooper & Subotzky, 2001: 36, 58, 78). As shown in chapters 4 and 5, the racial trends were more blatant in academic staff demographics that reflected 'vertical racial separation' between institutions and 'horizontal racial separation' within institutions (Peacock, 1993: 5).

By the end of the 1990s, Black students were the majority at all three predecessor institutions. However, the lack of staff equity was a stated national imperative for institutional redress and transformation. Jansen (2002: 160) contests this, stating that "rational imperatives" over "racial imperatives" were in fact the motivation driving the mergers. Nonetheless, equity as a form of justification remained a prominent part of government rhetoric.

The national merger process was finalized in late 2003. For RBU, it meant the incorporation of the local campus of the HBU at the start of 2004 and the subsequent merger between the HWU and the HWT at the beginning of 2005 (Republic of South Africa, 2003). This brought together the three constituent institutions of RBU in six different locations, five of which are within one metropolitan jurisdiction, whilst one is located in a different province altogether.

The campus locations reflected the convergence of apartheid geo-spatial arrangements with educational mandates. The campus of the HBU, was peripherally located at the outskirts of the city, in a township where it had previously, specifically provided tertiary education to urban Black people. At the time of the merger, about 7.7% of students studied at this campus (Institutional website)[150]. In 2004, incorporated academics from the HBU accounted for an estimated maximum of 21% of the HWU[151].

The HWU was positioned on two campuses, one in the city centre and one in a more suburban location. At the time of the merger, it accounted for 53.8% of the student intake. In 2004, the HWU represented 79% of the cumulative number of academics and the HWT, 21%. The HWT previously also incorporated the local College of Education in another phase of post-apartheid sectoral restructuring. It was spread across three campuses and had 38.5% of the students (Institutional website). The students of both HWIs were historically, predominantly White, reportedly a significant support base of the National Party, and traditionally trained as apartheid civil servants (Bunting, 2006).

By 2000, there had been a demographic 'revolution' in student enrolments nationwide (Cooper & Subotzky, 2001). However, as Cooper and Subotzky argue and as seen in Chapter 5, far less radical change occurred amongst the academic staff. Bunting (2006: 36) also notes that previously, the staff of such institutions were also, for the most part, "apartheid functionaries". This brief synopsis of the institutional contexts prior to and at the point of merger provides some indication of the key issues facing RBU, for example, the racial division of labour, racialized power structure, and an institutionally segmented workforce that would likely be characterised by cultural diversity concerns.

[150] For anonymity purposes, full details not provided.
[151] As exact incorporation numbers were not obtained, this number has been derived from the net increase in the HWU between 2003 and 2004.

### *6.1.2. The Merger Process*

The National Working Group (2002)[152] mandated to finalize merger arrangements focused predominantly on pragmatic, operational, and functional concerns at RBU. It only vaguely and loosely made reference to equity imperatives in its broad aims and probable outcomes. These were framed for social justice, to benefit student and community integration, and to develop a new organizational identity (Nel & Stumpf, 2007:1).

The closest these came to any mention of labour de-segmentation was in the objectives: "The reconfiguration of the higher education institutions, [which]…was intended to overcome the apartheid induced divide between historically white and black institutions" (quoted in Nel & Stumpf, 2007: 5). The absence of any explicit engagement suggests such an imperative was taken for granted, altogether under-conceptualized and under-valued, and/or that the driving logic was predominantly technicist. Despite falling short of mentioning how the sustainability of the core institutional and sectoral workforce would be guaranteed, the focus on process mechanics had distinct advantages in the operationalization of mergers, themselves.

As these involved the transfer of staff from different institutions, provisions were made for the protection of employees' rights. The Amendment to the Higher Education Act (62 of 2002) made provision for the automatic transfer of employees' contracts, including all rights and obligations between the old employer and employee. It stated that the incorporation or merger did not constitute an interruption of employment. Therefore, it made it incumbent on the institution that arose out of a merger, and/or the institution that took over another, which was incorporated, to assume full responsibility of employment, as per the terms and conditions that all employees originally entered into (Ministry of Education, 2003: 50).

These measures protected employees against unfair treatment by the new employer whilst they were in a vulnerable position immediately post-merger. However, in the short term, any shortcomings of any original contract remained in place. It also meant that post-merger, a

[152] The National Working Group (NWG) was mandated "to advise on the restructuring of the institutional landscape of the higher education system" (Ministry of Education, 2002: 3).

diversity of contracts (with differing terms and conditions) existed between what was now one set of employees, employed by a common employer.

Nonetheless, the same legislation and subsequent guidelines did provide for and encourage "the harmonization of conditions of service", with proper consultation, to bring conditions of service and employee benefit structures into alignment, and to ensure parity within the new organization (Ministry of Education, 2003, Ministry of Education, 2002). Additional harmonization processes such as the alignment of human resource policies and procedures, and the streamlining of staff associations and trade unions relations were specified so as to synchronize all human resource processes. Therefore, the legislation provided the means for timely standardization of employees' terms and conditions.

The Act also provided for "personnel restructuring for operational reasons", in line with Section 189 of the Labour Relations Act. (Ministry of Education, 2003: 50 - 52). These guidelines aimed to minimize staff tensions that arose because of mergers. They provided employment protection to employees but also provided employers with the option of dismissal if necessary for operational reasons.

In guaranteeing job security, this policy, in the short term, may have unintentionally maintained segmentation. As differences between and within institutions remained status quo until harmonization could take effect. However, it also provided the means to reverse such. These legislative specifics provide essential contextual reference to the merger process.

It is useful at this point to briefly recall the impact of the merger on RBU's academic staff statistics, discussed in Chapter 5. This provides the demographic context within which staff experience is located. Between 2001 and 2008, the total (combined) proportion of Black academics increased from 13,2% to 19% and women academics from 37,3% to 42,7%. The year of the incorporation, the overall proportion of Black academics at the HWU increased from 18% to 21%, African academics increased from 8.6% to 10.7%, and female academics increased from 43.8% to 45%. The rate of change was slowed by the dual effects of pre and post-merger job freezes and terminations which undid the post-EEA equity gains at the HWT (through the loss of 8 Black and 13 women academics), and delayed RBUs own post-merger growth and equity progression by approximately four years.

Despite the legislative obligation to hire all employees, the statistics showed that not all who worked at the predecessor HEIs then worked for RBU. The reasons for this are unclear, whether

these were resignations, retirements, non-renewal of contracts, or dismissals. Furthermore, the inability to replace terminations post-merger meant that it was only in 2010/2011 when RBU again had the same sized academic complement as in 2004.

The overall numbers declined by 43 academic staff between 2005 and 2006: White academics (at 35) and male academics (at 27) disproportionately left the institution within two years of the merger. This may have been a combination of institutional attempts to consider equity in appointments, thus non-designated staff may have accepted early retirement and voluntary severance packages. In addition to normal attrition such as retirement and resignation. However, Black academics (8) and women academics (16) though were not immune to 'merger-related exit' and/or also left because of 'normal attrition'. Once normal hiring resumed, staggered from 2007 onwards, the net number of White academics increased, and the number of Black academics remained fairly constant, whilst African academics continued to decline. By 2010, RBU's employment patterns appeared regular.

Whilst institutions may combine equity imperatives (enacted through proactive recruitment and promotion) with a merger roll out, operational requirements, specificities of a job, systemic or cultural push out factors and/or personal circumstances along with stage in the life-course may be reasons for academics, including equity beneficiaries, to exit the institution. This explanation shows that the short-term impact of the merger on overall institutional demographics is more complicated than previous literature acknowledged (e.g. Nel & Stumpf, 2007; Jansen, 2002).

RBU is now classified as a comprehensive university and accredited to offer both vocationally oriented diploma and academically oriented degree qualifications. Whilst all mergers were mandated under the guise of increasing 'efficiency and effectiveness', this short description flags some inevitable challenges of coordination and coherence that a merger of any such institution would face. This is from the broader challenges of macro and meso structural transformation (i.e. the pragmatics of restructuring and employment equity) to symbolic and socio-cultural transformation. It is to academics' perceptions and experiences of *Transformation* in its entirety, that the discussion now turns. The research findings are presented under four core themes of restructuring, employment equity, transformation, and the re/production of academic labour.

## 6.2. Academics renditions of restructuring: incorporation, merger and managerialism

Whilst RBU's merger is unanimously praised as a success in commissions of enquiry and in literature, none has examined the impact of the merger from a *Transformation* angle. Such an approach brings to the fore a less clear-cut, more complex, and less polished answer.

Restructuring is the most salient dimension of RBU's *Transformation*, and the merger is the logical place to begin its institutional story. It is the singular unifying experience, common to all staff with an institutional history of five years or more, which is when the fieldwork was conducted. It is however, simultaneously a tidal experience of convergence and divergence. The making of the newly reconstituted institution has been the very experience that left participants with a largely negative estimation of both *Transformation* and their new institution.

The qualitative findings on restructuring at RBU speak both to the individual experiences of participants as well as to the broader collective social patterns. Participants typically related to the merger in four ways. First, as an employment and labour process in which changes to the conditions of their work predominated. Secondly, as a concern over the fundamental definition of what constitutes academic work, and relatedly, the autonomy of academics to define the nature of their work. The cumulative effect of the actual lived experience of the merger often produced a rupture or crisis in academics' sense of professional being. Thirdly, the implications this had for how participants understood their own and others' positionality within the 'new' institution. Fourthly, the implications this had for other facets of *Transformation*.

### *6.2.1. The labour process*

The majority of participants spoke of the merger as they experienced it: the coming together of the HWU and the HWT. This became the collective memory. However, the incorporation of the HBU was also a crucial part of the 2004/2005 restructuring[153]. As three institutions came

[153] Several participants had institutional experience of previous incorporations.

together to form RBU, there were three different sets of employment conditions, terms, and benefits that required synchronization. “Harmonization” was thus required of employment grades, job descriptions, entry level qualifications and pre-requisites, promotion criteria, remuneration, annual leave, retirement age, pension, medical aid, housing benefits, and internal academic benefits like research funding, etc.

Prior to the merger, a two-year freeze on recruitment and promotions was instituted to limit workforce movement. An appointment committee comprised of Human Resources representatives and Council members recalibrated the job grading system; and utilizing the newly drafted RBU policy on recruitment, remuneration, and promotion criteria set all new appointments. The staffing budget, from which the number of posts, grade designation, and location was determined, was realigned. Rounds of invitations were sent to staff inviting applications for first and second choice placement in the new occupational structure (0162: NFL)[154].

RBU officials explained that initially key university positions were filled to ensure stability, maximum representivity, institutional memory, and effectiveness throughout the transition (0162: NFL). However, complying with national guidelines proved costly (0122: NFL). Once interim senior executives were in place, Dean, Head of School, and Head of Department appointments were made in succession. Directors of School were (newly introduced) on a five-year contract, and Head of Department was also now a contracted term. The professoriate was appointed by selection committee. This included the selection committee, Deputy Vice Chancellor Academic, and trade union representation. With exception, Senior Lecturers now required a doctorate, regardless of appointment stream[155]. For most other academic positions, an equivalence placement was made without the need for an interview. RBU applied its newly formulated policies on recruitment and promotion as well as employment equity in the consideration of candidates (0162: NFL).

[154] Data from interviews is referenced in-text according to the interviewee number. Descriptors have been provided in generalized format for anonymity purposes. Therefore, three descriptors are used NFL for non-faculty location, FwSCS for a faculty with scarce and critical skills and FwnSD for a faculty with no skills allowance designation.

[155] An example of an exception referred to was Accounting. In general, this same rule was applied regardless of whether academics were appointed/promoted on the degree (former HWU) or diploma stream (former HWT).

In South Africa, once probationary requirements are fulfilled, tenure is the norm. However, staff at RBU were now faced with the potential loss of jobs. They felt they had already more than proved their worth and dedicated years of service to these same positions. The merger threatened one of the most fundamental tenets of academic labour, lifelong job security. In a context in which colleagues were pitted against one another, it is understandable that anxiety and discontent emerged. Furthermore, academics at RBU, and other merged HEIs, were subject to unjust treatment, especially as academics at non-merging institutions maintained full job security. The following concerns combined to erode academics' sense of job security: RBU was staffed from the top down; academics felt distant from the process; there was a real or imagined threat of a LRA s189 termination; for some, EE considerations were taken seriously; one could be placed vertically and/or horizontally in a different position to the one currently occupied.

Nonetheless, academic job insecurity was not uniformly experienced. The discussion above attests to differentiation along a seniority/juniority axis, this also extended to those who were pensionable and on contract. At the time of the merger, those close to retirement could choose voluntary severance packages (0143, 0158 & 0157). However, RBU officials noted these were found to be too expensive and quite quickly, were no longer offered to new applicants (0148, 0102 & 0162). The number who opted for this could not be deciphered using RBU's statistics, although two White men were recorded as dismissed via retrenchment.

Furthermore, six years of service with a predecessor institution was the threshold for appointment to a permanent RBU post (0133: FwSCS & 0116: FwnSD). This was applied even where a candidate fell short by just one month (0116: FwnSD). Academics on contract were able to remain so, where the contract was continuous or was renewed. They were required to apply for any subsequent permanent post like any other applicant would. Mention was made of the HWU's (pre-merger) participation in the Khulisa project to mentor Black post-graduate students into academia. It was noted that most participants in the programme were unable to secure a permanent post, as a result of the merger (0144: FwSCS).

Despite legislative aims to reach harmonization in a decent amount of time; all negotiations and agreements were finally concluded seven years after the merger, in 2012 (Annual Report). However, as noted, unions had reportedly been "key in the renegotiation of conditions of service and [securing] post-merger common ground" (0110: NFL). At the time of the research, participants were discontented with the narrowing, but still present salary gap (the HWT and

HBU were alleged to be paid better than the HWU). They were also unsettled by the five-year retirement age gap (the HWU's pension age was 65 and the others, 60) and the alleged loss of pension entitlements and research contributions by HBU staff (0119, 0103 & 0157). However, parity in annual leave and housing benefits were established (0110: NFL). HBU participants claimed some of their benefits were lost, when the institution disbanded and records were reportedly untraceable (0157: FwSCS).

The merger did not affect each department, school, and faculty uniformly. Although centrally determined, structural reconfiguration and academic placement was also shaped by the extent to which there was duplication and/or compatibility between the different departments and units across the HWT and HWU. Thus, the effect of the merger was variable. Four sets of merger intra-faculty relationships were noted. Virtually no effect was observed, where there was no comparable unit in any of the other predecessor institutions and the merger amounted to "just a name change" (0117: FwSCS). In other instances, departments were able to exist sufficiently, as before, essentially as "two institutions under one roof". In many cases, this manifested as remaining even in the original locations, physically separate from each other (0124: FwnSD)[156]. Some participants described this as a "lack of organizational coherence and structure" (0145: FwSCS). In some cases, this was described as being the result of "people safeguarding [their] jobs, [thus the] merger duplicated posts and skills" rather than reducing these (0106: NFL).

In other cases, expansion into new curriculum and new administrative or managerial areas meant the proliferation of work. For example, the Faculty of Engineering was only a division before. Some academics spoke of having offices on at least two campuses and having to regularly commute for meetings and teaching. Others, reflecting on same issue, noted their job now required the supervision of students and staff on multiple sites (0124: FwnSD). Several attested to what they described as role confusion and conflict between their employer (RBU) and their profession (the discipline), in "unobtainable" competing demands (0132: FwSCS). Furthermore, a number of participants, from a range of backgrounds, referred to additional

[156] At the time of the research, the majority of planned spatial realignment had not yet occurred.

teaching that they incurred post-merger. In the worst case, this reportedly involved the repetition of course material 12 times weekly (0156: FwnSD).

When, as a result of the merger, there were two similar departments in one faculty, other participants spoke of feeling that they were in direct competition with each other to merely exist. In another instance, it was noted that each "had different markets, did different research" and taught different students (0154: FwSCS). This was seen as enough to retain niche specialty but was not enough to prevent "fierce battles and politics over qualifications" (0154: FwSCS). The diversity in intra-faculty relationships emphasizes that the merger played out in different ways within the institution, and was not experienced homogenously across the institution. In some instances, smooth transitions were a matter of good fortune, in others the result of conscientious efforts, and in others power and politics worked for the ends seen.

Regardless of how the micro workplace dynamics played out, several factors were common. Individual academics had to reapply for posts, permanent academic and sometimes administrative posts were lost, and staffing constraints affected the ability to grant promotions. Therefore, there was an increased reliance on both junior and contract staff. Many of these challenges were still prevalent at RBU at the time of the research.

Discontent and individual and/or collective action arose from academic departments not being involved in the selection of their own heads and/or fellow colleagues. If participants were consulted, they felt it was after the fact (0115: FwnSD). In other instances, they spoke of being able to successfully challenge an individual (0161: FwnSD) and/or departmental placement. For example, the Department of Computer Science apparently challenged its original placement and was relocated back to Science (0149: FwSCS). In other instances, especially in the placement of heads of department, 'rejection' played out less amicably[157].

The success of internal or external candidates, as head of department, schools, or deans seemed to be both candidate and context specific. In several cases, examples of external candidates being marginalized were discussed by participants. The racial tensions within these are striking. For example, a former head of department explained:

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[157] Although, even with departmental placement, participants alleged this contestation was due to staff not being content to be under technikon leadership.

> I came here all starry eyed…the management was supportive… [what I] didn't anticipate was the impact of the merger, I think it affected a lot personally…who felt threatened or felt insecure about the whole process…There were times when I think the antagonism was very low, very ugly words used in their description of me…It bothered me that my vision of working with educated, critically thinking people, all came crumbling down…because…when people are angry, then education is forgotten… In terms of acceptance as a Black person coming into a predominantly White institution, it was very, very, challenging…before the end of the semester, I had made up my mind I am leaving, because of the barbs that were directed at, not just me, but at people of colour (0123: FwnSD).

Another participant spoke of the experience in his faculty:

> We had five deans in ten years, they were not always on the ball. The first was the most academic, but as an English person, he was not accepted, the Afrikaners gave him a lot of flak which dissipated his energy and he left. The environment was not for him (0160: FwnSD).

A third participant shared an experience from within a department where tension escalated:

> The merger gave…an identity of us and them. It was a torrid time, there was a perception that we were not worthy of our jobs… even the HoD held that view. A new equity leader was [then] brought in, who also brought a lot of conflict, all united against [this person] … So, the department was not seen in a very good light, but…was not very good at the job. The university did not do much to help. We were left to deal with this on our own, with a manager that brought a legal case against [their] own staff. The university inquiry told us to blow a balloon when we felt stressed (0142: FwnSD).

Potentially the neutrality and objectivity of an outside person could have been an asset, and this probably informed these appointments. However, it did appear that their externality at such a crucial time proved an insurmountable barrier to social cohesion and integration, which could not be bridged. The dynamics and politics of the context required internal insight and institutional knowledge and it was perhaps unfair, to both parties, to expect an outsider to effectively manage the process in a way that took cognizance of the needs and demands of all.

There were, however, exceptions; several participants spoke of exemplary leadership at middle management level that included people with great vision, compassion, and ability to hold and carry staff's vulnerabilities. In some cases, individuals whose responsibility it was to implement what was ostensibly perceived as 'university policy' but who had a 'technikon background' were appraised as being able to see both sides, and to bring out something of value for each partner by enabling them to choose their path and to collectively agree on the route to be taken. In other cases, successful shared leadership was referred to,

> The acting dean was from the technikon. All felt they had someone who understood what they were about… [the technikon's] protocols and technical language were difficult to understand. The dean made it bearable, forced us to understand, forced us to make things work…we no longer speak of us and them" (0115: FwnSD).

Many referred to placement as an administrative exercise dependent purely on post availability as opposed to matching academic interest or specialization, especially in faculties or schools where cross-'division' teaching was common. Nonetheless, only in one case did a participant mention contesting their placement on such grounds.

In addition, an example was shared where a Black participant's placement was contested by a White colleague:

> I [applied] for my lecturer post and a senior lecturer post. At that particular time, the competition was between myself and a White lady who had a PhD. I did not have a PhD at that time but had quite a repertoire of skills and experience… I was placed as a senior lecturer [then] all hell broke loose, because the person did not want to accept that because she had a PhD, she felt she was more experienced than me. It turned out to be a racial issue which became unfortunate for me, because it made me question myself…I didn't want to see myself as an affirmative action token. The lady took time to get over that and it was quite painful because it had to do with people's lives. I almost wanted to resign because I refused to [but was] put under public scrutiny…The union at some point was brought in and the DVC Academic had to explain. It was quite traumatic for both me and the lady (0115: FwnSD).

In an effort to minimize dismissals, staff who were unsuccessful in being re-placed in their first and second choice job, were sent invitations for a further two subsequent rounds of advertisements of posts.

### *6.2.2. Questioning oneself as an academic*

The second way in which the merger was perceived and experienced by participants was as a questioning of one's own conception of and as an academic. This pertained to how academics perceived their work and their professional identity as academics. Specifically, participants were concerned with the changing nature of academic work and their ability to exercise autonomy over it. They were also conflicted by questions surrounding their professional self and the satisfaction, status, and identity they derived from their academic work and their workplace affiliation; and the ways in which the merger was a catalyst for change in this arena.

As a comprehensive university (CU), RBU had at this point loose guidelines, and a centrally determined structure. However, faculties, schools, and departments had to conceptualize and operationalize what this meant. This then had a direct bearing on how academics felt about their work and workplace.

Participants described the HWU as the base institution that set the normative standards to which the other merger partners had to assimilate. As a result, it was academics from the HWT and HBU that were most likely to experience a more fundamental challenge to their professional self. This was widely recognized and acknowledged by participants regardless of their HEI of origin. For example, a former HWU academic states "we came from the privileged side, we didn't feel much" (0115: FwnSD). The operative discourse around what constitutes 'an academic' had, prior to the merger, been unquestioned, taken for granted, and was largely determined autonomously by each institution[158]. With the merger, academics within the newly constituted institution (RBU) were now required to consider each of the originating institutions' normative standards. For RBU, the opportunity to envision its role involved setting its aspirations nationally and globally (Institutional documents). Despite the creation of a new category of CU, to which RBU belonged, more traditional university normative standards regarding the definition of an academic seemed to operate.

Thus, the merger provided an opportunity to position RBU academics' standards and qualifications in line with these aspirations, through, particularly, the standardization and benchmarking of qualifications and research. Therefore, academics from the HWT specifically felt that, with the merger, the goal posts for their profession had shifted. An example was the requirement of a Doctorate for senior lecturer and the recent requirement that an Honours, as opposed to a BTec, was necessary in order to be appointed at the lecturer level (0110, 0119 & 0131). These arose out of efforts to standardize qualifications and accreditation nationally. However, for RBU academics, especially those with a technikon background, the merger was the catalyst for all changes that deemed the skills set that they collectively (and individually) had, were no longer adequate.

In the competitive context of the merger, it was regularly articulated that technikon academics were lacking or deficient when compared to university (HWU) academics as the ideal-typical benchmark. Recognition was though given to their (HWT) teaching and vocational skills set. "[The HWU] was perceived as the senior partner… The technikon saw themselves as teachers and the doers. The HWU were the researchers" (0115: FwnSD). The increasing emphasis on

[158] As a part of the institutional culture, it emerged that these were themselves contested. Nonetheless, each institutions' hegemonic discourse took precedence in what became the more urgent contestation between institutions.

research and publication in SAHES meant that even at a CU, pressure was still brought to bear to conform with highest of sectoral standards. Despite forewarning by various commissions to avoid "academic drift"[159], recognition and appraisal formats tended to follow that of traditional universities. Nonetheless, at the time of research, parallel career paths and promotion streams had been investigated and were being rolled out (0117 & 0119). Thus, in the long-term recognition was made possible for all academics' strengths.

Some participants noted that none of the originating institutions was sufficiently research active. Instead of an entirely research-active university (HWU), as the discourse would have it, there were only pockets of excellence in select disciplines within the Sciences and Commerce (0105: NFL), implying that most had to 'play catch up'. However, this sort of introspection by academics from the HWU was rare. RBU officials also noted the HWT had been one of the most research active technikons and had a very strong Engineering department (0105: NFL). However, for the most part, former technikon academics' fears regarding rehiring and subsequent chances of promotion therein, coupled with perceptions and subsequent treatment by other colleagues, suggested at and post-merger that the deficiency discourse was the norm.

Former technikon academics had to cope with the feeling of being scrutinized and coming up short in the eyes of their HWU colleagues. A participant frankly discussed what deficiency talk meant amongst former HWU colleagues, "The generalization was, the technikon didn't have PhDs, the university focused on PhDs; output was now being forced on technikon teachers, so there was this perception: 'why were they carrying on as academics'" (0115: FwnSD). A senior former HWT academic recalled an example of tea room talk when it was (seemingly) forgotten that there were non-university-originating staff members in the room, along the lines of "they'll make just anyone a professor, over there" (0117: FwSCS). Furthermore, another participant from the HBU recalls, that his CV was circulated by the HoD, to the department, with the subtext of "look what got in" (0156: FwnSD).

[159] Academic drift is the processes whereby knowledge becomes increasingly academic, scientific or abstract. Therefore, losing its grounding and relevance to the professional and vocational fields out of which it has arisen (Harwood, 2010: 414-5). In this context, concern was expressed that comprehensive universities (CUs) were beginning to move too far away from their distinctive integrated and applied niche as CUs and were becoming caught up in abstractions and academicism typical of traditional universities.

In these examples, academics who were not from the HWU were made to feel unworthy of their job and their place at the new institution. it is evident that being at the receiving end of these sorts of judgments, which called into question their suitability, would affect HBU and HWT academics' sense of professional self. Yet indirectly, such vitriolic actions also stem from a fierce defence of the HWU's status quo and own sense of professional crisis in assuming that "to change is to drop standards" (0138: FwSCS). For all academics, but especially those from the HWT, this questioning of their professional worth by peers, and in some cases, by heads of departments was experienced as an additional layer of job insecurity.

As a result, whereas in the past former HWT academics had gained satisfaction and stature from their teaching abilities and vocational networks, insights, and skills set; these no longer appeared sufficient to guarantee recognition and stature as an academic. Furthermore, research and publication, something they had, collectively, little experience of, was now deemed to be the major determinant of their academic worth. "The HoD doesn't understand or value the whole job. [They] only recognize research, even if in a predominantly teaching role" (0156: FwnSD). This brought a great deal of stress and anxiety. The image of deficiency thus became a self-fulfilling prophecy for academics who internalized this discourse, as they now felt inadequately prepared for the jobs they had always held.

In being effectively relegated to RBU's second class academics, a range of different responses including resentment, dejection, alienation, separatism, resilience, stoicism, and seizing opportunities were evident from participants' accounts of their responses (and those of their departments). These were often reflective of their differing occupational rank, institutional experience, their age, and general social outlook. A few examples illustrate the range of responses: "Individuals were suspicious, [they] carved their own niches over two campuses, [and] are still separated by discipline and whether by diploma or degree programme" (0138: FwSCS); the "technikon fought for its existence, bums on seats versus the support needed" (0131: FwnSD).

Ironically, where recruits from the degree stream (i.e. the former HWU) now taught on diploma courses (former HWT), heads of department spoke of contracting in industry experts so that the vocational skills gap in the curriculum, could be bridged (0117: FwSCS). Thus, skills gaps were apparent on both sides but seemingly responded to quite differently. However, as seen in the example provided in the employment equity theme; former HWT staff at equivalent levels

were also capable of reacting resentfully rather than cooperatively towards former HWU and/or new academics.

Furthermore, despite the compulsion that many former HWT and junior HWU academics felt to upskill their research, the same was not necessarily true of former HWU staff about teaching, although (as with many other HEIs) there was a specific unit dedicated to teaching and learning. In addition, the requirement of a teaching qualification, for new recruits, was being explored by RBU at the time of research.

Several former HWU academics spoke of having to "get their heads around" the technical language used by the HWT. However, this seemed more of a frustration than any serious challenge to one's professional identity. Those participants interviewed with a HWU history but now active in former HWT programmes were involved in oversight roles (rather than at the 'chalk face'). However, several did speak of the increased teaching load, under-preparedness of students, and repetitive teaching cycles, and lamented the loss of the scope to do research. A point that was also raised by HWU participants was the "economic stranglehold over education" and that this "set them in competition with other schools [in the faculty] for economic viability" as a result, this participant felt they had become driven by the market and felt he "no longer ha[d] an academic home" (0154: FwSCS). Furthermore, the HBU was effectively written out of this entire debate when its own programmes were phased out (0162: NFL). Thus, for HBU academics, whilst they had a job, their entire institutional and professional context had to be rebuilt and located anew within the emerging but heavily contested RBU frameworks.

Thus, the different purposes for which the predecessor institutions had been geared seem not to have been strong enough to counter perceptions of lack of academic worth at RBU (amongst particularly former HWT staff), despite its multi-focal purpose. To some extent, there was a degree of 'business as usual' for HWI staff, where academics were able to continue as before, separately running, separate programmes, with limited interaction (0124: FwnSD). However, in other cases, academics (from a range of backgrounds) felt pressure to upgrade qualifications and to publish in order to be seen as credible and legitimate academics (0154 & 0156).

Participants also cited instances of genuine collaboration and equal respect for what everyone brought to the table. Thus, participants spoke of how the binary divide was slowly wearing away. They mentioned that there was now some curriculum cross over that extended beyond former HWU participation in former HWT programmes and participation now went both ways

(0142: FwnSD). Participants also spoke of symbiotic relationships and mutual collaboration, mostly in teaching and course development (0124: FwnSD). Furthermore, the multi-campus, multi-offerings was viewed an asset, with rich opportunities for both academic and applied articulation (0124: FwnSD), which presented an opportunity that better oriented RBU for the future and ensured better higher education provision. (0125 & 0117).

Most of the tension and conflict over RBU's institutional role and accordingly, what an academic's work is, seems to have been between former HWU and HWT academics. This is perhaps to be expected, given their relative size and status in the merger, and to some extent non-status of the HBU in these debates. Post-the merger, significant emphasis within the institution has been placed on developing a research profile. This has led to some generalized anxiety around what it means to be an academic, and for technikon staff, whether they 'measure up'. It does, though, provide some means to address this. Interestingly, these perceptions and concerns came more frequently from women and Black academics, who were often the recipients of targeted funding[160].

### *6.2.3. The lived experience of the merger*

The merger brought about a sense of professional crisis in many participants because of the perceived and/or real threat to their livelihoods and the fundamental questions that were asked, of some, about their skill and suitability for the job. Thus, participants recognized the emotionally charged experience of the merger, whilst noting that this was institutionally unacknowledged and neglected. Several participants spoke of how the then Vice Chancellor focused on structural reconfiguration and had no time for emotions (0130: FwSCS). One participant went as far as to describe him "as a real hit man" (0157: FwSCS). Participants from the HBU felt particularly sold out by their former executive management[161] in terms of their

[160] It may be that this is a generalized concern but that these groups are those who are over-sampled due to their access to such funding. Alternatively, it a complex set of relations in which as EE beneficiaries they receive funding; but this in itself (unintentionally) evokes a deficiency paradigm that generates another cycle of self-fulfilling doubts as opposed to actual empowerment.
[161] There had been allegations of mismanagement at the HBU.

ongoing conditions of service (0157: FwSCS). In addition, HBU's mission was adopted by RBU but not most of its academic contributions (0122, 0162 & 0157). Hence, participants expected their leadership to deal with the operational requirements and strategy efficiently and honestly, and acknowledge the human aspect of the merger process.

Others spoke of how their faculty made a conscientious effort to ensure that the most senior staff were from selected from each institution, so that "everyone had someone who represented them"; in other faculties, this was not the case and "people were marginalized" (0121: FwnSD). In some (departmental) instances, there was reportedly a feeling of "HWU take-over" (0124 & 0125); in other instances, participants said as the dominant former institution, they were mindful not to do so (0117: FwSCS). HBU participants spoke with some frustration about their experience of the incorporation and the loss of colleagues, as "[The HWU] wanted our [resources] not our academics" (0157: FwSCS).

Most felt that academics had individually and collectively been left to cope with the fallout. As a result, many still carried unresolved tensions and feelings, encapsulated in the expression of "wounded souls", others described that they had "merely survived", found ways to "just carry on", or "managed to make peace". These more detailed expressions give voice to how participants felt: "The merger tired people out…we engaged in survival tactics, you cannot self-actualize [like that]. We are still separate departments wrestling with institutional culture" (0137: FwSCS). Another shares, "I was unhappy in the immediate context. The stigma has now absolved, and the related image problem gone. It really was not an academically productive time. [But] we are still alive and carrying on" (0117: FwSCS).

Meanwhile, there was also widespread reference to others who had "left under the strain", as well as others for whom the strain had long term mental and health effects. "We lived through the merger, some left, some died… and good Black academics left. There was a lot of mistrust. The dust is now settling. The process of re-application was nerve-wracking" (0156: FwnSD). Another also elaborates, "there were a number of stress-related illnesses and suicides. Some never got permanent positions, and it was very painful" (0157: FwSCS). Another also attests, "Some just took packages and left. Others were forced to accept positions, they are still not comfortable with, and still carrying the pain" (0115: FwnSD).

The language participants chose to speak of the merger experience, signify a battle or a battlefield. Therefore, evoking the fracturing effect it had on their and the institution's peace and cohesion. Furthermore, the metaphors chosen by those who assert they have (now) moved

forward, betray a degree of fatigued acquiescence: “we have settled down”, “everything is bedded down”, “things have been bridged”, “we have survived”, “we accepted fate”, and “we are still alive and carrying on”.

All participants were current RBU employees. Thus, if they had been employed prior to the merger, they too were successfully rehired. Yet the weight with which they spoke of the merger process displays the psychic gravitas it still carried for them six years later. The period was also referred to as one that “brought out the worst in people” and was a “learning curve”. This thereby illustrated the fundamental difference between cognition and emotion, that is, rationally understanding and directly experiencing the merger.

Participants from very different backgrounds reflected on the strains of the merger. Those from the HBU and HWT were most vocal about institutional culture changes[162], some attributable to the scale of the HWU, and now RBU, which was felt to have disrupted the very “homely” and collegial sense of comfort, security, and belonging that were said to characterize both the HBU and HWT (0122: NFL) but not the HWU. “There is a façade of collegiality” and “[everything is behind] a cold, closed door” (0157: FwSCS). There was also some resentment about the changing nature of the workplace, which reflected a change in the institutional scale and scope, which the merger had come to represent.

However, in the end, participants concluded that things had reached an equilibrium and were harmonious. Some believed “the past had to be done” (0125: FwSCS), others were at least satisfied with the outcome, and declared, “we can now live with what we have” (0122: NFL).

***Positionality demarcated, side lines drawn***

The previous sections clearly illustrate that the merger solidified the duality between the former HWU and the HWT. However, additional fault lines within RBU were reinforced throughout the process. One of these was a racial fault line, which is evident in the examples given above and will be discussed more extensively under the employment equity and transformation

[162] These are further elaborated on under the transformation theme

themes. A second fault line was that between academics and senior management, which is discussed more fully here.

The strategic and operational shifts within RBU were often perceived to be conceptualized and implemented in a mechanistic manner, as though divorced from the people who staffed the institution and would be affected by these processes. Some were cognizant of the necessary restructuring and consolidation of institutional bureaucracies to bring about the scale of change that the merger required. Managerialism emerged as the defining characteristic of organizational leadership. Although there was continuity, as most predecessor institutions had similar relationships between their leadership and administrative staff (0154: FwSCS). However, these relationships took on new meaning and significance through the merger processes. Thus, the merger appeared to have facilitated managerialism's grasp on the new institution.

By and large, managerialism was in/directly referred to as the overarching system of governance, senior management, and the everyday running of the institution. It had three main features. The layer of executive management offices and those who staffed these with distinctive managerial strategy and tactics as opposed to an academic raison d'être and modus operandi. The executive management was supported by an inflated bureaucracy that was highly efficient; whilst simultaneously had non-functional parts. Thirdly, managerialism in its strategic decision-making role (through executive managers), and operational implementation (through the bureaucracy), had reach throughout the entire institution. Despite this, both were felt to be technicist and out of touch with academics' work. Participants felt there was a lot of unnecessary work-generated as a result of managerialism.

Participants discussed how originally, the "staffing budget was realigned so that a greater proportion, 52%, was allocated to academic staffing" (0162: NFL). However, "overtime this reverted back to pre-merger levels" of 48% (0105: NFL). Furthermore, the cross over to the Resource Allocation Model (RAM) was meant to provide academic managers flexibility to determine their own staffing needs (0162: NFL). In practice, several noted, it meant posts remain unfilled or promotions not awarded, due to a lack of resources.

An exasperated participant exclaimed: "They compulsively generate work for academics… there are continuous demands". (0146: FwSCS). To the point where the participant felt, the only option was to "retreat or retire" (0146: FwSCS).). The frustration with increasing bureaucratization and administrative loads was a common one. It appeared as though the

multiple areas where managerialism interfaced with academics, it then also designated work that was expected to become a core of academic's work as well. At the time of the merger this included the various areas undergoing streamlining such as job designation, salaries, finance, budgets, and staff and student records. More recently it included performance management, using the Excellence Development System (EDS)[163].

A participant shared her frustration with the process:

> [RBU] has become increasingly managerial. I hate how management deal with academics. Management and HR heavies decide on problems, develop policies, filter these down into templates that have to be followed, with no idea of the work done. EDS is designed to promote mediocrity. It is non-productive and a huge workload in itself (0146: FwSCS).

Whilst another, who explained that managerial creep filtered into his discipline said:

> It has become increasingly bureaucratic and a monolithic entity. [Increasingly] stifling and focused on system requirements. In the process, we lost some incredible talent. [Overall] I'm not sold on the ethos of marketability (0154: FwSCS).

One of the greatest fall outs of merger-related managerialism was the lack of coherence in the structuring of schools and departments, which meant that some were purely administrative arrangements with little unifying them. Many academics complained that this made their work, "one of admin jockey as opposed to academic mentor" (0154: FwSCS). In several cases, the impracticality of the structures extended academics' managerial and administrative work, raising workload in real terms, whereas on paper it was meant to be streamlined and reduced.

Furthermore, academics took issue with the impact that managerialism had on their academic work,

A participant explains the ethos that accompanies managerialism,

> Some are saying, we are moving away from the Mandela era now. There is a different one [now] of delivery and performance, and that we must get real about the world in which we now live (0111: NFL).

Whilst others were more explicit about the ways they felt management failed to take account of the realities on the ground, in applying promotion standardization and performance management:

[163] Which was just being rolled out at the time of research.

> The university is inconsiderate [of disciplinary context]. We are left to our sabbatical to do research. They only look at outputs, the old publish or perish… EDS makes the expectations more clear, but it is not realistic. There is not enough time for research. EDS should be a development tool. It is unrealistic to expect [academics] to excel in all three areas. There is a loss of creativity with [high] teaching workloads, none is left for research. Unless you [get a] buy out" (0156: FwnSD).

Others spoke of how the (initial) singular career path model was particularly inept at recognizing the complex professional and vocational requirements and circumstances. Thus, the uniform entry requirements, promotion criteria, and salaries were stumbling blocks to both recruiting new staff and to maintaining existing staff (0131: FwnSD). Some had begun to explore alternative options such as publication as opposed to doctoral pursuit for academics with high workloads, professional obligations, dependent on age and family commitments, etc. (0132, 0119 & 0156), whilst others resorted to short term contracts to fill vocational gaps (0117: FwSCS).

Others noted that the allocation model had resulted in a situation where most academics, barring heads of departments, were junior and that this in itself was a challenge (0119: FwSCS). In addition, others felt that in particular disciplines, the over-riding market logic had meant that departments lost their disciplinary foundation and had become industry trainers rather than educators (0154: FwSCS). The specific examples where this arose were due to competition between two similar disciplines that had both been previously located within the HWU. This demonstrated that academics from the HWU were not always homogenously in agreement about the best academic pedagogical practice. Furthermore, the merger sometimes meant conflict where previously there had been none. Participants' explanatory logic for such was "managerialism".

Participants were most aggrieved when managerialism 'encroached' into spaces where it was still felt collegiality should prevail such as departmental leadership. It appeared, and in several instances at least, academics ruthlessly defended their space. As mentioned previously, participants also criticized the ability of university structures and senior management to resolve conflict when it arose. Whilst some felt that managerialism had become a defining characteristic of RBU, others still felt much happened via the "golf course network or bar culture" (0115 & 0157). Subsequent rounds of appointments to the executive management were made after the merger and participants felt there was more leadership. However, the ethos of managerialism was still felt to prevail.

By 2012, the harmonization process was concluded. A common, institution-wide lunch hour had just been initiated. Many departments remained spread across the multiple campuses (with different programmes and students taught by different staff located on different campuses) even where this was not the final intention. The protracted length of time it has taken to resolve such issues suggests a lack of institutional priority given to the construction of a coherent unified identity, in terms of the details of daily academic life. In some ways, this has facilitated the continuation of fractured and divided camps within the institution, and challenged its coherence as an integrated, singular institution.

### *6.2.4. Significance and Implication for Transformation*

> The merger coincided with national transformation. It was strategic to address the superstructure. It was the decision of leadership, but it was very painful, now healing is needed (0140: FwnSD).
>
> It was a traumatic change. In the process, we lost sight of transformation. I'm not sure it was a success (0131: FwnSD).
>
> The legacy of the merger was that people did not avail themselves for collective events. There is no culture of engagement. People are in separate places and spaces (0147: NFL).

As these examples illustrate, restructuring, in this case the merger, was a part of *Transformation*. It was not Transformation in its totality. The way in which the merger was implemented, took form, and was experienced demonstrate that it had anti-transformational effects; effects that at both the individual and collective level engendered far-reaching discontent, stress, anxiety, and trauma and that also eroded collegiality, cohesion and any fledgling collectivity. It reinforced divisions between the former HWT and HWU, re-racialized (rather than de-racialized) the environment, cemented managerialism and collective disdain towards it and retained labour inequities for quite some time. The consequences and ramifications of major decisions appear not to have been rigorously thought through in the context of the heterogeneity of academic disciplines, and academia as a profession.

Thus, in the main, restructuring was implemented as an initial phase of *Transformation*. There was some implementation of employment equity but with inadequate consideration of ramifications, such that the unintended repercussions were often directly opposite to those intended. There was no attempt to integrate transformation into merger processes at all.

Consequently, both employment equity and transformation within and of academic staff at RBU needed to be addressed.

## 6.3. Employment Equity

This section presents participants' perceptions and experiences of Employment Equity (EE) as institutional policy and practice. First, through a brief introduction to how participants' generally view RBU's key policy and initiatives. Next, participants' considerations on EE's application and implementation within academia and within their specific context. Thirdly, the discussion draws from participants' own reflections and first-hand accounts to unpack the sub-themes of 'White loss' and 'Black cost'. Throughout, connections are made to de-segmentation, de-racialization, and gender-based equity. The predominant concern at RBU was racialization. This arose with far more regularity and intensity than gender segmentation. Hence, the discussion has this empirical slant.

### *6.3.1. A brief introduction to RBU's EE Policies*

RBU's policy and interventions are immensely broad ranging and detailed both in conceptualization and as guidelines for practice. For brevity and relevance, participants' perceptions and understandings of these issues are focused on here.

RBU's EE Policy had three core specifications for new appointments,

> Affirmative action as first commitment. The person must be suitably qualified [not just an equity candidate] and show ability to do the job. If two rounds do not yield a successful candidate, the third round is opened to all (0102: NFL & 0102: NFL).

Different levels of explanation were given as to what the suitability and ability clause entailed including: "merit, skill, knowledge, fitness for the job, ability to effectively communicate and build relationships" (0102: NFL). Officials were clear that both institutionally and from a Department of Labour perspective, there are "unit and operational needs [that] have to be met". Thus "it would be a greater disservice not to appoint" (0102: NFL & 0120: NFL).

However, throughout, RBU there was ambiguity regarding EE policy interpretation:

> Council and **[164][the executive] were quite clear, Junior Lecturers can be appointed on potential. Senior Lecturers and above have to prove themselves. Always appoint the best person for the job, even if a White man. Race and gender come into it when all else is equal (0162: NFL).

Whilst in keeping with the actual EEA, this is quite different to the former alternative official presented version of RBU policy and participants' own interpretations, below:

> first try to employ an equity candidate, then you are allowed to appoint someone else (0124: FwnSD).

More evocatively,

> we are forced to hire Black candidates over all else (0151: FwSCS).

However, not all had quite the same take, for example:

> For vacancies, we comply with the requirements, we favour Black candidates. Only hire Whites with good reason when all criteria are met" (0159: FwSCS).

Another participant states,

> there has been a change, we emphasize competence before colour. We have to be careful and correct (0117: FwSCS).

As indicated in the latter interview, RBU was undergoing changes in this regard at the time of the research, due to new institutional leadership, which may partially account for the contradiction in the data. Nonetheless, both the tonal inflections and different takes do point to variance in interpretation, practice and response, across the institution.

RBU had unsuccessfully approached national government for Scarce and Critical Skills funding. Thus, RBU relied on Council funding for select disciplines within specific faculties, mainly within Commerce, Engineering and Science (0101: NFL). For the most part, this was used to retain academic staff (0102: NFL). It was ad hoc and individually negotiated as a counter offer when an academic with critical skills was in the process of being poached, to try to retain them (0162: NFL). It could be used for both Black academics or for White women academics with the requisite skills (0162: NFL).

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[164] ** is used throughout chapters 6 and 7 where an identifier has been removed.

A scarce skills allowance could be applied for but was discipline-specific, not available at junior levels, and was subject to consideration of budgetary and other implications (0120: NFL). Officials noted that they only entered into remuneration discussions with new applicants who were serious about taking the job. Increases "within reason and affordability" and "the inconsistencies created" were considered (0102: NFL). "Scarce skills is a non-pensionable allowance. Which is a challenge as some want it pensionable" (0104: NFL). Alternatively, it was possible for academics to use eight hours a week for consultation or private work (0101: NFL). This appeared to be the preferred norm for those with recognised scarce skills.

Academics did not always have consistent information about scarce skills allowances either. For example, contractions were observed within the same faculty: "We have scarce skills across the board especially in nursing and pharmacy…incentives are now tied to outputs, a top up of up to 15% above the midpoint" (0119: FwSCS). Compared to: "There are no scarce skills in the faculty…we spoke about an allowance to retain, but this was not instituted" (0159: FwSCS). Whilst, others were frustrated by what they believed to be the selective application of policy: "The policy for retention, scarce skills is not used, for example, in Humanities" (0135: FwnSD). Knowledge of the intricacies of policy, its applicability, and when standardized rules, versus discretionary decision-making, was possible, appeared not to be clearly communicated and/or actioned.

RBU had a Transformation and Equity Committee (TEC) whose members, as a part of a range of responsibilities sat in on selection interviews (0102: NFL). At the time of the research, this was an institution-wide structure and there were no faculty specific TECs. It was reported that if not in agreement with the interview panel's decision, the TEC could submit a minority report for the management committee to consider (0131: FwnSD). The unions were also represented on interview panels and reflected, "it is easier if it is your own faculty. If not scoring can be a challenge. So, we try to have faculty [specific] members (0135: FwnSD).

Participants remarked that, on EE, the "two unions have different interpretations" (0147: NFL). NEHAWU members felt their role was "to check transformation is on track, that sectional interests are not just being represented" (0135: FwnSD). Whilst a NTEU member felt theirs's was "not to push EE at all costs, to push equity when best, to ensure fairness for all (0112: FwSCS). Institutionally, the TEC, unions, and SRC were perceived to be the drivers of EE (0102: NFL). Resources, time, and person-power were concerns for both. NTEU specifically intervened in cases where labour practice and process issues had been of concern. In addition,

NEHAWU tried to be more proactive in alerting management to systematic problems, and interventionist in everyday institutional processes (0112: FwSCS & 0135: FwnSD). Selection committees, continuous contracts, and succession planning were areas where institutional racial imbalances had been contested (0135: FwnSD).

There were a range of other initiatives to retain and advance Black and/or women academics at RBU. There were a number of both RBU and externally funded initiatives for select designated candidates and Black and/or women academics more generally. Examples included Thuthuka, Next Generation Academics, Early Career Progression, and Phulisa. Most of these had aspects for masters and/or doctoral completion, various other skills development components, and focused mentoring built in. At the time of the research, the Next Generation Academic Programme was specifically focusing on Black women in Engineering for targeted EE skills intervention (0104: NFL). "The idea was to increase skills and capacity to enable promotion through traditional lines and mechanisms" (0101: NFL). This was a specific modification as past projects were not faculty or discipline-specific (0104: NFL). There was also funding for ten academics to receive equity advancement assistance and four students to receive three-year contracts and PhD lectureships, across RBU (0120: FwSCS).

PhD completion grants and workload accommodation grants were also available for academics needing financial assistance for buyouts, for example. Additional funding through the research office and/or faculties was also available for travel grants for conferences, writing retreats, and buyouts for the completion of qualifications and articles. Several of these were institution-wide initiatives, and only if there were limited places available, was equity prioritized (0105: NFL). Although, in some instances, participants added that these were outcome-based and that quality could not be compromised (0110: NFL & 0108: NFL). Some academics were critical about the fact that support programmes were contract based as they felt this was a "disincentive". Whilst others questioned "why not only target staff, if there are no guarantees?" (0158 & 0143). Thereby, raising the issue of institutional retention. To which the reply, from amongst RBU leadership, was "I don't think it is a loss even if we train for the sector" (0104: NFL).

RBU officials felt that academics were now generally receptive to the need for EE (0102: NFL). That most, although not all, academic leaders were on board (0102: NFL). EE was a key performance area (KPA) for Deans and Directors. Although, it was unclear exactly how this was assessed and what repercussions existed for non-compliance (0101 & 0102). Officials knew they were perceived to be making demands on staff and were conscientious of not being

"policemen and losing their credibility" (0102: NFL). They reported having experienced academics "pull rank" and express a "'who are you' attitude". Resulting in "a tug of war to get [people who either did not understand how EE targets worked or were being deliberately obstreperous] to do the right thing" (0102: NFL).

Furthermore, as has been the case in many HEIs, the officials designated responsibility for *Transformation* had their portfolios and reporting structures changed twice within four years (0102: NFL). RBU officials said they were conscientious of not being "policemen and losing their credibility" but also felt theirs was a "[job, one] can't stay in too long" (0102: NFL). Therefore, despite its importance, the nature of the job presented major challenges to the continuity, which needed to accumulate sufficient institutional knowledge and credibility to make requisite change.

> If you were to look at our equity status, and you compared on the one hand academics, and on the other hand professional service staff. Our professional service staff departments are surprisingly close to the targets we set in our Five-year Equity Plan; but our academics are nowhere near the plan (0103: NFL).

As a part of institutional self-reflection, RBU had extended the university's EE plan. Now each Faculty had its own EE Plan (0103: NFL). There had previously been no succession planning or career pathing. This had now been explicitly introduced, throughout the university, as a part of EDS (0102: NFL). In addition, Deans had been provided with information on the next four years of retirees in an effort to encourage succession planning (0101: NFL). At the time of the research, there was opposition to EDS, for a number of reasons, including resentment towards what was felt to be "financial and equity considerations applied as top down directives" (0119: FwSCS).

### *6.3.2. How much traction has EE within the academic context?*

The staffing structure, determined by the merger, prescribed most academic posts at a junior level. Particularly with the need for EE, departments experienced inflexibility when hiring new staff. Experience-based reflections on retention, recruitment, and the requisite processes are presented. For the most part, academics were challenged and discontented. However, others were positive and shared innovative responses. Participants also reflected more philosophically on EE, specifically whether its means justified its end.

6.3.2.1. Reflections on EE in practice

A number of participants located their challenges within RBU's structure: "We have money and incentives, but just no turnover, and no scope for expansion. Only retirements. As a women-dominated field, we [even] only have to worry about half the equity equation" (0130: FwSCS). Similarly, another participant explains the inability to deliver on change because of structural restrictions (number and timing) of post upgrades: "There is the possibility of sabbatical and promotion, TEC assisted, but the department has a structural and funding formula…" (0124: FwnSD). Nonetheless, two participants, from varying contexts, expressed relatively upbeat assessments of their departments, "we have had good retention, and we do not have a skills top up. We have both equity and women…Women are typically not career hunters" (0117: FwSCS). In addition to, "we have good retention. We have also had two early retirements" (0124: FwnSD).

The dominant discourse on retention was that while generic turnover was low, turnover amongst designated groups was higher. This is not empirically disputable. Although, participants provided variable explanations. From the anticipated, "it is difficult to retain good Black academics. They grow, they're headhunted, and they leave" (0140: FwnSD). To the slightly more nuanced:

> We're in a largely female faculty…we've never had to re-advertise for lack of a qualified candidate…there are no scarce skills in the faculty and wages are not comparable to the public sector…but retention is a challenge. We seem to incubate for the country. We are hounded by our equity stats (0159: FwSCS).

Where scarce and critical skills were concerned, participants raised similar issues, but felt the scale was exacerbated, "For example, a good Black engineer…They are still a scarcity in the country, and are in huge demand…A company like Eskom… are paying double our salary. So, salary is a major issue" (0148: FwSCS). This appeared to affect gender-retention as well: "we battle to keep women, even in women-dominant fields. We can't match counter offers. There is also very low turnover [at senior levels] in academia" (0151: FwSCS). As well as, "the pool is limited and there is a revolving door. Our PhDs are poached for better opportunities elsewhere" (0118: NFL). Whilst institutional exit was often for jobs in the private or public sector, familial opportunities and/or obligations; sectoral poaching by large city-based HEIs was also reportedly a factor.

However, some participants offered alternative 'push-out' explanations for particularly low retention rates amongst Black academics: "Retention is a concern. There is a lack of mixing.

The TEC can only do so much. It is the responsibility of line managers and employees [to make things work]" (0123: FwnSD). Some participants stated that, "there is poor retention, sometimes as little as six months, for Black academics, at all levels (0158 & 0143). Exit interviews had shown that Black academics left because of a lack of opportunities (0103: NFL). Others felt this was coupled with racial prejudice and discrimination (0158 & 0143). This theme is further unpacked in the later 'Black cost' section.

Several participants who spoke of long standing vacancies due to an inability to appoint an academic from a designated category.

> We have difficulty filling senior posts. In the end, you end up having to re-designate contracts, which creates the expectation of permanent positions. GooT[165] failed to meet expectations. Retention is a challenge…There is no succession planning, also we only have [limited posts]. Professorial posts stay vacant due to pressure to replace with equity (0119: FwSCS).

> We have difficulties in fields like science, engineering, pharmacy and psychology. We have to now grow our own timber. People deferred their retirements for two or three years but there were still no necessary people to promote into posts (0162: NFL).

These demonstrate, despite earlier contradictions, that institutional practice appears to have put designated hires first. However, the opening of the field to all may not have been realised. Meanwhile, the following example raises the importance of making decisions within a holistic context and succession planning: "We managed to retain a person with scarce skills, but we have to think about the impact. Especially now we have four people who will retire in five years. The university has not yet come to table with a strategy" (0154: FwSCS). At the time of the research, officials were questioning the "wisdom" of the merger decision to make the retirement age 60 years (0103: NFL).

Appointments were a core part of the challenge of turnover, and the delicate balance of desired proportional turnover, to maintain and ideally increase race-based equity. For those who expressed an opinion, there was almost unanimous agreement that the skills pool did not meet the collective needs for professions as a whole. Participants spoke specifically of their disciplinary contexts:

[165] Growing our own Timber – a former programme at several universities where post-graduate students were meant to be mentored into academic posts whilst undergoing their qualifications.

> At the national level, there are 10% Black people in the discipline. We get no Black applicants when we advertise. We are forced to roll over to contract posts. Which then also have to be equity, despite not being transformation posts, as the HPC[166] suggested…But even our masters class is not…we just don't have the pool (0146: FwSCS).
>
> We battle to fill positions. There are no South African applicants, despite the student pool, with equity and skills, or even some skills; and White men feel excluded (0145: FwSCS).

Meanwhile another participant raises further issues felt to be at play within the institution,

> The recruitment pool has limited competencies. Qualifications are not enough. And we cannot afford not to meet all requirements…The demographics of the department are due to the merger, where nothing was done consciously right. So, it is both the pool and politics. The university is trying to align to provincial EE, especially at senior levels, but needs to address the pay structure (0138: FwSCS).

Therefore, as is evident EE implementation was heterogeneously applied across the institution. It was reflective of national, institutional and disciplinary contexts. In a range of areas, participants spoke about scope for change and explained the specific initiatives that their departments had undertaken:

> We have fewer equity candidates with the required competencies [at higher levels]. It takes a special person to forgo market salaries for academia. There is low turnover and few opportunities for transformation. Where these occur, it is often due to family circumstances. It is easier in the diploma stream; the salary discrepancy is less. Tutoring is also an opportunity [to get a foot in door] (0120: FwSCS).
>
> We have had to be creative. We have moved skilled people from the technical to the academic track; but it takes money [for candidates] to complete degrees (0149: FwSCS).
>
> We are starting to grow students into assistants, and markers, and tutors, and then into lecturers from within. We are having to do the same even for senior posts. We have had a professor post vacant for four years (0117: FwSCS).

Many of these reflect department-initiated attempts to develop an academic pipeline from scratch. More research on these would be needed to comment on their efficacy. At minimum, they are a start, have potential to improve intra-departmental relations, and provide a pool of known candidates to mentor towards academic careers. Participants stressed the onus was on academic departments to effect change: "You have to not be afraid to make changes…[but] demographic change must be accompanied by support" (0107: NFL). A participant emphasized, "you need to think of innovative ways to empower people, to expose and make the discipline attractive" (0131: FwnSD).

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[166] Health Professions Council

On the other hand, a number of participants expressed discontent with the implementation, lack thereof, or resistance to EE institutionally. "Some senior staff still don't embrace the policy. There is a disjuncture between plans and actuality and a problem with processes and as with management" (0147: NFL). Another states "I feel people block candidates to keep people out and implement the policy poorly" (0158: FwSCS). Whilst some felt that in particular areas of RBU, the policy was not implemented. Others felt this was much more selectively applied:

> It is the Obama syndrome. You have no power to enforce EE. The managers on the ground override. Old White men support or reject according to convenience… and White women are used to frustrate the issue. When you call this out, then you are called a racist. You will find you get forgotten off [interview] lists…Despite deliberations, management has the power, so it goes the other way and the union ends up rubber stamping (0158: FwSCS).

The former quote raises a number of issues about institutional power and ab/use of processes. These issues will be addressed under White loss and Black cost. Another participant felt there was a structural bias that inadvertently set Black candidates up for failure:

> Departments don't facilitate the process of students moving into academia. You will find the interview panel is all White…and the EE candidate won't be successful. The TEC exists to diversify the interview panel and ensure fairness (0102: NFL).

Yet another participant felt "there is snail pace demographic movement, so the TEC just ends up monitoring targets" (0142: FwnSD). Therefore, implying the committee members' feel curtailed by the institutional circumstances, into a minimalist, reactive, and monitoring and evaluation role.

However, not all participants were uniformly in support of RBU's stance on EE or advice given:

> There is pressure not to criticize, to be PC. How can this be right?[167]

> We had a vacancy for 10 months and strong people were not even short listed. So, you find racial profiling, even at the senior professor level. We are expected to address equity at the sacrifice of expertise…and you are considered weak if [you] water EE down (0134: FwSCS).

> We had a vacancy…I get my applications, I short list…there are three White females for a lecturer position and one Black female. Now I know the Black female…she was a very good applicant and even if there wasn't equity, I would have taken her, because she was the best applicant…So I send it, I say ok that's my shortlist…[I get told] that the shortlist is not diverse enough, I must increase, make it more diverse…the other applicants didn't qualify…[so I was told to advertise again] which cost the department

[167] Politically correct

> R80 000…So you go through that tremendous process, costly and painful and frustrating…and my applicant got the job [after all] (0157: FwSCS).

This latter quote reinforces the point about the heterogeneity of RBU. Whilst policy by its very nature is singular and designed to be universally applied, there are instances were mechanisms that are designed to strengthen the process, become experienced as cumbersome and counter-productive.

6.3.2.2. Philosophical renderings on EE

Academics were most expressive about what they thought about EE itself in academia, whether it was founded on sound principles, and whether the means justified the ends.

A few were optimistic and preferred to look forward to the future "I anticipate it will become easier with time. Although, we are yet to see [this] despite change to the student population. The private and public sector are more attractive and the face of those is changing" (0102: NFL). Others were very pragmatic and straight forward about the situation on the ground, as they saw it: "EE is accepted as a legal requirement that is not questioned, people still harbour historical perceptions, but are committed to implementation" (0138: FwSCS). Along with:

> You cannot force equity. It will come with time. White people feel they have no place. They are just working [their time] out. It is not the university intention to alienate; but to work in the interests of all, not at all costs (0110: NFL).

Other participants criticized the imbalances and differentials within the workforce that they felt equity and associated mechanisms facilitated: "There is the academic impetus versus scarce skills top up logic or counter argument, [one's decision to enter and stay in academia should be a] choice not reward based. This has created salary differentials across the institution" (0119: FwSCS). Coupled with: "You cannot rely exclusively on equity when you have a shortage of staff…Incentives actually decrease performance, autonomy, and creativity" (0154: FwSCS).

Several participants question what they feel the intention and effects of EE are:

> What do you want to achieve? A quota or performance? It is an insult to be hired only on demographics, you want it because you get the job done, because you deserve it…you're the best for it. You don't want to be looking over your shoulder, with others thinking they're better than you (0136: NFL).

> Focus on competencies versus who someone is: woman, man, race, etc. What are the needs of the profession? Attributes of a personality are not wrapped up in a gender package (0132: FwSCS).

> My own position changes: anti versus promoting, merit versus advancement…Education and exposure have to be considered in relation to age, and in relation to apartheid. As the playing fields are levelling,

> what do you look for? If all else is equal, then merit. In not, then transfer, historical disadvantage? What do you want to achieve a quota or performance… to get the job done? (0136: NFL).

These perspectives raise important points and provide insights. Whilst they generally do not engage substantive equality. They do depict the dominant institutional discourses and typically established practices. Thus, they engage the unintentional effects of EE in the RBU context. A number of participants raised similar criticisms but from various and different angles that are worth exploring further.

Black academics criticized the majority current institutional practice, as they saw it: "I am weary of tick boxing and pigmentation essentialism" (0118: NFL) and "thin transformation is not transformation at all, it is window dressing. Replacing White faces with Black, is just superficial. We need a mind shift" (0115: FwnSD). Both are critical of the superficial and minimalist manner in which EE has been implemented, purely as performance craft for the state. In particular, deeper and more critical conceptualization of 'race' and the continued use of race-based practices are implied. Another participant further conveys specific criticisms they have of EE's political ramifications and what is felt it cannot do:

> AA is reverse discrimination. It is sick. The post should be given to those able to do the job. Keep personal attributes out of the public sphere. Just do what you're employed to do…AA has gone terribly wrong, with this different shades of Black…Honestly, you're not going to get rid of the old boys club, there's a lot of that [here[168]]. (0156: FwnSD).

White academics also criticized the policy. There was perhaps more explanatory variation expressed in the three quotes below. "It is an ethical violation just to hire on skin colour. What then is the role of the profession? Students ask if they were chosen on their own ability or as an AA token. It is demoralizing and dehumanizing" (0146: FwSCS). Whilst the former quote positions ethics, morals, and humanity at the centre of the criticism made, the following utilizes the law to thinly veil particular group interests: "What is the constitutionality of excluding some when it is not a transformation post?... Academia pays comparably bad salaries. Black students [now] have a lot of opportunities. White students are stuck with the salaries in academia" (0146: FwSCS).

[168] Name of place removed

That these quotes are in fact from the same person illustrates that compassion can be extended to a Black person in a moment of crisis, when they are experiencing self-doubt because of particular contextual meanings EE may have. Nonetheless, it does not necessarily change how the person feels about their assumptions about White people's claim to academia. It directly illustrates one of the earlier quotes at the beginning of the section. Perhaps the most succinct expression of a participant's position was "EE is an entitlement at the expense of others, like apartheid" (0154: FwSCS). These positions will be further considered in the White loss section.

This section has shown that there is wide ranging diversity in perspective amongst academics on EE. Whilst they may appear to share the same basic criticism of EE, when one delves further, their actual reasons and explanations, often could not be more different. It is also very evident that there is diversity within Black thought and well as within White. Two final quotes complete this section, before White loss and Black cost are further unpacked.

A Black academic asks a searching question of fellow Black academics:

> In the past, we had experiences of exclusion, alienation, a lack of belonging… Now that we have legitimate spaces, places, and a language of change…, do those who benefit identify, represent, and understand the struggle…? Or are they riding the wave at the cost of the pioneers? (0111: NFL).
>
> Finally: "You cannot legislate humanity, you have to instil that first, before all else (0136: NFL)".

Throughout the discussion on EE, it has been abundantly clear that much of the time, racialization is at the core of people's thoughts, interactions, and actions. So, whilst EE should be a means through which to de-racialize and de-segment the academic workplace, it has contributed towards but most certainly has not come close to achieving this. In addition, it has been (unintentionally) used to maintain and to re-racialize the workplace further. None of the processes of de-racialization, racialization, and/or re-racialization are singular or universal. Therefore, each has multiple versions, with a variety of facets and corresponding normative discourses. This is why, as seen in the previous section, it was possible for a range of academics to argue against EE but for a multitude of different ideological reasons. Some of these will be unpacked in the following sections[169].

[169] These sections are ordered according to institutional hegemonic discourse. White loss is more readily vocalized and heard, whilst Black cost is more muted, in the background.

### *6.3.3. White loss*

These sub-themes have specific resonance as a result of EE, which is why they are introduced here rather than later. The emergent sub-theme of White loss is pervasive in accounts of EE as EE specifically and directly seeks to alter racial inequities in the labour market. White loss is an operative discourse that includes claims to White victimhood (not necessarily articulated by White people) based on de-racialization that has been (or was perceived to have been) problematic. As whiteness and White conservatism were/are the hegemonic discourses at RBU, it stands to reason that White loss would feature in the perceptions and experiences of RBU academics.

There was a definite sense of White loss articulated, across the institution, when White people, particularly White men, were not employed, or their contracts not renewed, not turned into permanent posts, or when they were not promoted:

> There is a perception that White males in particular are not welcomed at the university [RBU]...it's possible to get promotion, but not easy if you're not an equity candidate or if you fall in a category that's not really required in terms of equity (0103: NFL).
>
> My White male counterparts who are temporarily employed by the university and whose chances are very slim that they will ever be employed by the university…you end up now discriminating in a sense against those White people, who are not even, who are just descendants, of those people who were involved in apartheid. And they are just victims. Like we were victims at the time (0129: FwSCS).
>
> And then the job gets advertised and it's not easy, that candidate might be your best candidate but does not promote the equity profile of the department. Hence, because of equity reasons cannot be appointed, and that's sometimes a little bit of a painful experience. It's a painful thing for the managers to say, and of course it's painful for the person who wants the job (0103: NFL).
>
> We are still seeing each other in racial terms, like the White males not even sometimes bothering to apply for promotion because they feel like there's no hope for them; because, you know, of affirmative action, the position will be given to a Black person (0115: FwnSD).
>
> There is a perception that to manage change is to do oneself out of a job, therefore there is no buy in. They do not see the bigger picture (0101: NFL). White men feel threatened by change that there is no longer a career path (0145: FwSCS). We should also consider White men; White people fear no jobs for their children (0128: FwSCS & 0129: FwSCS). White men also need opportunities (0133: FwSCS).

This catalogue of examples shows just how pervasive the theme of White loss is. The examples also show how the discourse is apt at connecting to other discourses (merit, apartheid, the innocence of children) in its claim to victimhood and thus gaining authority. Particularly evident is the assumption of White excellence, which up to this point has seldom been called

into question, or had to be proved; now its worth is examined and does not always come out on top.

The empirical reality out of which these perceptions arose, was a five percent decline in White male proportionality at RBU, and a net increase of just one White man out of a total net institutional increase of 55 people (between 2006 and 2009). Furthermore, between 2005 and 2010, although White academics accounted for 78% of all promotions, White men were just 32% of these. Thus, White loss is grounded in reality. It is, however, the action and logic used to re-claim and re-assert power that is problematic.

Amongst participants, there was contestation as to whether EE represented an unfair attack on White men's dignity, was an act of righting past wrongs, and whether the exclusion of White candidates was procedural fairness, respectful, and professional conduct. This debate is encapsulated in the quotes below:

> We feel initially, you know, it's a bit unfair to individuals applying for a position and then just because you don't belong to a specific designated group…you're not a suitable candidate (0110: NFL).

> I don't believe in this whole affirmative action thing. I think it's gone horribly wrong…I think it's not thought through adequately and I can't see…this is just sort of reverse discrimination, if you ask me (0156: FwnSD).

> Sometimes we do become specific because sometimes, really, if you are not specific you end up with a pile of applications and it's not fair, if you are to invite people, whereas at the back of your mind, you know, ok we would like a certain category. So, for me, it's better that way, it saves the effort of everybody, and I think it's a more open and honest way of doing business. Otherwise, if you pretend as if…but whereas…I find that approach very sinister and not really a proper way to conduct [business] (0102: NFL).

In these cases, there was extensive consideration of the position of White men, informed by an understanding of individuals' experiences along with a consideration of the social and symbolic meaning of decisions and actions. On the one hand, the expression of White victimhood challenged the articulation of reconciliatory equality, substantive fairness, and social justice. Claims to non-racialism were made on both sides (for and against). Another contestation was whether EE was tantamount to de-racialization or re-racialization.

Whilst a broad range of participants across the university reflected on the position of members of non-designated groups, very few White people themselves spoke about or took ownership (in interviews) of their experiences. One person, who did, illustrated that the collective had a fair grasp of his positionality, whilst in the second example, the woman academic's expression is more similar to an expression of Black cost.

> AA as an idea is there but people do not necessarily experience it as such. Personal transformation is still not there. I think, as a White person, I would need to exceed the competencies to get promoted. At 55, I am less concerned than I would be. I worry about my children…but… I accept, the pendulum has swung the other way…I don't experience discrimination (0140: FwnSD).

> I see myself as a woman not an EE candidate. I hope I was appointed on merit (0149: FwSCS).

In an earlier example, a union member argued White women frustrate EE implementation. Besides this example, there were no other similar points raised. However, the positionality of White women is interesting for the intersectionality she (can hold) and/or represent. Due to the limited self-disclosure, further discussion is necessary reliant on what other's said,

> We had an outburst of two staff members who were saying…'you're against the White people, why must we feel guilty all the time? You know, why, why, why must we feel guilty all the time?' (0156: FwnSD).

> It was an environment where you could express frustration, anger, and all kinds of things, so in that sense, even the frustration of not being a PDI[170] was expressed. You know, that 'now I have to work, even harder. I don't know if I'm going to have the opportunity to grow or get [other] opportunities in the future', you know, it was that type of thing (0128: FwSCS).

> There is a perception that White males are not welcomed at the university. But I think in that sense, we've managed to water that down, that feeling, I think over the last year. To a large extent because of the VC, who has on many occasions said, we will not sacrifice our standards and excellence is a value that we will pursue. People are now starting to take note of what he's saying. I think in that respect, it's not as bad as it was a year ago (0103: NFL).

In these examples, it is evident how White loss as victimhood is emphasized. Simultaneously, whiteness reasserts dominance in each situation or space, particularly by reattaching itself to standards, excellence, hard work, success, pride, etc. In addition, in the three quotes in the previous section (6.2.3.2.2.) where participants took issue with EE. Particularly the latter two quotes exemplify White loss. As was also seen in some examples herein, this operative discourse can be used particularly sinisterly when it re-appropriates the legitimacy of other discourses without substantive change to its own aims and ends. So, where it co-opts non-racialism, anti-racialism and/or democratic principles to uphold a racialized agenda and racialization. In this way, White loss is used to maintain, at minimum, (whiteness') influence.

Given the limited extent of change to the racialized hierarchy of power, division of labour, and continuing de-segmentation; whiteness most likely also maintains the status quo and hegemony. Thus, the normative basis of the discourse updated, but its effect is to minimize the

[170] PDI: Previously Disadvantaged Individual (in the thesis, the preferred term used is designated group and member of a designated group (as per the EEA)).

effects of those very discourses that it appropriates and that threaten to undermine its own power base. The way in which White loss functions on essentialist binaries means that EE is portrayed as anti-White. This enables a justification of disinterest and disinvestment by White people, authorized through the discourse. This in itself furthers racialization, as frustrated Black participants who are committed to change point out:

> …if staff have such an important role to play in building this new culture, why is it that the Black staff felt that it was always upon them to address some of these issues? We would have appreciated more White voices and more direct involvement. The odd White radical is not enough…because…you'd want more [from] your fellow colleagues on a more humane and human level, you know to reach out (0111: NFL).

> I think White is still the norm, you know, the Black, we must…we have the responsibility of educating, we have the responsibility of highlighting to say…when you behave like that, you know it can be interpreted like that…But to respond to your question, yes, it still is the Black burden, the Black responsibility…and I think White folks must also take the time to educate themselves and take it upon themselves to find out…not to be told. It needs to be a reciprocal process. They don't see us as the most reconciliatory group, you know, the atrocities were committed against us, but we are still the first person to push reconciliation and they conveniently forget to mention that (0115: FwnSD).

Further engagement on these issues takes place in the following theme on transformation; however, participants also noted that changes to institutional culture and language are experienced as White loss. Nonetheless, a number of participants did acknowledge that EE was particularly a challenge for some White academics because of beliefs they continued to have and/or because of the way in which it forces reflective academics to confront their own history. One participant described this as the difficulty of acknowledging "one's roots were fraudulent…one's family had brought one up within a lie…and that one had actively lived life with blinkers on" (0140: FwnSD). Thus, there were other more constructive and recalibrated discourses and engagements with White loss, which demonstrated some transformative potential.

### *6.3.4. Black cost: members of designated groups speak out about their experiences*

In the context of SAHES, Black academics are the main beneficiaries of EE. At RBU, 'equity' has become shorthand for as well an assumed politically correct way of referring to Black people. Consequently, the full ambit of the policy is reduced to a race-based initiative in everyday workplace speak. As noted, key operative discourses combine aspects of reality with ideological currents that hold institutional sway.

Thus, whilst White loss claims victim status in the context of EE, blackness is consequently portrayed as undeserved victor. This section further examines the range of perceptions and direct experiences of Black academics to argue the consequence of this ideological binary results in Black academics predominantly experiencing 'Black cost'. This in itself demonstrates that whilst there has been some racial de-segmentation, the de-racialization aspects of EE have not had their intended effects.

The cost of being one of a minority within academia was articulated by the majority of Black academics regardless of their length of employment at RBU. Often if participants' experience included a HWT or HWU experience as well, or if they entered RBU or were promoted at the point of merger (see section 6.2.1.), their experiences were more explicit and more pronounced. Whereas more recent forms of racial prejudice, discrimination, and exclusion have reportedly become less explicit, subtler, and of a different texture.

The predominance of a White conservative and essentialist discourse meant that individually and/or institutionally the legitimacy of Black academics' presence was questioned. Irrespectively, Black academics found a variety of ways to navigate the institution and assert their legitimacy including their presence, positionality, participation, inclusion, and recognition. The undermining of and the need to reassert the right to be/long came, with both individual and collective cost. Cost is conceived as academic, psychological, economic, social, cultural, and political costs and burdens.

Black participants articulated many experiences, of their own and those of others, that were understood as racialized, if not in fact racist[171]. Black cost was almost exclusively described by Black participants, with some acknowledgement by White participants. Whilst Black cost, resulting from the institutional culture, was pervasive in academics' everyday workplace experience, the focus here is predominantly on aspects that were in/directly connected to EE.

A participant retells of a direct challenge to her presence and her survival strategy and tactics:

> I had been up against people who were in the department, who weren't permanent. One woman confronted me, I think in my first few weeks of being here, and said to me 'did I know I basically got the job because of affirmative action?'…I remember being very upset with her and saying to her…'I realize

[171] However, the label 'racist' was seldom used by participants themselves who were in most instances careful to describe examples but refrain from classifying them.

> that I got here because of affirmative action and I am happy because of it; because I know I wouldn't have got here if there wasn't this policy'. And I said to her 'but I just want to show you, that I feel I can do this job just as well as you'. The head of department heard about it and she assured me it wasn't affirmative [action] but I mean I knew that's why I got in. So, I knew I had to prove myself…So during that first year, I didn't tell anyone, I just pretended everything was fine; and everybody [was] so impressed, they told me later, because 'there's this woman, she didn't call on anyone'…but I just felt I needed to prove to people (0142: FwnSD).

In this example, whiteness assumes White entitlement, rejects blackness, invokes assumptions of Black mediocrity and White superiority. Here Black cost is experienced as a private shame and pain, which evokes self-protection, pride and defence, and seeks a quiet self-earned form of justice that will silence the other. Several participants shared very similar examples. Confirming the reaction to the frequent use of White contract staff who were then replaced by permanent Black academics had become an area of institutional concern:

> I was told, I took a White man's job, I felt like an outsider, this shouldn't be the case post '94 (0127: FwSCS).

> One person, for instance, **, just straight out said, you know, to ** on her first day, 'if it wasn't for you ** would still have a job (0126: FwSCS)[172].

Institutionally this was addressed, demonstrating that efforts were made to address both Black cost and White loss. Whilst White loss was almost institutionally intuitive, Black cost had to be made public to gain formal recognition and redress:

> We challenged the racialization of intermittent work contracts. It was painful for all (0103: NFL).

> We've sensitized managers to that type of thing and we say you must make every effort to pick an equity candidate from the beginning. So much easier if the equity candidate's appointed and they do a brilliant job, to then say ok we don't have to look any further…we are required to go through an interview process in terms of our policy, and… [if] they do come out number one, and you can appoint them…well you know this is just reward (0103: NFL).

As EE is often counter-posed against excellence, Black academics as equity beneficiaries often then become magnets for claims of mediocrity. The litany of insufficiency included: not being good enough, not experienced enough, not excellent enough, not qualified enough, good but not the best, in need of development, in need of help, in need of mentoring and assisting, unable to manage on their own, unable to deliver, chasing the highest salary, job hopping, etc. These pathologize Black academics who collectively call into question their commitment and

[172] Names removed.

credibility. Furthermore, Black academics live with the cost of various labels of mediocrity, tokenism, undeserved-ness, and the self and collective doubt this engenders.

However, institutions are not immune to Black cost either. On the one hand, as employers of increasing numbers of Black academics, there is an assumption that RBU's standards are being eroded and it is headed towards mediocrity. When the best Black academics cannot be retained, this is tantamount to a double blow. Furthermore, HEIs that participate in poaching are seen to be parasitically swooping in on 'each other's haul'. This further treats Black academics as property and as a commodity in ways that continually de-humanize the individual people concerned, and the collective. There are, therefore, both ongoing and new facets to the racial formation.

In an effort to disprove nay-sayers and excel for oneself, there is overwhelming pressure on Black academics to succeed beyond the norm. This pressure is intensified in a context where there are few Black academics and where one is regarded as 'representative' of all Black academics and people. Black people also sometimes hold each other up to racialized expectations. The examples below illustrate a number of these points.

These examples illustrate how blackness as a master status overrides all others and is associated with burden above all else. "You have to fight over the employment space to be seen as an academic not as a representative [of Black people]. Some academic departments are still all White" (0147: NFL). "As Black staff, you are made to feel representative of all Black people. You are not made happy or enticed to stay" (0144: FwSCS). The following examples illustrate the complex issues of how public recognition overtakes self-worth and wellness:

> Black people also have very high expectations of themselves. They face burnout because they feel they have to prove themselves and exceed expectations (0140: FwnSD).

> In the previous ten years, White academics never "saw" Black students. Never answered their questions or responded to their hands in class, they would not use relevant examples in class that meant anything to us. There is an assumption that Black staff will be different. But you can also be seen as a race traitor, for using English not isiXhosa…. I fear being a token, I push myself to the limit not to be seen as such…I know I do it to myself…I inflict pain on myself to do it all. As a Black woman, I am paraded around… I hate it (0115: FwnSD).

> I know I am seen as disadvantaged, but I don't see myself that way. I hope my employment and opportunities have been based on merit (0133: FwSCS).

Other forms of Black cost included direct and indirect maltreatment, particularly by those within the departmental space but also sometimes by more senior staff. The examples below

illustrate continuity between pre, immediately post-merger[173] and the more recent context. Therefore, reflecting both the endemic and pervasive nature of unwelcoming experiences within RBU.

A participant recollects what it was like to be both new and Black at the HWU, pre-merger:

> Obviously through time, things have somewhat changed, and people's attitudes have softened as well. As well as the fact, that when one has been around a certain amount of time, then you sort of feel you've earned or you get the impression you are sort of part of the furniture, so therefore: 'We welcome you now' or 'we can at least deal with you'.
>
> Whereas the first five years, for instance, those were relatively quite tough and hostile. Even in meetings, your contribution, or what you share. How you were then treated, it was as if, 'well, who are you', 'what are you here for', 'what's your reason for being here?' So [it was] how people really interacted with you. Or did not interact [with you] at all…So you felt shunned…you were denied access to facilities… [and then] perceived as not a team player for questioning the different standards applied to Black and White (0144: FwSCS).

Another participant recounts an example of 'inclusion' from soon after the merger:

> There were people who wouldn't speak to you in meetings because they couldn't bear the thought of sitting around the table with somebody of colour and who is their equal…Some of them are still in the system, some of those faces I still recognize here. So, what has changed'? They must have gone through a hell of a transformation but they survive at all costs…There are people, you know, who will not greet you, they would walk right past you in the supermarket. So, you see, those sort of things. I think they've been rocked by the merger. So, they've had to adapt or die; but quite, quite a number of them are still here with us in the system. They're riding this wave, at all costs (0156: FwnSD).

Other participants detailed what this meant for them, in the RBU context:

> The people who were more negatively affected by a lot of the issues were the Black staff and we were the ones that had to spend extra time and energy in dealing and addressing issues. Whereas the rest of the colleagues would come to work, do their work, and not share in the same…because it wasn't their issue…But that [working with racial issues] took time and energy and sometimes impacted on your work. I think another issue was specifically that the minute some of the staff members started addressing issues, it somehow impacted on even their ability to advance…because… [it was] as if people had to know *their* place (0111: NFL).
>
> A [Black] lecturer would sometimes feel that a [White] senior student would be offered a contract but seemed to have more respect and access to the manager in the department…be able to get more things right and sometimes advance a lot quicker in terms of his studies and [then] people always say but that [the White] person is more productive in the workplace (0111: NFL).

Two participants interviewed together recount an example they were familiar with:

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[173] In these cases, this is noted

> 0143: A very excellent Professor he chose to resign out of frustration, he said racism was one aspect forcing him to resign…in terms of racism, starting with the students in the class, White students at one stage, they made a grievance against him that he was discriminating against them, and when we went to investigate this was not the case [but] he was forced by the Dean to apologize to the students…
>
> 0158: without hearing both sides of the story (0143 & 0158)[174].

A number of participants spoke of 'petty' actions by fellow colleagues that they felt were aimed to push them out of RBU. Students were often (willingly or unwittingly) co-opted into these processes. Two colleagues shared their experiences:

> 0128: We find that if you are on the same level with that person…let's say you are better educated than an individual who is of a different race and you are one of those Black or PDIs, we find that a person who is a different race will compete…by virtue of that person [Black/PDI] having a better qualification…and when they compete you find there is a lot of sabotage…
>
> 0129: …Comments made about your teaching method or…the way you set a test for example…its little things, daily things…
>
> 0128: A colleague will go to our students and find out how you are doing so they can find fault in whatever you are doing…
>
> 0129: It's a frustrating thing, we're frustrated…but because we are academics we deal with them academically…. [I prove] that I'm good at this, I'm not doing favours for anyone, I'm just doing my job because I'm passionate about it…so we have that academic way of doing things (0128: FwSCS & 0129: FwSCS).

Another participant shares her experience:

> I think the students are widely used to frustrate the Black staff. In fact, when I started I had a case where some of the students were posted in my classroom to monitor how I lecture…only later when those people got frustrated [who put them there] and pulled them out, did others say 'but ma'am they had already passed the subject, so we are not sure what they were even doing there' (0158: FwSCS).

Participants also shared experiences of social exclusion through assumptions that they would have tacit knowledge, only an insider would:

> I am beginning to be comfortable…But it was tough at the beginning. You could see a lot of things. A lot of social gatherings you would not be invited to…even the academic ones. The dean would [look at] me and say 'aren't you coming?', and I would say 'no I have not been invited' (0141: FwSCS).
>
> We came to graduation and we didn't know that you had to go and pre-book…But anyway, it was nice because the VC just said 'okay'…[and] we got helped. But what I didn't like is that our colleagues never informed us of any of this, and they were quite smug about it when we got there. They were like, 'I'm sorry you guys are going to have to leave', and all this…I mean when they were booking, why didn't

[174] Participants requested that this example be used anonymously.

> they think, 'can't we all book'. They don't think that way but I mean they were very ugly and I thought that was very rude (0126: FwSCS).

Hence, these examples illustrate a number of ways that Black academics are subject to, and carry the burden of, their White colleagues' resistance to EE. Black academics have come to embody exclusion in the workplace. Thus, it is clear how these could easily accumulate to a "push-out" factor to low retention rates. Amidst all of this, Black academics regularly spoke about being "paraded around for dignitaries as an example of faculty diversity" (0144: FwSCS). Thus, participants felt institutionally used to create a façade quite different from their everyday experiences, in order to assist the institution secure funding, research opportunities, and such.

With little recognition, acknowledgement, and support from White colleagues (who constituted the majority of academics), Black academics turned towards each other for support. Thus, not only did Black academics shoulder the weight of individual Black cost, but they also carried the cumulative Black collective cost. This was shared institutionally through the TEC, NEHAWU, BSF[175] and more recently academic spaces specifically set up to engage issues of connected to diversity, race, and democratization.

As is evident in section 6.2.3.3 and 6.2.3.4. RBU's continued fragmentation, now along racial lines due to EE (compared to predecessor-institutional lines, with the merger), prevents the fostering of a collective sense of joint responsibility and ownership of the change process. It also illustrates just how differently EE is perceived and experienced by Black and White academics. The third dimension, transformation, attempts to explicitly address complex concerns of institutional culture and work towards the necessary socio-cultural and symbolic change. This is discussed in the next theme.

[175] Black Staff Forum

## 6.4. Transformation

This theme is comprised of three key core components, namely: *Transformation* as institutionally conceptualized, *Transformation* as experienced as a set of everyday practices, and *Transformation* assessed based on its potential and challenges in the RBU context.

### *6.4.1. Conceptualization*

'Officially', *Transformation* was perceived "as a multifaceted concept or complex of remaking and improving with no end state" (0101: NFL). RBU had developed a comprehensive envisioning policy that spelt out, in great detail, how its *Transformation* goals were to be translated into strategic priorities. This policy was developed under the stewardship of the Vice Chancellor, when he instituted an organizational model focused on deliberative policy that was monitored and evaluated to ensure implementation and delivery whereby set outcomes were achieved. This was partially established through reconfiguring institutional structures and reporting lines (0101: NFL). A plethora of single issue *Transformation* policies were also in place, mostly pre-dating this current phase. For example, policies on racial discrimination, religion and belief systems, equity, gender, multilingualism, sexual harassment, etc. As the all-encompassing policy, the (new) vision's policy was the one most often referred to.

It was described as "an attempt to encapsulate transformation in all functional areas"; it thus also placed responsibility for *Transformation* squarely within the management team's ambit (0101: NFL). Four goals were set that spoke closely to the White Paper III (1997), these were: "epistemological access and success, access and success for staff and students, effectiveness and efficiency of business processes, and transformation of institutional culture with diversity as an enhancing factor" (0101: NFL). Through strategic prioritization, internal and external needs were considered and formulated in such a way as to maximize opportunities for the university community to yield the most for the university, the community, and society. These were context dependent, reflective of the broader global situation as well as contemplative of contemporary and projected roles, positionality, and sustainable futures (0101: NFL). The policy's strategic priorities aimed to deliver the substance of the envisioned university whilst simultaneously ensuring this was coupled with the values of RBU.

Therefore, the document spoke of a distinctive academic brand and educational philosophy, excellence in teaching and learning, vibrant research, both of blue sky[176] and action research, an engaged institution, transformative institutional culture, viability, sustainability and competitiveness, accessible and capacitated business processes, and optimal human capital (0101: NFL). This was also the policy that introduced the multi-career path system for academic promotion. The values the policy was premised on were evident in the document formulation and language used. For example, "optimizing the full potential", "well rounded capable global citizens", "create and sustain a responsive learning environment", "encourages and rewards", "capacitate and enable all", "affirmatively rewarding culture… reflective practice and reciprocal engagements", "current and potential", "diversity", "extensive consultation", etc. all illustrate the ways in which the transformational tone reflected the *Transformational* content of the policy (0101: NFL).

Participants had varying assessments on the policy. Many provided a summative account of particular dimensions, whilst several offered an opinion. Some suggested it adequately benchmarked and placed RBU within its niche specialization (0105: NFL). Others celebrated its importance in a context where "twenty-first century needs are bigger than equity" (0137: FwSCS); whilst others complained that even *Transformation* was being applied "for its own sake" and questioned "at what cost" (0134: FwSCS).

However, others felt that *Transformation* was "bandied about but misused" and that in practice there was discrepancy in application (0144: FwSCS). Others felt it "made all the right noises" but lacked "substance" (0145: FwSCS), and that its values were abstract. A number suggested it "looks good on paper but real transformation is not happening" (0135: FwnSD). Some implied cosmetic rather than substantive change occurred. Whilst others felt funding was the main problem: "there's a policy for everything under the sun but [it's] under-resourced" (0130: FwSCS). Others simply noted that although policies were in place, the pace of change was slow (0147: NFL).

Some participants noted faculty-level operationalization presented a challenge. It was purported that Deans made political decisions and therefore variation across faculties existed

[176] Research that is understood to be "basic" and "curiosity-driven" as opposed to applied, and that extends "the frontiers of knowledge" (https://www.nrf.ac.za).

(0160: FwnSD). Others questioned the logic of being "rated on Ubuntu when not led with Ubuntu" (0146: FwSCS). Others recognized that although "there was a need to embody policies, [this] won't happen overnight" (0115: FwnSD). It was suggested that there were still large gaps between the organizational and individual needs, although it was felt these were brought slightly closer into alignment (0143 & 0158). Others questioned the actual progress that had been made from these plans (0128 & 0129). Whilst some complained that it set in place a form of performance management without consideration of "the impact on people's lives" (0142: FwnSD).

Accompanying the policy were a number of initiatives, some specifically part of the policy roll-out, others connected but pre-existing. Of particular relevance were initiatives directed at the development of staff and the academic pipeline (including specific research capacity development interventions) and specific interventions designed to facilitate transformation more broadly. The research office had a number of incentives to assist staff with furthering their research.

Junior staff could apply for leave flexibility in order to complete degrees and publications. Up to 30 days a year could be taken for such purposes, ten days of which could simply be signed off by departmental heads. However, the official research sabbatical policy of up to 45 days a year required staff to "wait in line" for faculty availability and funds. All of these were output driven, requiring completion of set numbers of articles or chapters in return. Senior staff were incentivized through generous payment for articles written and masters and doctoral students supervised (0105: NFL).

Specific initiatives for staff and post-graduate students included the Khulisa, Philias, Next Generation Academics and Early Career Development programmes. The Khulisa programme specifically lacked a long-term strategy and consequently had no retention plan. As such, three of five participants were lost due to the lack of planning and merger-fall out (0109: NFL). RBU, therefore, made the decision that the Phulisa programme (as a later rendition) would work with staff already employed and in permanent positions. It provided funding and mentoring, along with research capacitation skills to enable the completion of masters or doctorates (0109:NFL). It was predominantly focused on degree completion but also sought to develop a supportive community amongst those on the programme.

Participants in Phulisa were part of a three-year programme that included a series of 20 to 24 workshops on a range of topics including research skills, personal development, post-graduate

supervision, etc. (0108: NFL). In total, 45 academics participated, over several cohorts. Men under 35 years and women under 45 years of age were accepted to undertake either a masters or doctoral qualification (0108: NFL). Whilst there was a preference for equity candidates, no one who applied was excluded (0108: NFL). Participants were spread across a range of faculties. 43 out of 45 completed the programme, while two left academia for industry (0108: NFL).

A total of 40 research papers were produced during the course of the programme (0108: NFL). This along with cohesion and collegiality amongst participants were described as successes (0108: NFL). Retention of suitable mentors had been a challenge (0108: NFL). Phulisa had been donor funded. Following the end of the funding cycle, RBU's Council committed its own internal funds to a six-month version of the programme called Early Career Development. There were 12 associate lecturers and lecturers on this programme (0104: NFL).

In addition, the Next Generation Academics programme provided capacity development for PhD students with potential to become academics (0104: NFL). Its participants were Black and women academics of "good quality" (0109: NFL). Furthermore, academics were focused within one specific faculty (Engineering) in order to make an actual difference to the equity profile of specific disciplines (0105: NFL).

More broadly, a range of transformation initiatives was also ongoing at RBU. As a result of the aforementioned operational changes, structures such as the Institutional Forum, the Transformation and Equity Committee, and the Transformation Office had all become much more involved in monitoring and evaluation. Subsequently, their roles were now less as conceptual drivers of *Transformation*. Specific academic and research units within RBU then assumed this role. This series of events occurred at several HEIs, over the same period.

A particular unit that focused on transformation-oriented advocacy, engagement and research at RBU was set up after the Reitz incident at the University of Free State and the subsequent Soudien Report (2008). Consequently, it aimed to promote "non-racialism" but also "to tackle racism as a living breathing false consciousness and social inequality" (0107: NFL). Particularly, there was concern with the "re-racialization, tribalization, and ethnicization" within the new South Africa, and that these threatened to undo the basic tenants of democracy (0107: NFL). A number of initiatives had taken place to promote the unit's transformative philosophy. In addition to wide ranging lectures, seminars, workshops and community events on relevant topics and debates, it also facilitated RBU's transformational events. These

included diversity month, diversity walk, human race, and the building bridges event. At the time of the research, it was investigating the possibility of a common undergraduate course for all students (0107: NFL).

The primary aim of diversity month was to bring together the university community through a range of academic, cultural, social, and sporting events designed to celebrate diversity and multiculturalism. Much of this appeared to operate at a cosmetic level equated to celebration through diverse foods and dress. From descriptions provided, it is questionable whether RBU managed to avoid reproducing the discourse and practices of "re-racialization, tribalization, and ethnicization" in some of these events. Nonetheless, they were designed as "learning opportunities" for the university community to celebrate its diversity, and learn from and about each other (0106, 0112 & 0113). Furthermore, international week (a core part of the programme) was described as a networking and collaboration opportunity between RBU and its international partner institutions (0112: FwSCS & 0113: NFL).

Whilst RBU continued with a formal *Transformation* approach that was operational and strategically functional, it was also more explicit. It sought to deliver transformation in such a way that facilitated improved present and future institutional practices. This was a radical break from former *Transformation* articulations (i.e. the restructuring of the merger and even employment equity). A review of select practices will determine how this was experienced (section 6.4.2.) as well as noting the potential and limitations that did or could arise therefrom (section 6.4.3.).

### *6.4.2. Transformation in practice*

In analysing participants' responses to their everyday work world and the role of *Transformation* in such, it became evident that for the most part, participants were effectively sharing their perceptions and experiences of RBU's institutional culture. It is useful, therefore, to unpack how this was broadly understood. In this study, institutional culture is the emergent yet ephemeral social, cultural, and psychological space resulting from three simultaneous connected but divergent struggles. Firstly, the struggles of holding together the past, present, and future in a common space and at a single moment (re – 'the untransformed university', 'the university in transition', and 'the aspirational university'). Secondly, the struggles of holding

together contesting strategies for de-racialization. Thirdly, the emergent articulations that arise from these struggles. Whilst institutional culture is understood as ephemeral and intangible, it should be appreciated that it is inherently grounded in everyday materiality in important ways. Furthermore, much of that which is being struggled over pertains to the material conditions of race. Participants, spoke of three types of *Transformation* in practice. It is important to note that whilst these three phases potentially represent linear historical transitions; these were actually aspects of the university that participants experienced simultaneously.[177].

#### 6.4.2.1 The Untransformed University

There were those everyday experiences perceived to be a continuation of the past. These kept RBU racialized in historical ways and were reflective of past operative discourses and practices. These are collectively conceptualized as 'the untransformed university' as they essentially reflect a lack of transformation. Many previous examples cited under the sections on the merger and employment equity would fall into this category, where participants speak of experiencing the present as the past. Some additional examples are included below:

> When I was first hired, there was no transformation, no targets, no discussion… I was assumed to be a representative of a community… stereotyped… there was a deficit dialogue… people longed for the past… they didn't see [Black] students as bringing anything valuable… (0142: FwnSD).

> People harbour old cultures, they are not willing to change for the greater good, they want to do it 'the way we used to do it' (0138: FwSCS).

Participants' examples of enduring divisiveness within RBU irrespective of *Transformation* initiatives illustrate its continuation of:

> There is a lot of racism across the board…Black staff are not properly placed, less qualified people [are in posts and] not doing the job" (0143: NFL).

> There is a hostile university culture, you are not welcomed, and have to prove yourself. There is a lot of unhappiness amongst Black people about the racism and racial hostility. ** is trying to encourage debate and dialogue about this (0147: NFL).

> Complaints of race in ** department were not resolved (0106: NFL).

> The TEC reports on 'progress' but then doesn't do anything (0158: FwSCS).

[177] At the time of the research.

The continuation of racial inequity, prejudice, and discrimination is evident in participants' reflections. These accounts of RBU do not reflect any impact of transformation. Many examples of individual endurance from the Black cost section would also apply here. This also extended to collective representation, for example: "Unions historically NUTESA [now NTEU] was White and NEHAWU, Black… (0158: FwSCS), "when I joined, I was told to join one union [meaning the 'Black' union]" (0144: FwSCS). Thus, even collective employee organizations were racialized, and assumed by employees, human resources, and RBU as a whole to represent 'sectional' interests.

The 'past in the present' was also reflected in differentiated gender treatment:

> the under-representation [of women] in science and engineering… [meant women felt they were] treated like 'a little woman' daily, complemented on dress… [and had to] deal with sexist emails…and patriarchal attitudes… [in the absence of a] feminist movement (0142: FwnSD).

Thus, where gendered bias occurred, this was an individual burden that women bore, without collective support and organization. In addition, participants also felt: "there is a lot of manoeuvring outside of formal structures, on the golf course or in the bar, formality provides a façade of legitimacy, but is not as legitimate as it seems" (0115: FwnSD). Thus, even within RBU it was felt that institutional power and influence continued to be negotiated informally, within exclusive spaces. These dimensions all reflect aspects of an 'untransformed' university.

#### 6.4.2.2. The University in Transition

However, there were other actions and practices that were understood as efforts to move RBU forwards. Nonetheless, these retained elements of and/or had consequences more closely aligned to the past than the future. These attempts at de-racialization were felt to produce at best challenging, if not problematic, forms of re-racialization. These are collectively conceptualized as 'the university in transition'. Much of the time, EE initiatives and the university community's response fitted into this category. Many participants spoke of transformation as being institutionally enacted as only employment equity. For many Black academic participants, this in itself was a shortfall, which came with consequences:

> The institution works only with change in individual numbers or stats, it has no idea of the enormity of the transition and challenges for the person and people [and their family] (0123: FwnSD).

The impact of change operated and was resisted at many levels. For example: if you are "open and ready to bring in others, [you are] often labelled anti-White, which is hard" (0123: FwnSD).

> Transformation here means more Black people, replacing White people with Black people. At '94, [we] got rid of formal exclusion but [you] could still see a lot of non-verbal cues that [we] were not wanted or appreciated…Today there is some improvement, but not enough criticism and engagement, there's silence and resistance to engagement…[There's] still stigma towards ** campus as the campus in a township. There is a belief more Coloured people are being hired and that there is resistance against African hires (0141: FwSCS).

Thus, de-racialization is not unproblematic. It is contested, and perceived to have enabled some de-segmentation, whilst simultaneously reified certain aspects of racialization. Therefore, it has not accomplished de-racialization as 'race' is still central to how people perceive each other and how the RBU is understood to function.

RBU had sought an external ombudsman to deal with racial complaints. However, even in these cases, both parties often remained "disgruntled". Whilst one could "determine procedural fairness" and whether something had been "inappropriate and/or unprofessional", it was "difficult to quantify and legislate on feelings and experiences" (0101: NFL). The "legalistic" aspects of the determination were procedurally and institutionally important but it was questioned as to whether these were "sensitive to group dynamics" (0101: NFL). Officials also reported that whilst there had been queries, there had been no "staff on staff" racial grievances lodged. (0101: NFL). It was felt that the need to "lay evidence" was a deterrent (0101: NFL). Thus, whilst formal processes could be instituted, they appeared unable to effectively address concerns on the ground. Therefore, explaining the difference between official accounts and representations portrayed by participants.

A few other examples further illustrate the shortcomings of de-racialization and ongoing challenges and/or new challenges that developed:

> There is a silent culture, it is not very cohesive, we don't necessarily recognize each other's contributions; we are more suspicious and aim to carve out own niches…[Of all RBU does do] to bring in AA and women, and people, from the fringes… it is not engaged with issues of race and gender, these are not seen as academic questions but as questions of South Africa's make up…There is a silent animosity, the space isn't open, doesn't make [one] less peripheral, just bogged down, and [we] only discuss [this] informally (0138: FwSCS).

Here, participants note the formal interventions to provide opportunities. However, whilst the racialization and gendered nature of academia remain outside of the conversation and actions taken, participants feel interventions will have a limited effect.

> There is a change in numbers but the institutional culture is very hostile, you need a very thick skin or you will leave, retention is a real problem (0147: NFL).

In addition, despite the very important role that the Black Staff Forum (BSF) had at the HWU before and at RBU after the merger, it found its very legitimacy now questioned:

> Management believed it had policies in place, and questioned the need for its existence…Now with a Black VC, people feel things are beginning to change. In this era, people feel uncomfortable with the tag of the BSF, and the impact on their own careers. There was also a suggestion to make it the Transformation Forum and include White people…. (0111: NFL).

Thus, certain racialized politics are also increasingly challenged and perceived to belong to a former time. Therefore, for some participants, not only is race and gender talk generally absent, but that which does occur is now deemed problematic and in need of re-visioning. There appeared there were collective discussions about the extent to which engagements on race could take place "across the colour line". In which at least three positions surfaced including Black essentialism, non-racialism, and anti-racism. Within the institution, spaces for collective and political openness were described as relatively new. Thus, as a part of diversity initiatives, participants described being enabled to "proudly wear one's culture" (0128: FwSCS). These possibilities and spaces were acknowledged internally as a sign of respect and affirmation. However, there was also a need for critical reflection as to whether apartheid constructed cultural categories and forms of expression of multiculturalism are what is being celebrated.

Two more quotes, by Black participants, round off the complexity of the racialized context of 'the university in transition': "[White] academics fear to use other languages [Afrikaans] in the classroom, even when it would help, for fear of being labelled a racist" (0153: NFL). Whilst others reflected that there were "no racial barriers in terms of getting along [in their department], but when conflict arises, human frailties can come to the fore… [but generally, everyone] is very caring and collegial" (0117: FwSCS).

This collection of examples shows there are tangible changes observed in academic staffing, interaction, and some reflection on action and behaviour. However, these have yet to occur in a context where the institution is in agreement about where it is headed to. Thus, the context is not entirely supportive, embracing, and engaging of all changes taking place. The results are a mixed bag and in some cases more retrogressive than progressive. Nonetheless, there is conceptual, verbal, and some participatory engagement and reflection on the strengths and weaknesses of the current approaches.

6.4.2.3. The Aspirational University

There were also articulations and actual practices that provided a means to move towards an envisioned future where de-racialization was felt to be substantively meaningful and any re-racialization was perceived to be fundamentally different from the past. These are collectively conceptualized as 'the aspirational university'. These were generally organic initiatives that were highly particular and context specific. They were potential examples of the 'future in the present' where particular faculty, groups of colleagues, and in some cases even individual academics were experimenting with new ways of being and interacting with each other.

As transformation, itself does not necessarily have a singular end goal, these initiatives also did not necessarily form with the same ends in mind. Previously, the BSF as a solidarity network for Black staff was crucial for Black academics' 'survival' in the HWU. The BSF formerly provided an interactive space, for similarly politically minded Black staff to support each other, share frustrations, and collectively negotiate the racialized workplace and address discrimination:

> It was through these discussions, I think, that we just talked about our experiences, problems, you know, finding our voice, finding a place… to a certain extent finding some sort of connection… [Sometimes] there were very specific issues, sometimes of victimization in a department… Sometimes gross unfairness, and then we would talk about the issues to get an understanding of it, and sometimes we had to sit on disciplinary hearings and deal with specific cases, or we tried to get members to represent us on specific cases, to at least show some form of support for individuals… What we tried to prevent was that you had to listen to people [only] talking about their individual cases, even though we sometimes said 'no we need to focus on big issues'; but most of the time our discussions eventually boiled down to a person with a very specific individual issue… they wanted that opportunity, perhaps to vent some of their frustrations and anger… so the Forum essentially became, perhaps more than having any real teeth to make significant differences, it became a place where we went perhaps just to share frustrations (0111: NFL).

Although the participant feels somewhat doubtful about the overall impact of the BSF, its importance at a time when Black staff were on their own cannot be overstated. It provided the possibility of another institutional home within the HWU as well as then within RBU at the time of transition. Thus, even if spatially and temporal transient, BSF made 'the aspirational university' real. It no doubt played a role in retaining Black staff who stayed the course and assisted in the transition. The same is likely of NEHAWU, as one participant said, "I felt at home, I could be myself, there was no need for explanation" (0144: FwSCS).

At the time of the research, participants spoke about what their aspirational university would be like as well as detailed a few active transformation initiatives taking place. The need for more discussions was widely articulated. Participants wished that more diverse people, and in

higher numbers, would attend these across the university. There was also a call for more debate between non-racialism and critical antiracism. Participants noted the changes that the Vice Chancellor brought but wished for more "transformational leadership" throughout RBU, including more affirmation of people and more active participation in diversity (0144 & 0142).

Some believed in a readiness principle, noting that "you have to be ready for transformation, [it is] pointless if not" (0123: FwnSD). Participants detailed what this meant for them:

> Thin transformation is cosmetic… [it is] not transformation at all, to me. Transformation is a mind shift, a change in dynamics of dispensation, [when you] interrogate [your] own biases. It doesn't help to change equity with all else… [the] structure, systems, and culture staying the same. [You need to be] cognisant of history… and the new realities and what it means to engage with the realities of today's students…not just European voices [but] include African voices…The faculty is working at it, it will take a while, you have to be patient, [you need to] sensitize people [to] engage [your] own prejudices and biases. No one is a holy cow…[you] have to be committed to staying on the bus in uncomfortable times. Transformation is thrown around carelessly, you have to think, the journey is tough, people often do the opposite… Apartheid messed around with our heads, the messages are still there… Each [has] to start honestly from where you are, and reciprocate, use opportunities to engage where they arise, versus writing people off. [They will] engage when [they're] ready, then [you will] hear (0115: FwnSD).

Thus, for many, the socio-cultural and symbolic components of *Transformation* were about fundamentally reconstructing the institutional culture. It was a "holistic approach" that was also about "changing attitudes, perceptions, and expectations" (0133 & 0127). For some participants, this was closely connected to the teaching and learning project. For example, some had spent considerable time and energy developing multi-language glossaries that were discipline specific to ensure transformative learning and the equalization of the core learning field (0153: NFL). Others were focused on developing pedagogic best practice in teaching and learning that was specifically tailored to disciplinary and student needs within each faculty (0114: NFL). Other initiatives, although intricately connected to core teaching, learning, and research aims and objectives, were also focused on the personal and interpersonal. Some participants stressed the importance of "divesting [our]selves of past scripts" (0109: NFL) as a part of the broader transformation project.

The Faculty of Education had instituted a series of workshops for its staff to embark on a collective transformation journey, over an 18-month period, with an experienced external facilitator. Participants described the process as being one that was designed "to clear the air…it sustained transformation in people's minds so it would come naturally" (0161: FwnSD). Others explained that the "texts [primarily Jansen's (2009) Knowledge in the Blood] assisted in putting distance between our own experiences, we listened, talked, journeyed together, [we

realized] it starts with us, [we] lived it in a practical sense. [we were] unified through the re-visioning exercise and taking a critical overview of ourselves" (0118: FwnSD).

Participants described some of their discussions as follows, we engaged: the "discomfort caused by the remnants of apartheid, the hierarchy and dominance of the White male culture… It opened up spaces and laid the foundation for our vision, mission and pedagogy" (0161: FwnSD). Others noted the methodology of café conversations, curriculum of life script, and courageous conversations enabled participants to "speak our truths…work away our guilt…to restore our self…The majority moved closer to each other in the process" (0140: FwnSD). Those who stayed the course found the "the deep, non-judgmental and humanizing pedagogy" an asset (0161: FwnSD).

Others reflected on the long-term impact of the course:

> We were forced to work as a team… [we will] work on [our] transformation journey for the rest of our lives, we cannot change if our voices are silenced, invisible, not accommodated… [We are] committed to stay on the bus, but it doesn't mean it will go smoothly" (0115: FwnSD).

Participants' descriptions illustrate that they are better equipped with the tools and resources to work through issues of race in more meaningful and substantive ways. Furthermore, they noted they have a new perspective on institutional issues in general: "It is difficult to do justice to all sides but [we] came out [with] a freshness and newness of the post-merger space and governance" (0107: NFL).

However, participants were also most explicit that not everyone was able to undertake this process. "I found it renewing and rewarding…some liked it, some not. Some people didn't take easy to it, listening to colleagues hurt and pain in the work context, [it was] difficult for some [and] some disengaged" (0161: FwnSD). "Some avoided it, it was too hard, some were willing to embark [on it], [but it was] too traumatic for some... for some the loyalty to [their] parents was too hard" (0140: FwnSD). This set of quotations illustrates that some academics, for differing reasons, were not at a point where they could be a part of the collective process. The suggestion to her was that for some, their familial roots and entanglements (both the nuclear and various extensions thereof including religion, cultural, and racial legacies) made the deconstruction process too difficult to contemplate and/or to bear. Nonetheless, the collective appeared to be understanding and accommodating of this. Through the transformation journey and unlearning the 'knowledge in the blood', the Education Faculty was able to actively engage and work with their "life scripts". Thus, it appeared that the process enabled participants to

gain a better appreciation and acceptance of themselves and their colleagues. Thus, transformation per se was realized.

Others observed: "The Education Faculty is way ahead, dealing with people and talking about systems. There are alternative thinkers and transformation is driven from the top (0156: FwnSD). The "difficult dialogues open up space for people to listen, engage, and feel safe… We have a short course on diversity now [as] part of staff induction (0107: NFL). There was an emerging recognition that the Education Faculty initiative was doing something quite different and having important results. Another participant observed:

> [you have to] make the road by walking it, base it with the people who are there… you need to protect academics. The new VC has brought in a new culture, new people, the right people… [There is a realization that you] need layers of support for people to excel (0105: NFL).

This is definitely exceptional and reflective of transformative thinking. Examples such as the Education initiative is an example of 'the aspirational university' of the future in the present. However, as this participant observed, transformation was often allocated an "insufficient budget" that kept it peripheral (0101: NFL).

In addition to the Education Faculty initiative, there were also more mainstream initiatives attempted through RBU's Advocacy unit. It was an active space where people strove to attain and resolve issues around citizenship and common humanity. It, thus, sought to nurture similarities 'across the colour line' and to forge a collective identity rather than reify racial identities. The unit's goal was non-racialism. However, several of its direct strategies (carving our new meanings including the meaninglessness of race) combined both anti-racial and non-racial means utilized towards ends that incorporated both approaches.

As previously mentioned, the unit facilitated a lot of discussions and debates on the campus in the broader community, and hosted RBU's diversity events. Participants reflected that these initiatives were viewed as important but not essential. They also stressed the importance for more than "the odd White radical to participate" (0158, 0147 & 0111). "There is limited attendance, the same people, but never those who should be there" (0142: FwnSD). As noted previously, the diversity events also potentially fell in the category of 'the university in transition'. Therefore, highlighting the complexity and layering of institutional culture and how transformational approaches themselves operated at multiple levels, simultaneously.

Introspective and self-reflective White participants were few and far between. Those interviewed had sometimes coupled their transformation work with their academic work.

Below two examples are cited. The first is of a participant who made the study of whiteness and unlearning racial messaging her academic work; the second a participant whose academic and professional approach enabled him to successfully transform his professional and socially ascribed norms.

> I grew up in an Afrikaner Broderbund family. I was not brought up to question. I had a gradual realization that the stories I was told were not really the truth. My personal transformation paralleled the institutional…it was painful to question and reconcile self… Rousseau notes[178]… to change society, you need personal and interpersonal transformation… you don't change knowledge in the blood easily… Here it is in your face, you are encouraged to unlearn stereotypes, you are unlearning all the messages of youth, unlearning every day. It is enriching and exciting. You have to be brutally honest and unapologetic about [your]self… I am very glad to be at an institution that forces me to unlearn [my] biases everyday… As a transformed Afrikaner, I can help others. I don't feel that I have lost everything, I am gaining everyday… (0140: FwnSD).

The second participant had a different approach but also optimistically spoke of his engagement and participation within his field:

> I don't feel transformed just outdone by my colleagues. I never feel uncomfortable, we are all treated on the basis of being a person versus by race, gender, etc. As an institution, I feel we need to transform…you cannot force people to re-reference where they come from and to redirect their perceptions. They can do their best to forget about such…in [health science] the needs of patient are paramount. You apply your skills as a professional person. The focus is never you but others, [you have an] awareness of culture and needs, behaviour modification… [but you] never disregard the original culture, just park it for a while… It can be liberatory to talk about things not 'allowed' to… Diversity of the profession is the most exciting part of my job… Caring capabilities, self-discipline and compassion, do not come in a gender package…You focus on humane action and unlearn what [you] brought in… The university needs to understand what this profession entails (0132: FwSCS).

These two participants find value and reward in their professional academic jobs because of the transformatory contexts within which they are located. They have chosen to make these a core part of their jobs. Whilst each has a distinctive and somewhat oppositional approach, they have both fully embraced their discipline-specific roles. They have chosen and made their (intersectional) positionality an asset. Whereas, as per the section on White loss, many other colleagues have been unable to make this shift and have remained stuck in the 'untransformed university' or at best are negotiating 'the university in transition'.

[178] Participant makes passing reference to enlightenment philosopher, Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

### *6.4.3. The Potential and challenges of transformation*

Of the participants who were optimistic about the impact and future of *Transformation*, most emphasized the core role of transformation (as social justice)[179]. Some participants emphasized "institutional culture needs to be the glue that holds all together" (0115: FwnSD) which is why it was so important that this be reminiscent of 'the aspirational university'. It was seen as important that these values, attitudes, and experiences come to be reflected within a "critical mass" (0144: FwSCS). It was recognised that "people now have a new language [with which] to talk about change" (0111: NFL).

In specific parts of RBU, participants observed changes to the institutional culture within their discipline and/or faculty. One participant in a male-dominated field observed "they [now] realize that women bring emotional intelligence" (0146: FwSCS). Whilst in another section of the university, another participant observed "meetings changed from [being conducted in] Afrikaans to English… and there is an attempt to incorporate the Africanization of the curriculum" (0117: FwSCS).

Many participants spoke of the importance of leadership. "Transformation should be about hearts and minds…in ten to 15 years, the White professors will be gone… we will need leaders not managers, intuitive leaders who inspire… [and who are] not too bogged down in the everyday" (0137: FwSCS). Whilst others spoke of the immediate:

> some line managers are excellent [but] some out of their depth… The VC is bringing in African voices and asking about heritage… we need to generate new knowledge, [have] new voices in our own space and confront issues… I feel our own discipline is doing ok (0142: FwnSD).

Another participant says:

> [The] VC and Council have taken the bulls by the horns… it is nicely done, [they are] not scared to make change and are pushing sensibly for demographic change. The [advocacy] centre is [working] on bigger projects and leaving the core [finance and human resources] intact" (0107: NFL).

There was much acknowledgement of changes brought by the new Vice Chancellor. Some participants noted they "were more confident about good Black people in posts" (0144: FwSCS). Similarly, others felt the "new VC is a people person…and there was a [better]

[179] Note, the two differential uses of *Transformation* and transformation used here.

balance between academic freedom with transformation" (0152: FwSCS). Many participants also acknowledged the skills training provided (0157: FwSCS).

However, participants felt that many challenges lay ahead. One of the most significant of which was for White people within the university to "reciprocate" and take responsibility and ownership for transformation (0115: FwnSD). Other aspects of racialization were also a challenge. Whilst some had noted they were working towards this, many stated "it was still a battle to get an Afrocentric focus into [the curriculum, especially] in core courses" (0157: FwSCS). Further felt that whether the concern was race-based or gender-based, there was still horizontal segmentation along disciplinary lines within some schools (0144: FwSCS). Examples cited included psychology and social work, and information technology and applied informatics.

A number of participants felt that challenges were at the intersection of the macro, meso, and micro. Some felt RBU still bore the consequences of the "loss of a lot of good people [from the merger] and that it will take time to build up" even with the "good aspirations" (0154: FwSCS). Others echoed that opportunities were actively lost because the environment had not been embracing, especially of scholars, curricula, and methodologies from the former HBU (0157: FwSCS). Others observed that the "biggest change [has to come] from within…the university can only do so much…timelines [for change] are not possible [as real change requires] intrinsic preparedness[180]" (0115: FwnSD).

However, others located the source of challenges more directly in poor leadership and the absence of reciprocity, resulting in poor experiences, overall.

> There is distrust based on poor experiences and a lack of collegiality (0150: FwSCS).
>
> Since the first dean, no one really knows [every]one's interest area…the gatekeepers are too insecure [to uplift others. Unfortunately] this also happens with Black deans (0160: FwnSD).
>
> Some are out of their depth…and not called to order…they are supported [by others] for their own needs…it is a very hierarchical institution. People feel voiced down upon…feel not part of the debate, or not on an equal footing…[We] need to disorder practices beyond target setting" (0142: FwnSD).

[180] Participant uses this in a similar way to 'intrinsic motivation' with the additional conceptualization that an individual should be committed to *Transformation* by internal, as opposed to, external values and rewards.

There was some active criticism against the subversion of *Transformation* or what was described as "people working against transformation, for their own ends". For example, (senior) academics were sometimes presumed to be operating from an assumption that they "need[ed] to groom and mentor [Black] people [so] they won't become an embarrassment" (0156: FwnSD). In other instances, participants, reflected that they "got [their] foot in the door because of transformation [but] were treated awfully by [their] mentor…a real wolf in sheep's clothes… who expected [they] would fail" (0155: FwSCS). Others noted they would not pursue the institutional channels for racism for "fear of victimization [but] would rather endure" (0158: FwSCS). These examples actively prevent RBU from transforming and/or are likely to exacerbate conditions to a point where change may be demanded more vociferously.

Participants also noted that there were two essentially different approaches: the employment equity approach and the transformation approach. Participants thus asked: "There is the TEC versus the ** [Advocacy Unit's approach] where will the two meet?" (0142: FwnSD). For some, this was an easy answer: "The TEC[181] needs to be bigger, more visible… to trigger a chain reaction in people's lives" (0158: FwSCS). Whilst for others, the answer was, as above, more akin to transformation per se. For others, the answer lay in a return to academic control. They opposed what they saw as RBU "increasingly [in a situation where] admin is the tail that wags the dog" (0131: FwnSD). However, some also noted that regardless of individual and institutional aims, the reality was that "people [were] also bogged down by the core business" (0158: FwSCS).

As long as transformation was seen as being outside of the core business, it would always be relegated to a lesser position. Furthermore, whilst RBU has to "lobby for funding" be it to government, funders, or to the private sector for the training and "long term absorption" of Black and women academics; transformation will continue to be illusive. Institutionally, the debate was open, as to whether success was measured by institutional or sectoral retention (0104: NFL). However, without either, transformation would remain as "the singing of rainbow colours" (0102: NFL).

[181] Transformation and Equity Committee

## 6.5. Re/production of academic labour

The final theme engages academic labour per se. Three sub-themes arose that provided insight into academic labour at RBU. Participants spoke about their own academic career trajectories, the present and future state of their disciplines, and the South African academy. These broadly connect to the re/production of academic labour. Therein lay the paradox of academia. For most, their academic career journeys (as is surmised, those of colleagues) had been arduous individual quests. As such, the academic journey is largely disconnected, undirected, and unable to regenerate the collective. Thus, at RBU, it has been each academic for themselves.

### *6.5.1. Individual trajectories*

Approximately a third of participants connected their own academic journeys to RBU's *Transformation* journey. The most predominant finding pertained to career guidelines and expectations, followed by the possibility and practicality of attaining these, and narratives of individuals' own journeys. This partially reflects the primacy of the immediate (as opposed to biographical histories) which were judged, by participants, as important in their own careers, specifically at this juncture in time and space.

Despite previous discontent regarding EDS, there was unanimous agreement that it spelt out the expectations for academics.

> [Previously] there was a trickle-down chain of command…expectations are becoming more clear with EDS (0156: FwnSD). Five to eight years ago, expectations were not clear, now they are, and I feel I have met and exceeded them (0160: FwnSD). Our departmental leader was driven and gave guidance to come to terms with the institution's expectations" (0142: FwnSD).

Despite making the expectations formal and explicit, some participants did not feel the requirements for promotion were feasible. The reasons provided varied from the pragmatic, to a lack of recognition, to double standards:

> EDS makes expectations more clear but these are not realistic… there is less time for research… academia is not attractive… I am not planning to stay (0130: FwSCS). It is unrealistic to expect academics to excel in all three areas [teaching, research, service] (0133: FwSCS).

> There are clear guidelines, but as a Black person, there are additional unwritten expectations [treated differently and the rules are applied more stringently] … Even when you qualify for promotion, there is no RAM[182] for increases, so you have to look for recognition elsewhere (0144: FwSCS).
>
> EDS is a form of target setting [for yourself] … it is possible if you get a buyout, otherwise you have burnout by the end of the year and all creativity is lost. You have to seek out possibilities for [your]self, even if your superior supports [they are] not necessarily able to [financially] empower you towards [your goal] and won't necessarily decrease your workload (0138: FwSCS). Have to prove that you are 'entitled' to benefits, for example, a sabbatical (0146: FwSCS).
>
> I have no desire to climb the academic ladder…previously there was flexibility, now this is non-existent [and] the space is not conducive to work…EDS is not yet linked to monetary incentives, [but it] should rather have been a development tool (0131: FwnSD).
>
> There are opportunities for self-development, [but] resocialization takes time and expectations change... There are career opportunities but it is rare that you get time to take them up…I see my career plateauing… If time constraints are a concern now at a junior level, I question what it will be like at senior levels… I advocate for research and opportunities for [the] profession but question whether the PhD actually makes a career or salary difference [in my specific field] (0132: FwSCS).
>
> There is no career development, I won't stay long (0145: FwSCS). In terms of NRF funding…there is a gap in the middle layer (0125: FwSCS).

These quotations illustrate that academics are struggling to meet all the requirements of their profession and career. Many also reflect a sense of being put upon to deliver more in a context where the rewards either do not materialize and/or are not meaningful to participants. As a result, dissatisfaction emerges within their job at RBU and/or within their academic career at large.

However, not all participants and not everything participants felt and said about their careers reflected pessimism. Many spoke of the "eight hours of private practice" as a form of compensation for academic remuneration and/or as a way to keep professionally connected and engaged (0157: FwSCS). Several successfully integrated the dual demands of their jobs and from day one, aimed high: "I have both corporate and academic experience…and [long-term] have my sights on the HoD position" (0127: FwSCS). It was observed that due to the truncated hierarchy, often seniority was equated with a head of department position. "Whilst the career is flexible, it is difficult to replace the HoD position" (0149: FwSCS). Therefore, several HoDs spoke as if they too had become stuck in these positions that were meant to only be for a contracted term.

[182] Resource Allocation Model (used to determine a department's staffing requirements and overall finances).

Participants who had been a part of RBU's academic development and transformation initiatives spoke well of these. "I had a very good experience" with Phulisa (0133: FwSCS). I benefitted from the input of Thuthuka funding (0150: FwSCS). "I improved my qualifications and had a good experience of collegiality" (0128 & 0129). There was a 'Women in Engineering Programme' that was started to support academic women and women doing post-graduate studies (0151: FwSCS). Therefore, these appeared to provide the core requirements academics needed to be both in/formally reaffirmed in their jobs and careers. These initiatives aimed to protect and accompany emerging academics at a vulnerable stage of their career establishment.

Simultaneously, however, several other academics struggled to find their footing on their own. A few participants described that as "late entrant[s] to academia" they "fell between the emergent and established academic categories" and thus between the cracks with regard to support and assistance (0137: FwSCS). A few participants had circuitous routes into academia. Some came to their permanent jobs after multiple academic contracts, others after a career in another occupation inside or outside of the university, whilst some had a less than smooth student-to-staff transition. Two examples illustrate some of the complexities faced.

A participant, interviewed a year after being appointed to [their] most recent academic job, "still [had] no actual job description, [was] unsure of the actual expectations… [and found it] difficult to see a career path" (0155: FwSCS). Another participant explains [their] tortuous academic journey:

> In the 80s, as a student, I needed a special permit to attend **… I worked against all odds to be a lecturer… [ I felt] I had a role model in ** and was groomed to take over the reins once [**] retired… [yet] I applied three times before I got a job…. I was too Black [before] and now, am too White… It is a very painful experience…to begin your dream career at 50 and to have been judged on your race all throughout your life (0139: FwSCS).

Whilst several participants did declare "I won't stay long", most participants spoke in a long-suffering manner, implying they would continue, albeit less than enamoured by their "dream job". These individual stories do not necessarily inspire confidence in the academic profession and its ability to satisfy its current employees. The next two sections explore participants' assessment of their own discipline and the South African academy at large.

### *6.5.2. The state of the discipline(s)*

The majority of academics did not have much confidence that their own discipline presented opportunities for future generations of academics. The reasons varied from not being able to generate viable opportunities to being a professional/vocational discipline in which students gravitated towards the profession or vocation rather than academia per se. However, in a few cases, there was optimism about the future of the academic profession. For the majority, the question was simply about statistical re/production, i.e. the continued existence of the academic profession. For a significant proportion, this interfaced with equity and pertained to professional continuation of the academy but with demographic change. Whilst for a few, the question was more nuanced: 'What type of academic was sought through re/production?'

Whether referring to their own dissatisfaction or explaining why students would not be interested in academia, career interest and opportunities, workload, and remuneration were the most common internal reasons cited for disinterest. "Students have no interest and are chasing the money" (0145: FwSCS). "There is no scope for expansion, it is not a glamourous career, and the salaries are not market-related" (0130: FwSCS). The salaries, workload and quality of students needs to be addressed. (0116: FwnSD).

However, numerous external factors were also mentioned: "the industrial environment is more lucrative…the subject is something, Black students do to go into government" (0138: FwSCS). "This is a fairly new field, it is vocational-oriented, students have no interest in academia, the applicants we get are often inadequate…the [university] has to increase the attractiveness [of academia]" (0117: FwSCS). "We teach service courses, our qualifications are for the employer, only a [few of our staff] can do post-graduate supervision" (0134: FwSCS). "It is difficult to get candidates in the [geographical] area" (0128: FwSCS). "There is poor provincial schooling, it is difficult to get Black candidates into [key subjects]" (0125: FwSCS). This variety of quotes suggests a certain hesitancy on the part of participants to state that their discipline has the ability to reproduce itself.

Some participants spoke with a certain ambiguity that reflected both the challenges experienced and optimism about what could, potentially, be done to move towards reproduction and requisite change. Better salaries, more career opportunities, and more inclusivity were amongst those noted.

In some areas of RBU, participants noted, there is "good retention but a need to scale up salaries", "student tutors" is one strategy used to grow the academic pipeline (0124: FwnSD). Others noted that "opportunities had to be made for Black people…[and] new posts had to be created to absorb new people" (0148: FwSCS). It could no longer be left to change, "a fluke" or "luck" for a Black person to get a job (0145: FwSCS). Several participants noted factors that pushed out Black academics and suggested these be tended to:

> Although there is a low turnover, Black people don't stay…. [it's the] boys club (0151: FwSCS). "…there is publishing gatekeeping… we feel like orphans in own discipline, few see a future… [We] need attractive remuneration" (0135: FwnSD).

In addition, more broadly, there is a "need [for] succession planning, a better retention strategy, the general application of values, and [for these to be] applied fairly" (0110: NFL).

Participants also noted, structural components created a range of problems that challenged the sustainability of the academic profession. "There is the changing nature of work, it is difficult to fill senior positions, equity and retention are challenges, succession planning is not implemented" (0119: FwSCS). There is a "gap between senior and junior [academics]. There is a need for skills transfer [between the two, especially as we have] aging academics" (0102: NFL). Others also reflected that whilst there were faculty initiatives in place, "there [were few opportunities and there] was little interest, especially at senior levels of HoD" (0149: FwSCS). Thus, sustaining the academic profession and nurturing academics to the point that they were established academics proved a significant challenge in some parts of RBU.

However, in specific areas, participants expressed much more optimism about the future of the academic profession. In some instances, the rewards of individual and/or collective efforts were appreciable. Optimism was often vocalized directly by participants who had benefitted from one of the Khulisa, Phulisa, Next Generation Academics or Early Career programmes and/or by other academics who were in a department where such academics were based. However, this was not uniformly the case and recognition was more evident where there had been a significant impact. For example, "all four-new staff are all our own products [via] Phulisa, Next Generation and Early Career… however [to be successful, one] needs opportunities and resources" (0133: FwSCS). Participants also spoke of their top students having opportunities to be student assistants and from there being recognised for Thuthuka funding (0127: FwSCS).

Accounting was the only profession that already had in place a comprehensive initiative to address employment equity and the reproduction of the accounting profession. An option

within the programme was "academic trainees"[183] that interested only about "three out of 70 participants" and provided a possible route for the re/production of academic accountants. Participants connected to this field, were optimistic that in "five years they would see the benefits" of this programme (0120: FwSCS). Already, some academics had joined RBU's staff via this route (0120: FwSCS). In areas specifically identified as institutional "niche areas", investment in resources, opportunities, and personnel invested allowed RBU to "develop pockets of excellence" that were already seen to yield research, teaching, and industry-related outputs that were reportedly highly valued across multiple sectors including within academic disciplines and departments (0105: NFL). These were in applied engineering, sciences, and commerce-related subjects for which individual academics and RBU had gained NRF recognition.

In contrast, a number of other academics felt that they were simply a conduit for the professions rather than successfully working together toward a sustainable future for both the academy and the profession (0159: FwSCS). Many spoke of the struggles to juggle dual professional needs, emphasizing that the university was not sufficiently flexible in understanding the unique needs of such professional academics. Examples were commonly cited in Commerce, Education, Engineering, and Health Science. In addition, in a few cases, vocational, training, and/or professional demands were seen as antithetical to academic education (0154 & 0157). Thus, for example, professional and/or industrial boards were understood to sometimes create additional challenges to the academic profession rather than helping resolve common and/or related problems. Alternatively, participants on occasion felt academic education was sacrificed to the needs of the profession or vocation or the market (0154: FwSCS). In a few instances, there was also explicit questioning as to the intent and/or effect on academic re/production.

Many participants were concerned about the racialization of the reproduction of academic labour and the lack of demographic change. However, some were concerned with there being no "career trajectory for White men", and with how this would affect "White talent" (0128 & 0129). Participants occasionally expressed that it was academics' responsibility to "find

[183] Some of the clerk's time was spent in the academic context in a junior lecturer equivalent position learning and gaining the tacit skills of academics.

purpose and make a difference for them [students]… in order to bridge the generation gap" (0118: NFL). A few participants took this discussion further to also question whether the institution was challenging its pedagogic practices to meet academic needs. Even with respect to academic staff development, RBU officials knew they were able to "look after the research conduit" but noted "it is questionable whether [academic] ranks were replenished also" (0109: NFL).

The reason for this scepticism was that "retention is not guaranteed" (0137: FwSCS). This, as mentioned previously, was why some judged sectoral retention as a success (0108: NFL). As a part of this discussion, several participants queried whether reproduction and focusing on growing your own timber was a form of "inbreeding", and whether this was desirable (0109 & 0104). However, at the other end of the spectrum, there had been cases where RBU was aware that best practice did not always occur. Thus, in specific cases, RBU officials stated they did not want pre-existing "models replicated" and deliberately sought to inculcate new forms of mentorship (0109: NFL). Therefore, participants noted the complexity of "reproduction" and that it in itself was not always desirable.

### *6.5.3. Weather or whither the South African academy?*

Participants reflected on their discipline in the national context, thereby considering whether the challenges identified were disciplinary, local, national, or global. The answers reflected a variety of possibilities. This illustrated the heterogeneity of disciplines, and the necessary, likely needed, interventions.

At the local level, the geo-spatial context was considered both an asset and a shortcoming. Participants reflected on the local economic situation as both a strength and a weakness (0119 & 0120), whilst lifestyle was often referred to as an asset (0105: NFL). These positively and/or negatively affected whether academics were attracted to and remained at RBU. "The economic climate helps, [the region] has its own challenges, [but] academically, we have uncompetitive

salaries" (0119: FwSCS)[184]. In some instances, it also affected the likelihood of potential employees gaining exposure to academia, at all; for example, "few companies would release students from articles to do their academic trainee period [here]" (0121: FwSCS).

The provincial socio-economic context and educational (school) context were seen as challenges that ultimately impacted on the student pipeline and thus both in/directly affected the future of academia (0106 & 0119). There were additional locational challenges as a result of the "middle university" positioning of RBU within SAHES (0162: NFL). This meant participants perceived it to be subject to much "poaching" by other institutions in the sector (0136 & 0101). Furthermore, participants in some professional academic fields also reported that local payment was worse than in other provinces (0146: FwSCS). In addition, for "scarce and critical skills [RBU] competed regionally and internationally and with other sectors" as well (0101: NFL). In these ways, the RALM and RBU's specific positionality intersected towards specific locational disadvantage. Participants also included early retirement, at 60 years, as one of the generic RBU locational disadvantages (0105: NFL). This generally deterred applicants above the age of 50 from applying for even senior posts. Nonetheless, others "hoped the reputation of the[ir] department [was sufficient to] overcome locational disadvantage" (0152: FwSCS).

Participants identified a number of strengths and challenges related to their discipline per se. They reflected on how these would accentuate the disadvantage that current and potential RBU academics would face or how these diminish such. For example, whilst scarce and critical skills allowances played an important role in the retention of certain academic staff, these did not apply to all. Academics that taught on applied or diploma streams (i.e. the former technikon programmes) did not qualify for such benefits even if their discipline/department was a scarce skill subject. This occurred even when comparative degree course staff were eligible for such (0120: FwSCS). The main explanation for this was the level of qualification and accreditation.

Participants also noted that between the degree and diploma options, both students and staff were overseen by different professional boards, which amounted to different opportunities for

[184] Here participant was implying that people were likely to commit to jobs because of a general national and global instability. Nonetheless, the provincial and RBU's relative lack of competitiveness did not necessarily stand the institution in particularly high stakes.

each. An example provided was South African Institute of Chartered Accountants (SAICA) and South African Institute of Professional Accountants (SAIPA). This also meant that students studying an accountancy degree were able to receive Thuthuka funding and would graduate with a scarce skill. However, diploma students were not eligible for this funding and would not be similarly skilled (0124, 0121 & 0126). However, some participants noted that at other comprehensive universities, their vocation and service-oriented discipline was considered a scarce skill, but at RBU it was not (0117: FwSCS). Other participants stated their obligation to take in-province students provided unique challenges that other universities, in other parts of the country, did not struggle with (0119: FwSCS). The implication here was that RBU had greater pressures to engage students from an educationally disadvantaged background.

A number of other challenges participants noted, were more general, national disciplinary concerns. Nonetheless, these are important as they suggest challenges that specific and/or various disciplines may have that prevent them from reproducing the next generation of academics. In more cases than not, participants noted their professional associations or boards played little to no role in the reproduction of academic labour and/or in the *Transformation* of the discipline.

A few common perceptions and/experiences that arose were as follows: "the perception that African students don't do post-grad" (0106: NFL). The experience of ongoing disciplinary separation: "we feel like orphans in our own discipline… Therefore, we seek out alternative spaces outside of mainstream academia" (0135: FwnSD). In addition to,

> there is a sprinkling of Black academics…there is segregation at meetings… [Black academics are] perceived as knowledge recipients not bearers…The discipline doesn't lend itself to introspection… [race] is the elephant in the room…There is an unconscious or denial that [White] people benefit from the status quo…There is a lack of understanding that academia is not economically viable… especially relative to peers, relative to the needs of people at home, despite our love for subject… There is no accommodation, it is not a scarce skill, we need better remuneration (0144: FwSCS).

Whilst in some disciplines, there had been some discussion about *Transformation*, no suitable resolution had been found:

> it is a national problem…especially in clinical and counselling… There are no ideas to improve the situation…there is also conflict over the [accreditation of] mid-levels (0157: FwSCS);
>
> less than a quarter of the profession are equity, as are the post-graduate applications here…but the professional board pressurizes us with no solutions (0130: FwSCS);
>
> we face pressure from the professional board, there are too few employment equity candidates at post-graduate, but there is no guidance as how to transform…high fliers don't go into the field, it pays badly,

> especially relatively to other provinces…Black students have a lot of good opportunities…we have had a poor experience with accreditation (0146: FwSCS).

There is "disparity between public sector earnings…there are ramifications and implications of the cost of transformation and employment equity" (0134: FwSCS).

This collection of quotes illustrates a range of problems: departments feeling they are being asked to bear responsibility for a national situation; feeling disappointment that they do not have a collegial relationship with their boards so as to participate in collective strategies for change; feeling admonished in a decontextualized context, and resentment over the power the board has to control certain aspects of their working environment.

In a number of other disciplines, whether "purely academic" or "professional academic", participants noted that academic reproduction in general and/or including *Transformation* was a problem. However, in most cases, "there is no assistance from the professional association" (0148: FwSCS), "the local association is poor" (0145: FwSCS), "headhunting [happens] all across academia…there is a national dean's forum, but there have been no initiatives yet [to address this problem]" (0159: FwSCS). These responses illustrate that at the national level, many disciplines have not collectively tackled the issue of academic reproduction and *Transformation*. There was also reflection that HEIs themselves not only have this problem in common but also actively contribute to: "there is serious poaching from other institutions… in academia, management and human resources" (0101: NFL).

In instances where the academic profession competed with the market, the development of academia was also constrained, as illustrated in this example:

> As a service industry, we are driven by the needs of the industry. Students are less likely to consider a career [in academia], maybe the university students… although junior lecturers [often have] their sights on money. Academic conferences in South Africa are often about stroking egos versus being really developmental…The context and politics of academia [are difficult for young people to navigate] they are naïve and try to please all. At some institutions, tourism is a scarce skill, not here…There is a lot of poaching and job hoping to major centres. It is a fairly new field in South Africa, with an identity crisis… It is academically less attractive, compared to industry where you can travel… The sector skills shortage… doesn't trickle down to training institutes… and students are also very marketable and internationally mobile. We need to think more how to operationalize own needs (0136: FwSCS).

In other instances, academic disciplines lost out to the "higher salaries paid externally" (0151: FwSCS). In addition, in other cases, where there were two similar fields often market trends dictated popularity in training, as participants stated had occurred between industrial psychology and human resource management (0154: FwSCS). Participants also noted, "the

local association shapes the discipline but is not critically engaging" on key questions (0138: FwSCS).

Beyond the disciplinary and the national, participants mentioned that RBU shared a few global concerns such as "concern over the aging professoriate" (0162: NFL), that "competitive salaries were needed to attract and retain good quality staff" (0140: FwnSD) and that often the "academic pay structure was a constraint" (0138: FwSCS). This led some to conclude that "nationally, there is not even a brain drain, people are just not being replaced (0105: NFL). However, whilst tenure was becoming scarcer internationally, it was still an advantage of the local context (0101: NFL).

At the time of the research, there was a "crisis in the sector around the lack of succession planning and [especially] the dearth of senior academics from senior lecturer level upwards" (0101: NFL). This had led to the "first cross sector collaboration" in the form of the Next Generation Academics Programme (0104: NFL), conceptualised and implemented by a joint HESA[185] and DoHET task team with government funding (0101: NFL). This initiative focused on PhD candidates employed as Junior Lecturers with a light lecturing load whilst they completed their degrees. After three years, the intention was that they would move into a permanent post, secured through succession planning (0109: NFL). At the time of the research, this was in pilot phase at several universities. It has subsequently been rolled out nationally.

This chapter has shown how RBU since its reconceptualization as a merged institution has undergone all three aspects of *Transformation*. From the institution's perspective, restructuring, employment equity, and transformation have been rolled out sequentially. However, as this chapter has shown, this phased approach in totality, and the experience of each sub-component, from academics' points of view has not necessarily been mutually reinforcing or supporting. As a result, RBU has struggled to create deep and substantive *Transformation*. Whilst a degree of racial de-segmentation is undoubtedly evident, the experiences of White loss and Black cost illustrate how ongoing racialization and new forms of re-racialization demonstrate that de-racialization has not successfully occurred. At this point in time, aspects of the untransformed university and the university in transition outweigh the

[185] Higher Education South Africa: A collection of Vice Chancellors and other senior leadership of Higher Education Institutions in South Africa.

fledgling emergence of the aspirational university. Nonetheless, the emergence of the latter signals potential for the future. However, it is likely that much effort will be needed in order to significantly advance and transform the re/production of academic labour beyond its current state, and beyond academics' current experiences.

# Chapter 7: Nxele Valley University (NVU)

The second case study, Nxele Valley University (NVU), contrasts well with Reconciliation Bay University (RBU) as its approach and experience of post-apartheid *Transformation* has been significantly different, yet reflects a number of similar challenges. The case of NVU raises vitally important insights into the limits and the potential of institutional redress, where institutions themselves have more autonomously directed the pace and direction of change. NVU was amongst the minority of institutions that did not undergo a merger. Therefore, *Transformation* for NVU, has more specifically been about incorporating *Transformative* changes into 'the institution' itself. Whilst this has meant that until recently, employment equity has been severely lacking, there have been other nuanced developments of particular interest. Internal constituencies have crafted their own possibilities and opportunities and pried open change from within, for example, the Solidarity Alliance for Women (SA4W). Whilst in other cases, specific NVU programmatic interventions have sought to substantively address employment equity both institutionally and nationally. This thereby has the potential to contribute to de-segmentation and the re/production of academic labour at NVU as well as within the sector more widely. The NVU case is also told through the thematic discussion of restructuring, employment equity, transformation, and re/production of academic labour.

## 7.1. Restructuring

### *7.1.1. The proposed merger process*

As previously mentioned, both Nxele Valley University (NVU) and Reconciliation Bay University (RBU) are located within the same province. The Council on Higher Education's (CHE) Task Team (2000) and The National Working Group (NWG) (2001) advanced recommendations that all higher education institutions (HEIs) in the province undergo a merger as a part of the sectoral restructuring process. Ultimately, NVU was spared this outcome. However, an outline and brief discussion of the process leading up to this decision is presented.

This serves to contextualize NVU's experience as an un-merged HEI as well as to highlight (relative to RBU), NVU's differing positionality, which led to its rejection of the merger recommendations.

In particular, the CHE recommended that NVU (as a HWU) be merged with the regional HBUs. The rationale provided focused predominantly on provincial academic output and administrative efficiency. The CHE (2000: 55-56) emphasized that post-graduate offerings would be enhanced, course duplication reduced, and human resources, management, and administrative capacities would be used more effectively. Jansen (2000) was one of the early critics of these recommendations, noting that these "would be likely to seriously erode higher education in that region" and that

> [NVU], a leading provider of information technology graduates for the global economy, which has developed a self-sustainable plan for itself, would lose that competitive edge in any combination with its crisis-ridden sister institutions. The plan should be to transform [NVU] itself, so staff, leadership and students are representative of the racial and gender spread in the [region]" (Jansen, 2000: 8).

Despite various opposition, the NWG was tasked with developing actual concrete and implementable proposals, nationwide. However, for this region, it suggested a more radical form of restructuring. The original five regional HEIs in that part of the province (three universities and two technikons), were to be reduced to just two institutions: one merged university and one merged technikon that were to be accompanied by further downgrading and discontinuation of specific sites and programmes (National Working Group, 2001: 6). The NWG argued its case based on the need for "strong and sustainable" HEIs (National Working Group, 2001: 24). Whilst recommending extensive and hard-hitting cuts, particularly to the HBUs, it offered to protect the newly emergent HEIs' viability through guaranteeing their sole right to offer specific types of education, within that part of the province (National Working Group, 2001: 6).

At the time of NWG's report, one of the three HEIs (proposed as a part of the larger new university) was under administration (had been declared financially insolvent), had a rapid decline in enrolments, and was below par on performance benchmarks (National Working Group, 2001: 22). There had been longstanding concern regarding the institution's viability. A 1997 investigation into the affairs of this particular university was sparked by a crisis of governance and procedurally non-compliant restructuring, which found financial and governance crises to be systemic (Government Gazette, 1998). Despite this, specialized programmatic offerings were part of the reason it was deemed worth salvaging.

In contrast, the NWG described NVU as "a well-functioning institution. It has financial stability, and good leadership as well as management and administrative capacity" (National Working Group, 2001: 23). Further, it accepted that its equity measures and progress were 'satisfactory'. However, it did note that its capacity for expansion was limited by it being a residential university (National Working Group, 2001: 23). Whilst, NVU's publication record accounted for 60% of the province's research output; its post-graduate enrolments and graduates were said to be below the National Plan benchmarks. It was observed that almost one-fifth of NVU students were at a satellite campus (National Working Group, 2001: 23).

The third suggested merger partner was reported to be disadvantaged by its rural and remote location as well as (pre-2000) poor leadership and administration. It was, though, viewed as a national asset because of its historical role (National Working Group, 2001: 23). However, its financial viability was also in question and the NWG was adamant that merging partners should not inherit its debt, and that financial planning mechanisms urgently needed to be put in place (National Working Group, 2001: 24). The NWG was confident that it "has areas of academic and educational strength that should be nourished because of their actual and potential contributions to the needs of the region and the country as a whole" (National Working Group, 2001: 23). Nonetheless, the NWG (2001: 24) concluded the "only way to safeguard and nurture this important heritage…is to strengthen the university through a merger with other institutions of the region". Thus, a three-way merger was motivated as the solution.

The NWG gave thought to the format of the merged university and specified how it foresaw the various 'campuses' functioning. It believed the latter two HEIs would contribute 'strong and visionary leadership' that would be instrumental in forging a new history. Its rationale also echoed the discourse of programme rationalization, cost effectiveness, and comparative advantage. Furthermore, administrative capacity, research ethos, and support from inter-related faculties were also specific benefits that were to be potentially derived.

Seemingly, the NWG had taken on board concerns of financial viability and poor governance as these featured strongly in their recommendations. The complex question of divergent historic and campus cultures was acknowledged. These were clearly not thought to be insurmountable and other benefits were believed to outweigh them. The HEIs were thus left to carve a new and convergent path forward. News articles at the time emphasized campus insulation, separatism, fear that the dominant partner would take over, and each institution's

preference for non-merger, perhaps foretelling the likely direction of these processes (Jansen, 2000, Jones, 2001, Mboyane, 2001 & Meintjies 2002).

In late 2003, the official outcome of the proposals and the final incorporations and mergers were tabled to Cabinet by the Minister of Education. Although, a lengthy explanation was provided, only the tangible outcome as it affected NVU is cited here:

> [HBU] should be retained as a separate institution, incorporating the [satellite] campus of [NVU]…
>
> [NVU] should be retained as a separate institution… (Asmal, 2002: 11-12).

The Ministry's proposals were not all that different from those proposed by the NWG, with the major exception that NVU was no longer a part of the merged university but was retained as a separate institution. The rationale provided for the final decision, was about the other HEIs rather than NVU. It was stated that the other HEI's identity and legacy needed to be maintained and that this could best be achieved through maintaining its independence. However, in order to become viable, it needed to be financially strengthened and to gain an urban presence. Indeed, as much of its student base was from the area where NVU had a satellite campus, the modified proposal seemed most practical (Asmal, 2002: 14 -15). In this regard, the vocal and public opposition to the CHE's and NWG's proposals led to a form of restructuring that was certainly more palatable to each of the original universities concerned.

As a result, NVU ended up being a lot less impacted by the state restructuring process of the 2000s than might have been the case. Only its satellite campus was incorporated under another HEI.

As in all merger cases, the Higher Education Act and the Labour Relations Act (s 197) applied to staff. In this regard, the Higher Education Amendment Act (63 of 2002) specified:

> the contracts of employment between the old employer [i.e. NVU] and its employees are transferred automatically to the new employer [i.e. HBU] as from 1 January 2004. Any subsequent redeployment of an employee as a consequence of the merger is subject to applicable labour legislation;
>
> all the rights and obligations between the old employer [i.e. NVU] and its employees at the time of the incorporation continue in force as if they were rights and obligations between the new employer and each employee and anything done before the incorporation by or in relation to the old employer is considered to have been done by or in relation to the new employer;
>
> the incorporation does not interrupt the employee's continuity of employment (Government Gazette, 2003: 25737, no 1692 & DoE, 2002: s21 & s23).

### *7.1.2. HEIs' reaction to the proposals*

The CHE and NWG reports were opposed by all universities that would be affected, by this proposed merger. Each claimed their independent histories, cultures, efforts to guarantee institutional survival, and distance between them as reasons for keeping their independence (Jones, 2001a: 2 & Jones, 2001b: 11). HBI stakeholders strongly criticized the NWG report for being "an unjust act" seeking to obliterate HBIs, and "out of touch with the government's rural development strategy" (Meintjies, 2002: 2). NVU utilized a different approach. It apparently described the proposals as "sound, reasonable, and well thought out" (Meintjies, 2002: 2). Furthermore, rather than engaging the actual merger proposal per se, NVU's (then) Vice Chancellor utilized the very recognition given to the universities' strengths as the basis for motivating for "two strong institutions with separate focus areas which will better serve the needs of the [province], South Africa and beyond" (Meintjies, 2002: 2).

Between the release of the NWG report and the Minister's proposals sufficient sway was carried such that NVU (with the exception of the satellite campus) was extricated from the merger proposal. This (revised) proposal was officially tabled to Cabinet on the 21 June 2002. The official call for representations was released on the 24 June. Ordinarily, this would be the official period for consultation in which HEIs would put forward their support, objections, and/or suggested revisions to the proposals.

Nonetheless, Carlisle reports (2002a: 1), on 12 June 2002, that the two universities had already concluded a three-week negotiation process agreeing to a 'gradual handover' with NVU still running the satellite campus on an 'agency basis' in 2003 until its final incorporation into the HBU in 2004. Therefore, when Cabinet approved the proposals, in December 2002, both HEIs were already engaged in enacting the pragmatics having "both committed themselves to the already advanced process of incorporating [NVU's satellite] campus into [the HBU]" (Carlisle, 2002b: 2).

### *7.1.3. The aftermath: reflections on what restructuring meant to NVU*

#### 7.1.3.1. Reflections on restructuring across the region and SAHES

As discussed in Chapter 5, NVU's academic staff underwent an 11% decline in annual population growth rate, the year the incorporation took place, with 36 academics leaving, approximately 70% of whom may have then been incorporated into the HBU[186]. By 2005, partially due to the restructuring process and the new funding framework, the HBU was reported to need to undergo a retrenchment[187] exercise that would affect between five and 20% of its staff (Daily Dispatch Reporter, 2005: 2; Siqoko, 2005: 1). It was also alleged that staff incorporated from NVU had complaints about the lack of alignment of their contracts and their conditions of service with those of the HBU (Moodie, 2007: 21).

Reflecting on the overall restructuring process, NVU's Vice Chancellor, at the time, had the following to say:

> We approached the process with an open mind and in a spirit of co-operation. But there were certain proposals on the table which involved merging with other institutions in the [province], resulting in the disappearance of [Nxele Valley] University and our internationally recognized brand…it is very unlikely that …for example, the University of ** would have the same pulling power…
>
> We were extremely sorry to see our [satellite] campus go…Giving them our [satellite] campus is [NVU's] contribution to [the] transformation of higher education in the [province] as part of the reconstruction and merger process.
>
> I regret it, but there was nothing we could do to prevent it. It was a fait accompli. Now we must all move on.
>
> We may have lost an important part of our community, but we have retained our brand and now that we have gone through the transformation process we can concentrate on the future (VC in Swift & Van Tonder, 2004: 15).

During the fieldwork, the state-directed restructuring was found to be much less part of the collective conscience and institutional discourse than it had been at RBU (See Chapter 6). It only surfaced in a few interviews, in three main ways:

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[186] As per own calculations, as derived from Hemis data.
[187] Retrenchment is used here, although technically this was dismissals for operational reasons as per s189 of the Labour Relations Act (66 of 1995).

Firstly, in faculties that had previously had a significant presence on the satellite campus. These, therefore, had appreciably felt the impact of the loss of the campus, infrastructure, programmes, staff and students.

Secondly, at a more generalized level where participants spoke of restructuring within the province, and throughout the country, in general, as they perceived it and had sometimes experienced it.

Thirdly, retrospectively in terms of what it meant for NVU particularly now, down the line, where it found itself 'behind' other institutions on the *Transformation* front. There was additional discussion about internal-generated restructuring, which is briefly discussed as it resembles some of the changes that occurred elsewhere and accompanied the larger restructuring exercise.

An example of how NVU was directly impacted by the state restructuring process is detailed below:

> At that stage, we were offering… a four-year B.Ed Undergraduate and so that moved down to [the satellite campus]. When the restructuring of higher education took place…we lost the [satellite campus] or we didn't lose it, but they merged with [the HBU] which made sense because [the two campuses] were closer and so on. So, we lost our Primary programme, that Pre-service programme, and we had an agreement that we wouldn't re-introduce it because we'd be in direct competition. I think there was a moratorium for… four or five years. We have subsequently re-introduced it but at the PGCE level, so we [are] not directly in competition with [the HBU]. So yes, we did lose part of the Faculty but it didn't really impact on the … Department [located here].
>
> …One of the reasons why we had brought [the Programme] back is that…we [were] not serving a certain sector of schooling and we wanted to be able to offer Teacher Professional Development for the entire range of formal schooling… that's why we were excited when we did re-introduce… If we were given the resources, we are debating, at the moment, whether we should be motivating as a Faculty…for re-introducing a B.Ed Degree at [NVU] (0201: FwnSD)[188].

In this respect, the incorporation had a direct bearing on the actual programme offerings, as well as the integrity of the education curriculum as a whole. Therefore, despite not undergoing a merger, NVU was still affected by restructuring-related decisions. Another participant, from

[188] For continuity, the same interviewee coding process is used across Chapters 6 and 7. Therefore, FwnSD is for a faculty with no skills designation, for example Humanities and Education; FwSCS is for a faculty with scarce and critical skills, for example Commerce, Health Science, Law, and Science faculties; and NFL refers to a participant not located in a faculty.

some distance, reflected on the broader significance of the incorporation, using and building on a framework of multiple levels of loss:

> In the process… [NVU] lost an entire campus ... which is now part of [the HBU] and that did us quite a lot of violence because … most of what we lost there was the Educational Faculty which was dealing with quite a lot of Black teachers, so it didn't do our [demographic] statistics any, great, good.
>
> Are they better off being associated with [the HBU]? Well, they certainly lost access to our legacy… and maybe that wasn't a good thing, there's not a very subtle way of putting that…That might not have been an entirely constructive thing to have done, to either of the institutions, or to the people who were involved actually (0243: FwSCS).

The *Transformational* value of the restructuring decision was thus questioned, from a deficit perspective, without crediting any affirming value to the incorporation or the other HEI partner. Furthermore, the perception of regression in terms of equity statistics is conceived of as 'violence' in and of itself. In the context of the quote as a whole, this has a *double entendre* that illustrates both a sense of empathy and a complex notion of victimhood in which NVU occupies centre stage. As was shown in Chapter 5, although a large proportion of women academics were part of those affected by the incorporation, the impact on Black academics appeared to have been minimal; thereby raising further complexity.

The participant further reflects on the national and regional implications the restructuring programme had on staffing with the creation of multi-campus institutions:

> [An HEI] is sitting with three campuses … which must make life quite difficult, I know some of the lecturers commute … [over one hour and half, each way, daily], in fact as far as I understand it, extremely few lecturers actually live [on site]. I know several who commute from [here] every day which is a hundred and something kilometres.
>
> [Another HEI] has four campuses … and I know that those lecturers also have to … translocate, I don't think they actually commute but they do translocate quite regularly to produce courses. I suppose some of that, at least, was about trying to bring the courses to the people … [but there are] some serious structural constraints around the logistics of universities. I'm not sure what the right answer is to that.
>
> We've got so many problems at [another HEI] because they've got campuses all over the show. I'm not sure that they have to actually relocate for lectures though, I could be wrong about that but I think they've got over that. But then, you know, if they are staffed independently, then why not just have more universities?
>
> What I'm going to say is that, it's crossed my mind, at any rate that we have probably filled the universities we have and that we need to start some new ones. That would certainly create some jobs … although having said that, of course, not that many, I think [some HEIs] have three hundred academics, so it's not a huge source of employment (0243: FwSCS).

The burden of restructuring is understood to be borne by staff, and possibly students, in complex ways that may not necessarily have been fully appreciated ahead of implementation. The state rationalization process has essentially externalized various costs to individuals, as it

appears concomitant infrastructural development has not necessarily accompanied the changes in the higher education sector.

Discussion of restructuring also arose in interviews with some participants who had themselves been based at the [satellite] campus and who had made a conscious decision, usually some years afterwards, to apply for a job in order to return to NVU:

> 0232: [then Nxele Valley] University in … [at the satellite campus] and then here in 2006…
>
> KL: … I'm assuming there was a…department here and one at [the satellite campus] and when… [it] moved [to the HBU] did that get incorporated…?
>
> 0232: Ja, …lock, stock, and barrel, you know [laughing] they, typewriters, and the people, at the same time … [motions gathering movement]. I was [then] a [HBU] staff member, for about two and a half years, before I came here (0232: FwnSD).

Some participants discussed restructuring at other institutions, that they had either been a part of or had known of. In several of these instances, the restructuring process had become imbued with racialized meanings that left participants sceptical of its merits. Two examples serve to illustrate these points:

> The merger was proving to be a source of great frustration … academic freedom [and] I think intellectual honesty was stifled… It's quite difficult to articulate this because, generally, it was quite blatant in the way that so-called White Professors were labelled as *reactionary* and *reductionist* and we were *obstacles to change,* which I actually don't believe was the case at all.

In contrast, the same participant says of NVU:

> I'm very *passionate* about this University, I've got a great *love* for this University…So it was a very easy decision to come back here, and for me it's really…what the university is about and …I really believe *passionately* that the Vice Chancellor *defends* academic freedom, he *defends* critical thought…and that's really consistent with my own thinking (0241: FwSCS).

Whilst academic freedom is undoubtedly a cherished value, the absence of the underlying politics associated with restructuring, likely contributed to the participant's relief. Nonetheless, such polarity was a feature that often characterised the way participants spoke of NMIs (New and Merged Institutions), and those that remained unmerged. Furthermore, equity and excellence are beginning to be pitted against each other here. Another participant questioned the impact restructuring has had on macro institutional standing. They did this by drawing particularly on dominant discourses that equate equity of access to a free-for-all. This is cited here as it again demonstrates the polarity evident in much institutional discourse.

> A relatively superficial answer to that is 'just look at the universities in South Africa. The ones that are very representative of the community…they are not top rank'. I wouldn't say they are doing badly, but

> they are not doing as well as the ones that are not representative. And, of course, the answer to that, very quickly, is 'yes, but there is a bi-legacy'… um … 'yes, perhaps, it is'…
>
> Then, we have institutions like the University of KwaZulu-Natal which arose out of amalgamating all sorts of legacies … I don't know where that's placed them, hard to tell, it hasn't really moved them … up in the ranks…very difficult to measure that one… (0243: FwSCS).

These examples show that there were institutional discourses at the ready to explain for why NVU was a refuge from restructuring. These included appraisals of what NVU was believed to be, which included: a safe-haven, a place of freedom, autonomy, excellence, and achievement. This was in contrast to the external space, characterized by instability, insecurity, and the affronting challenges of loss, equity, and representivity; as well as questions, if not assumptions, of depreciation. For the most part, therefore, these acted to further entrench a defence of NVU's decision to have kept itself out of the restructuring 'debacle'.

There was, however, growing reflection within NVU around the double-edged nature of this 'protectionism'. In the two quotes below, the participants openly grapple with these issues. Whilst they may have different opinions as to where the institution should or could be located, they do demonstrate critical reflection on NVU's own positionality:

> The new Vice Chancellor has challenged a lot of people…his approach tends to be to ask difficult questions and just to keep asking the question. So, there have been some questions inserted into the institutional discourse which have forced people to think. I think that's had a knock-on effect on the institutional culture.
>
> One of the things that he said was "you pride yourself on having some of the best success rates in the country, but would you have the same success rates if you had different students?"
>
> [NVU] hasn't largely… for example, at Wits, the student population matches the demographics more or less of the greater region, we don't do that in any way. We still tend to draw on an elite student body, so that question is really important. 'Do you have the success because you're teaching an elite?' And yes, that question, it does make people think … Although our student population has become more Black and more South African Black…but we tend to have middle class Black South African students … and you know, that's not representative of the [province], or of the country as a whole so we are protected in many respects by the sort of students we can recruit and we choose to recruit, so…
>
> In the acknowledgement of the fact that we have to recruit more students to start off with from where we are, ... I don't even think ** [township] students… make up even 0.5% of [NVU's] intake… So, we're beginning to want to send the people who do recruitment to the rural …schools, to broaden who are our feeder schools are… We're wanting to acknowledge that will mean students that require more support and we're beginning to ask the question 'and how do we do that?' So, in many respects things are just, we're just at the beginning (0215: NFL).

A second participant carries on the discussion, highlighting more specifically how NVU's positionality, institutionally and regionally, has brought specific strengths and challenges:

I mean the student demographics… It's something like 55% Black, I think. So, it's very well integrated and we are very proud of ourselves, in the extent of the diversity …Where we have a wide cross section of representation of race, gender, I think it's about 60 or more percent female…75 or 80% South African and about 20% who are not South African, and, 18 or 19 of that 20 will be African. Then quite a fair sprinkling of students from the Americas, Asia and Europe as well. So, it's quite a nice international flavour…

Where, there is a difficulty in the student population…We under-represent… that level, students from an educationally disadvantaged background. Admission criteria are relatively high at [NVU], that's one of the reasons, another reason, a very important reason, I think is that unlike nearly every other historically advantaged university in South Africa, [NVU] has the kind of privilege…of not being called upon to the same extent as [RBU, for example] to provide tertiary educational services, if you like, to people from socio-economic disadvantaged backgrounds, or educationally disadvantaged backgrounds. So, we've escaped, if you like the 'massification' of education, which I think, that's happening in this country….

Those universities have a very important role to play and I think, I hope you understand my point here. I am not trying to say that … we're at an advantage at [NVU] of not having to provide that kind of service, but it is being provided for elsewhere.

That does not mean that we can't, or that we should not be responding to the needs of students from disadvantaged backgrounds. *Absolutely* we must, we must, make every effort to ensure, that we are available to such students and there is no way we can become privileged. Never mind, we were previously White, now socio-economically advantaged and educationally advantaged…As an educational community, we can't just be that.

I don't want to labour this point too much, but because there are other places for those students from those backgrounds to go, there's less pressure on us to take it on, that's what I'm really trying to say.

So, it enables us to keep … numbers to a reasonable level and to be able to take students from those backgrounds, who are strong academically.

…Because what I think tends to happen is if one has a very high percentage of students who come from disadvantaged backgrounds, then to put it bluntly, I think that in my view, and I think this is probably a very un-PC thing to say, but what tends to land up happening is that, and I'm searching for the right word here, … standards tend to drop. I know that's a very controversial term, but there are better words to use and more politically correct words than standards, I'm sure, but I cannot think of it.

We certainly see it, we interact a lot with other universities through external examinations, and so on and so forth. …One of our best students ever produced…he's at Oxford now and he never dropped a first while he was here. Well, he got his first at Oxford, but first at Oxford is 70, so a 70 at Oxford is probably an 80 or a 90 here. Whereas you know, … at another university it might be much less (0249: FwSCS).

These participants demonstrate acknowledgement, and some degree of unease, with the retention of elitism at NVU. This is understood to be partially due to NVU neither having been through a merger process or subject to massification[189]. Although these quotes speak largely to

[189] Participants observed this as contextual detail (rather than something they would recommend).

student issues, they have been brought in here because they provide a useful contextualization for later debates around staff equity and institutional culture, with respect to how institutional insiders see NVU and grapple with their contradictory location. These also reflect NVU's entrance into debates that have been relatively longstanding at a number of other HEIs across the country.

7.1.3.2. Reflections on restructuring within NVU

A few participants spoke of internal restructuring that occurred within NVU. This was mostly spoken of as a project of the (then) past five years (2006-2011) and was noted to be ongoing. At the time of the research (2011), this was being undertaken within the support services divisions. However, the consultation, application, and ramification/s were institution-wide and had a direct bearing on the work of academics. As mentioned at the outset, elsewhere, much of these institutional and infrastructural upgrades accompanied the national project of restructuring:

> At the same time, the Divisions also very recently have undergone a huge restructuring that required us for quite a while to kind of hold onto our vacant posts, which really impacted our capacity. At the same time, we also moved to new Information Systems. So, the last…year to eighteen months has been quite an upheaval internally as we kind of reposition ourselves.
>
> At the beginning of 2009, we identified this kind of notion that we wanted to position ourselves as an 'Employer of Choice' so for us, a very big philosophy that underpins that is one of partnership.
>
> So, we talk about developing a partnership with our staff, with the multiple stakeholders. We don't want to enter into a paternalistic relationship but we want to be in partnership.
>
> So that we [are] making deliberate choices of our own staff and our staff are making deliberate choices about being at [NVU] (0218: NFL).

Much of this exercise was framed as ensuring organizational transparency and accountability. This was done through updating institutional processes and systems. It was reported that it aimed to ensure everyone was fully aware and best represented the 'vision' of the institution. A participant reflects on the NVU's prior state:

> …things weren't documented; there were very few policies on processes that governed things… I spent a lot of time working…on making sure that people knew how things work…trying to move to a space where staff feel that they are treated more equally. That they know how decisions are made. That every decision… is made on a principle[d] basis. That we drive consistency in how we do things. So, I spent a lot of time…doing that and getting the policies in place that haven't been there… (0218: NFL).

The list of policies that (then) required formalization and/or updating to the current context included, amongst others, those pertaining to: Recruitment and Selection, Remuneration,

Promotion, Equity, Staff Development, Leave, Ill Health, and the Eradication of Discrimination, Unfair Discrimination, and Harassment (0218: NFL). This provided NVU with an opportunity to overhaul not only its human resources procedures, but also its governance. In total, NVU spent between five and eight years on this process. This culminated in both internal and external transparency and accountability. This brought NVU both up to date with internal stakeholders' needs and demands, as well as sectoral and national requirements. The posting of policies and key information for different categories of staff on NVU's institutional website was one key outcome of these processes. It aimed to give effect to transparency and therefore accountability, that before had been felt to be opaque.

Participants also noted some changes to the organizational structure within the support services, the administrative sector, and the top structures of the University. The latter were articulated as "management" rather than "managerialist" changes[190]. One such example provided was of NVU's oversight of its research functions:

> It's a fairly new structure at [NVU]. There used to be the Dean of Research. In restructuring, with the new Vice Chancellor in 2006, they created the post of Deputy Vice Chancellor in Research and Development, and the second Deputy Vice Chancellor Academic (0245: NFL).

These brought NVU's executive management structures in line with those at other universities nationwide. It also enabled, for example, in the case of research, for a Research Office with its own director and additional requisite staff to also be appointed. Much of the expansion of institutional governance was explained as context-dependent:

> …I think what's happened in the last couple of years is the actual research funding has doubled and trebled in certain areas (0245: NFL).

This again though, was reflective of both internal and external factors. Nonetheless, particularly distinctive to NVU was that it retained much of the collegial model. Participants noted that not only was this was institutional practice, that had the full and active support of the institution's top leadership, but they also resisted the 'the creep of managerialism' that had often defined other HEIs:

[190] It is also worth noting that NVU has its own particular institutional definition of 'managerialism' specified within its 'Conditions of Service for the Deans of Faculties'. It considers this to be antithetical to the academic project (NVU, 2013: 4/5).

> [NVU] has really tried to ensure that the notion of collegiality and the kind of, I suppose, sanctity of the Faculty and the Senate is upheld, and certainly our Vice Chancellor [has maintained that] we don't have Executive Deans…that, to date, has been a very deliberate strategy…to make sure that we…[run] efficient[ly] without the dangers of managerialism.
>
> …Our…non-Executive Deans, they're still elected by their Faculties. Our Heads of Department are still elected …The collegiality by and large works but it's not without its limitations, or its own challenges.
>
> … [There is] a lot of input by our academics [so] that they also feel empowered within the environment, and there are lots of spaces for people to get involved and to make a difference… (0218: NFL).

Unlike most other universities, NVU retained the practice where its three smaller faculties were headed by Deans who only have part-time posts and still maintain their academic roles and duties. In comparison, the Deans of the three larger faculties have full time, administrative posts and do not concurrently maintain their academic roles and duties. Further, particular to NVU, the conceptualization of 'Dean' is such that all are peer-elected for a period of five years, renewable upon re-election, and have specific academic duties specified in their conditions of service.

In numerous interviews, participants spoke of the (then) Vice Chancellor's leadership approach. Participants, spoke, overwhelmingly positively of his hands-on-leadership, collegiality, and democratic approach. However, several acknowledged the challenges this posed, particularly for decision-making:

> Our strength is in some sense, also our downfall in that the collegial kind of participatory debating approach means that often things take, often decisions or… getting things going is a hell of a long process. Decisions take forever so sometimes you can feel like you're stuck in concrete; but having worked for a short while at [the HBU that incorporated NVU's satellite campus] which is ironic, given its history, it is…, an incredibly top dog managerialistic approach… severely so, where you feel like you are teaching in high school.
>
> I think that the sort of ethos at [NVU] is certainly one that is much more accommodating. So, despite the kind of weaknesses around that model. It is, I think, more accommodating in some ways of … a range of ways of being…
>
> There will be people that argue that the kind of liberalness I suppose hides or masks their particular … norm as such … and that norm then becomes insidious and not easily identified and not easily challenged as such (0232: FwnSD).

Interestingly, the criticism that the Vice Chancellor should take a more assertive approach to decision-making was in fact raised by several senior professors and often in respect to the enforcement of the *Transformation* agenda.

Thus, with respect to academic functioning, NVU was able to update a number of its organizational processes, whilst maintaining academic control over key decision-making

structures and processes. Various systems where updated latterly and under various external pressures. NVU policy, for example, bears NVU's distinctive content, texture, style and tone. Hence, organizationally, it has some features, and has resisted others, characteristic of post-apartheid and twenty-first century higher education bureaucracies; that elsewhere have been a result of, or have at least accompanied, macro restructuring.

In the discussion of restructuring specifically of administrative posts, a number of procedural elements were questioned, including the need for staff to re-apply for jobs, the use of psychometric tests, and how these intersected with both employment equity and racialized meanings and understandings. The following quote explains this and also details a response by NVU. This is useful in identifying both problematic areas and the ways in which these have been remedied:

> …the Deputy HR [Human Resources] Director is an organisational development person and she has been restructuring support staff things…so she's been getting rid of all secretaries … who are pretty much the administrators in core secretarial areas and she's been recruiting new people in. There's been rumblings about that and unfairness and all that kind of thing… it's been quite bad…
>
> What's happened is now previously the, the old hall secretaries, hall administrators [who were in charge of several student residences] because they would do all that stuff, they knew what were they were doing but with this whole equity move and this whole development thing… We did… psychometric tests on them and literally they were reapplying for their jobs and some of them took offence to this because they thought that they were being replaced by other colours.
>
> …The turnover has been a little bit high lately simply because people have realized, well I have been appointed but now I can't cope and I don't think that's fair for them.
>
> The [Equity Committee] is pretty much there to [ensure fairness] in terms of selection, in terms of recruitment, in terms of development…because of the hall administrative drama that happened because people were saying, "it's unfair, you can't do this" and the psychometrics that were used were put under scrutiny by the committee… They said, "well one of the questions says 'I like ballet', what if you come from a background that you don't know what ballet is?" It was little things like that. So, the committee is pretty much there to make sure that the institution is being culturally fair…in the broad sense (0205: FwnSD).

This example shows how racialization is embedded and infiltrates change processes. Furthermore, how in the case of administrative restructuring how a lack of communication and participation in the process put both prior and current incumbents in a disadvantaged position. It also shows how 'objective tests' and on the job learning are core issues of concern and contestation when it comes to job placement and employment equity.

In contrast, an example of academic restructuring is cited to illustrate another form of internal restructuring with a very different level of autonomy and control. Here, a participant spoke of

the amalgamation of two former disciplines and the implications for teaching and learning as well as for staff recruitment:

> 0248: The two were physically and administratively separate, and there was at one stage a merger of sorts. There was a long debate about the name, it was a very academic debate, and that's what we've come up with.
>
> The coherence is achieved particularly at the postgraduate level, where we allow students to choose and mix their courses. So, we do not insist on a strict delineation between sub-disciplines, or disciplines if you want to go that route of calling international relations [IR] and political studies different disciplines. So that's what we have achieved. That's how we have achieved coherence, it's no longer an issue.
>
> But at the undergraduate level we do have dedicated courses to each, at each … year of study … we have a comparative politics section and political philosophy section and IR section and so on.
>
> KL: Right, okay, and then in terms of your staff do they tend to teach in the specific areas that they…?
>
> 0248: Yes, sure … So, in a sense when it gets to… recruiting people, that has to be borne in mind.
>
> We're not just recruiting someone for general politics. We're recruiting someone for political philosophy or to teach comparative politics or to teach international relations or to teach African politics or something in addition to all of that. So, it makes it more difficult because, we always have to look for balance.
>
> Of course, it also relates to supervision because all our students want to be supervised in all those areas. So, we always have to be very mindful of striking a balance when we recruit and so we may have an ideal HD [historically disadvantaged] candidate, but that candidate may simply not fit the bill, of what we need at that point in time (0248: FwnSD).

Here, the pedagogical and curriculum processes related to restructuring were evidently fleshed out and agreed on by the academics concerned. There is some autonomy for students and staff as a result. However, the emergent curriculum intersectionality may present additional implications that may prove to be a limitation, especially for those external to the NVU system. Despite this, the account presented of the process of restructuring at the departmental level, is quite different (both positive and cohesive) from those presented, for example at RBU.

Lastly, there was also some discussion about what restructuring as amalgamation meant for various internal and national constituencies such as the staff unions. At both of these levels, de/racialization was a predominant theme that arose out of and was one of the core objectives motivating restructuring. A participant spoke of the key issues NTEU[191], in particular, faced:

[191] National Tertiary Education Union

> It's an issue that the Union is going to [address] nationally… The union hasn't yet developed a national identity and it's going to be very tricky. It's an amalgamation of two unions which have very different histories, look I think it was a good thing, I never opposed the merger but it's, I think over time the, those issues will go away as the membership changes….
>
> It's one of the things that worries me here at [NVU] … it sounds awful because it goes against everything I believe… because I kind of believe that if you are good, people will come and join, but we kind of bend over backwards to get Black members onto the executive and we still remain very White.
>
> And there's definitely a perception, certainly amongst NEHAWU[192], that NTEU is a White union. It's going to take a hell of a lot of work, well, on the one hand work and on the other time… but I don't want to fall into that trap that we've done with equity until now, but things will come right.
>
> I mean it's something that we're going to have to deal with and … I don't think we're dealing with it strongly enough. … but it's difficult… as I said we've been doing it on the exec at [NVU] with limited success. It's very difficult to get anybody to stand on the executive of the Union but it's even more difficult at the moment, to get equity people to stand on the exec, but it's something that we're going to have to tackle far more strongly than we have been (0251: FwnSD).

This theme has shown, that for the most part, NVU has experienced restructuring in two predominant ways. Firstly, in a very limited but direct manner in which its satellite campus was incorporated into one of the regional HBU's as a part of the national restructuring process. This affected predominantly one faculty, in terms of staff, curriculum, and pedagogy whilst a few staff from other faculties were also affected. As per the Vice Chancellor's statement of the time, NVU understood this to be its *Transformation* contribution and took solace in its isolation from the broader changes occurring within SAHES. Subsequently, though, it has begun to critically reflect on the drawbacks of these isolationist tendencies.

Secondly, NVU has undergone a range of internal restructuring, largely self-managed, even if sometimes, externally prompted by the sector and the state. NVU has maintained participatory processes often lost entirely or substituted by consultation, at other institutions. As a result, academic autonomy and control over decision-making appears more akin to the collegial model. It has updated some of the essential policies, processes, and procedures of its organizational format to make it locally, nationally, and globally more relevant. It has nonetheless, done so without forfeiting its distinctive identity, governance, and participation models which continue to place academic autonomy and collegiality at the core. Therefore, it

[192] National Education and Health Allied Workers Union

has found a way to undergo just enough restructuring as required, under its own terms, conditions, pace, and with an end result of its own making.

## 7.2. Employment equity (EE)

### *7.2.1. Delineating equity*

Participants by and large considered both race and gender when engaging the topic of employment equity (EE). This is likely due to the fact that NVU's academic staff are overwhelmingly demographically White and male (See Chapter 5). Therefore, addressing equity on both fronts was a key concern. NVU had an array of gender activists who were institutionally well placed to ensure that gender-concerns, particularly the empowerment of women was put on the agenda. At the time of research, there had been a renewed emphasis within NVU to prioritise the de-racialisation of academic labour.

'Equity' per se was still most commonly used as short hand for 'race-based change' and most typically the hiring of Black academics. Due to NVUs, historic and contemporary deficit in this regard, there was generally a focus on all South African Black academics rather than an increasing focus on Africanisation as had been seen at some HEIs. NVU was clearly grappling with the demands of the EEA and its own updated EE policy to action such. Across NVU, academics used a variety of terms to speak about racial categories, equity beneficiaries, and non-designated groups [193] . At times, these reflected a critical reflection and active deconstruction.

However, most often this reflected either an unease with how concepts can be used and/or an institutional culture in which racial contestation and disruption was not necessarily common

[193] Some of the descriptors used to refer to race, racialized identities, and/or EEA beneficiaries (included Whiteys, Pinkeys, Brown and Black for African, as well as the categories White, African, Coloured and Indian as used in the EEA; Historically Disadvantaged, Previously Disadvantaged, technically…, and non-White to refer to Black people) and gender (men, women, LGBT people, womyn, lasses, and gender Nazis to refer to people of varying sexual and gender orientations and/or political persuasions).

place. Thus, awareness and sensitivities around the significance of terminology appeared not to be finely tuned. The same applied to the use of gender categories, except that there was a little more pointed derogatory use of particular labels to describe some gender activists on the campus. Disability concerns were also raised but were very much muted in comparison to race and gender-based equity (which will be the focus of this discussion).

### *7.2.2. In pursuit of equity*

#### 7.2.2.1. A broad contextual sketch

Academics with more of an oversight role (for example, Deans and Heads of Departments) as well academics at the chalk face often spoke of departments, across a range of faculties, where particularly Black and/or women academics were either the only one or one of a very distinct minority. Participants spoke of various strategies to change the demographic composition of academic staffing and the challenges experienced, in the process.

An example from a very candid participant described the macro situation across a faculty where, whilst the situation was exacerbated, highlighted universal issues:

> We have it bad, no matter how you look at it…in the Faculty of Science of nearly 100 staff, we have…8% ... so we have eight staff who are strictly South African, designated groups, excluding White women. We [then] have 22 White women. So, we're about…30% of our staff are from designated groups [only]… [Of] the eight who are Black [that is African], Coloured, and Indian… probably half are permanent and half are on Accelerated Development three year posts, which will become…permanent, so we will find a place for them. So…it actually sounds, it sounds terrible, but those are the numbers, it's eight and 22 giving 30% in total, we really struggle (0212: FwSCS).

Most participants spoke of an institutional 'upping of the ante' with regard to EE. This included the need for the institution in general as well as their specific departments to do more, think more seriously and more deeply about how they go about pursuing EE (0201, 0202, 0207, 0209 & 0211). This ranged from internal departmental discussions, department and faculty-wide planning, institution-wide imbizos, committee meetings with the Department of Labour to the deliberate use of strategy and tactics in the recruitment and retention of Black academic staff.

Participants were very open and frank about NVU's history, the reasons for the (then) current EE drive, how things were changing, and where both internal and external resistance was met.

> [NVU] is under huge pressure because the Department of Labour has found us to be 'not in compliance'. At the last meeting we had with them, the Unions were obviously there, and I mean it was very obvious that they were out to screw [NVU]. The people that were there, and they were hitting us sometimes with really, really ridiculous things but we don't have a leg to stand on because we've been so bad at equity.
>
> [NVU] has had policy for ages, they've been rather skimpy. The new one is fairly detailed and laid down but we've had these things which masquerade as equity plans for ages, and there's always been this thing of … 'well, we'll appoint the best person for [NVU], and the best person for [NVU] has usually turned out to be a White man or a White woman' …
>
> When I, when I first sat on selection committees, they would kind of work out these strategies, okay 'I know four Black *Academics I'll ask them to apply and dah, dah, dah, dah*' and we do that and then no Black people would apply and so we would carry on regardless you know (0251: FwnSD).

In comparison, two participants reflect on the changes that have occurred of late:

> They have now got quite good at… one, they are advertising in papers. They are not only advertising in Mail & Guardian and Sunday Times anymore, they are advertising in City Press and so on. They are also using… placement firms, whatever you call them, headhunting firms where they have… the knowledge. Unless there are equity candidates for the post, it won't go to interview … and, HR … is kind of firm on that and they won't give on that … rightly so (0251: FwnSD).
>
> We are now actually at the stage where we are explicitly giving preference to people from designated groups where we have to re-advertise positions if we don't short list anyone from equity groups … I'm sure, this has been a bit slow to come into effect, … so I think with this policy being now stepped up our progress will probably increase a bit (0246: FwSCS).

Even though participants seemed to be in agreement that there was a recent / renewed focus and commitment to EE, at least three different approaches appeared to be utilized in practice. One, whereby all else being equal, the position would go to the designated (EE) candidate. A second, where as long as the minimum requirements were met, the position would be offered to the designated candidate, even if the other candidate was better. A third, which was less specific but where there was a commitment to making an equity appointment regardless. These examples illustrate these broad positions:

> Most advertisements say things like, 'people from designated groups will be favoured or encouraged' and of course, when we do interviews…we always look first at those people that we have a shortage of. So, if we are making a decision with two people of equal qualifications and experience and one is a Black person and one is a White person, we *always* first take the Black person. If one is a man, one is a woman we always take the woman, so we are taking a fairly *hard* affirmative action line (0202: FwSCS).
>
> We're bound by the Labour Law, so if they apply and meet the minimum requirements, they're short listed, and if after an interview and seminar they still meet the minimum requirements, they have to be offered the job. So, I don't have any problems with that at all (0212: FwSCS).
>
> I sat on one of the selection panels, last year…and the idea was that 'no, we're going to fill it with an EE candidate and nothing else'. There were other candidates that…maybe would fit better, but the Department was adamant, 'no this is the way the University wants to go'…and again we always get told by HR, we get equity profiles so it becomes a race thing … so that grates me (0205: FwnSD).

From these examples, it is evident that in practice, there are various interpretations of NVU's policy. A number of participants explained at length how they felt about these various positions. It was also evident that within NVU there had been extensive debates and discussions about these issues. These unfold in sections 7.2.2.2 and 7.2.5).

Participants further spoke of several interim arrangements that departments had put in place to maximize equity recruitment opportunities. Two examples are cited below:

> Whilst [NVU] several years ago committed itself to the equity plan, it has never practically implemented targets. We now have a four or five-year targeted equity plan and so that's another requirement to demonstrate that we are addressing issues of transformation and equity… Our response [was] to say look, if we don't find someone, we won't appoint someone who's non-designated on tenure and then that gives us a chance in three years' time to go hunting again for a designated placement (0231: FwnSD).

In addition,

> Our department has quite strong equity plans in place. our Head of Department is retiring at the end of next year and we are splitting his Professor's post… We're splitting it into two posts and we will make equity appointments, they will be Black women (0251, FwnSD).

As part of the ongoing efforts to de-racialize academic labour, many departments had benefited from Accelerated Development Posts (ADP) in which an array of support was provided for Black academics to pursue post-graduate qualifications in order to remain in academia, and ideally at NVU. These various interventions are discussed at length in section 7.2.4.

### 7.2.2.2. Recruitment challenges

Participants collectively attributed not receiving at all, or receiving inappropriate applications from equity beneficiaries as a major constraint. There were a range of reasons provided including challenges perceived as candidate and societal constraints, and those perceived to originate within the academic profession itself, some of which were specific to NVU.

Participants often provided quantitative examples, from recent experience, to back up their claims that there was a dearth of Black job applicants:

> We have 52 applications and we struggled to shortlist two Black South Africans … and our equity plan requires us to find a Black South African, so it could be that we will have to re-advertise (0215: NFL).

> It's really hard to find … the technical word is Black, I mean it's hard to find non-White Entomologists … we have just… screened for a job and we shortlisted … two people, one was White and one was Coloured and both of them were women out of 22 applications, of which approximately half were from overseas. I think it was something like 12 or 13 out of the 22. Several of the applicants did not have their

> PhD's already which was a drawback [as this was a] job requirement… but overwhelmingly mostly [applicants] were White (0243: FwSCS).

> If they apply and meet the minimum requirements, they're short listed…It's *getting* the members of designated groups to apply and I think we do *really* struggle there. We advertised two posts in Mathematics, one junior, one senior, Lecturer and Associate Professor, and not one application from a member of the designated group…We're interviewing…for a post in the Botany Department, we've advertised from Professor all the way down to Lecturer level and we had two applicants in [the] designated groups and about 13 from…people not from designated groups and a lot of foreigners in there as well, and you know, it's just very difficult… (0212: FwSCS).

It was explained that applications received, from designated groups, often did not meet the minimum requirements. At one level, there were numerous cases where this was objectively stated as, depending on faculty, applicants not meeting the qualification requirements of either a masters or doctoral degree. For example,

> In terms of the racial mix, we still have a long way to go and it is one of our strategic imperatives to change. We are actively trying to canvas suitable candidates to apply for posts but to be perfectly honest we are struggling…We've often had people apply that just don't have the minimum requirements. You've got to have a Master's Degree to come in at the level of Lecturer. We've had a lot of interestingly enough people from across the border applying, a lot of Zimbabweans…because of our student body we draw from all over Africa. We've had really strong candidates but that doesn't really help in terms of our own equity profile of having Black South Africans on our staff (0201: FwnSD).

However, participants and NVU as a whole, had begun to have critical conversations about their expectations for various academic jobs, and the location of differently positioned candidates within these set of assumptions and expectations. The quotations below flag a few of the key issues that were raised about NVU as is and as it could be:

> My experience of selection committees in general, we either wind up extremely short of transformation candidates or the ones that we do get are just not competitive … and that often leads to horrible situations where you may have a less competitive transformation candidate up against … very strong academics who are just not transformation candidates; and it leaves you with a very difficult choice that not everyone agrees on …

> Some people feel that this is an academic institution and the academic values are the thing that should matter … and that therefore, the most qualified, most productive, and creative Scientist is the person that one should hire in a science department. Science is very research orientated … and that's usually where the thing blows up because the Transformation Guideline is that the candidate only has to be appointable. In other words, they need to fulfil the requirements of the job description. They don't have to be the absolute best in the field … and that's where the problem starts.

> Some people feel, you're going to figure out exactly where I stand in this debate, which is I'm in favour of transformation because in the long term it's actually what's going to keep the institution … viable; but some people feel that we need to be internationally competitive and that any move towards transformation is inevitably a sacrifice of academic… standard, is not quite the right word, academic, achievement (0243: FwSCS).

Another participant elaborates further on what it might mean to think differently in this regard:

> The Vice Chancellor and I have a lot of discussions… if we advertise a post in History, [for a] person with a Master's degree, let's call it a lectureship. If it's a straight lectureship, the person with the Master's degree from, [for example, from] … the University of Limpopo…what sets him or her apart from the Cambridge person with a PhD and maybe three publications in the Journal of African History? In terms of what you are looking for [at] lectureship level, [the] person from the University of Limpopo might be the best person for the job, and that conception hasn't got through at all (0251: FwnSD).

Thus, NVU was grappling with what the employment of equity candidates meant. Participants were interrogating competing discourses that suggested candidates themselves were deficient, and questioning whether NVU needed to consider re-conceptualising its own understandings.

Participants spoke of how received applications did not always fit the advert and thus, the specifications of the actual vacancy they were trying to fill:

> We needed someone at Senior Lecturer or an Associate Professor level…in Financial Management…now as it turns out…two or three of those [applicants] were Black South Africans, two had very good expertise in Marketing but it wasn't [in] Financial Management…
>
> We scoured their CVs to see if there was any prospect that these people could be employed, but the point is that, I have a number of people upstairs in my Management Department who are very *competent* in their area of Marketing that is what we employ them to do. Now under those circumstances, how do you try and make the square peg fit…
>
> The result is that we ended up with a *White South African* woman and a, I must admit almost shame facedly, a Black but non-South African academic…who we're going to be interviewing for the post, simply because they had the expertise in *Financial Management*. Now, you see, those are the sort of complications that we face, ongoing… (0204: FwSCS).

In other instances, participants spoke of having 'lost' specific skills which resulted in ongoing vacancies. In some instances, departments kept trying to fill the particular vacancy; whilst in other cases, the opportunity was used to develop expertise in another area of the curriculum and/or research. Whilst, this was issue was raised as a general skill-related concern, not specifically an equity issue; it is one area, NVU could potentially also think creatively around.

Participants, of a range of racialized experiences, often expressed both a degree of ambiguity and frustration about the current positioning of international Black academics. In particular, frustration was articulated about how both national legislation and resultantly, NVU conceptualized and de/valued Black academics from outside of South Africa. As previous participants had noted this was of particular consternation given NVU's existing staff and student complement:

> We are having terrible trouble getting any kind of, particularly Black South African representation. We do have Black people on staff, but they are not South Africans. I think at the moment we've got one Black South African male, and that's it and the rest of us are all Whiteys, or Black but not South Africans, from the rest of Africa (0202 FwSCS).

> When we listen to conversations maybe in Faculty with regard to transformation, I think something that bothers me *there* and which also happens at the institutional level, is that we do talk about filling quota. A couple of years ago, when I sat on a general kind of university meeting around issues of equity, it was very clear that, you know, [NVU] is falling behind in terms of filling its quota. So, it might have African academics from the rest of Africa, but from South Africa, no. And we were going to start falling short with regard to that because Government was no longer going to consider the other African complement as part of the transformation agenda. And so, I think from the VC down, in terms of the management section of the institution, they've been particularly concerned about filling quota. … your engagement with them starts and ends based on that definition (0242: FwnSD).

> I think everyone understands why we should be favouring *South African[s]* or diversity based on South African staff, but to essentially count … a White male and a Black Zimbabwean equally unimportant or equally important, misses the point really, because I don't serve as a role model for diversity but he certainly does…so yes, that's where we are (0212: FwSCS).

> The other issue that *really* frustrated me on another panel selection [is]… the Government's basic xenophobia about not appointing non-South African's, you know, *truly excellent Black Zimbabweans are screwed over* because the Government doesn't want them. So, in their place potentially we get more White males or White females. If a female goes half way, we get the gender issue sorted out …? [Why can another Black person not count?] To me, that is nonsensical.

> If you want to have … a University that will appeal across the diversity of the student body … *please* be willing to appoint an excellent Zimbabwean or an excellent Malawian or what have you? Somehow, we've managed it, our very famous Scientist is actually a Lesotho citizen… but, you know, all of a sudden, we can't appoint… really good people and consider them … without the nationality creeping in.

> …In other departments, here where we've got Zimbabwean staff, it doesn't [matter] where they are from you know, they have a rapport … with the Black students … and I'm not saying that's right either, I think it's wrong for Black students to preferentially go *huddle* around a Black academic simply because he's Black. It might be a sort of culture issue or where they are most comfortable … but it at least begins to open the doors to encouraging Black South African students into academia. They might look at somebody and say, "well if they can do it, I'm going to be an academic" … "I'm changing my mind, I want a career in academia, this person is my mentor, my icon", and if you don't have those people in place in the first place to catalyse that, it's never going to happen, you know (0237, FwSCS).

As the above excerpts show, participants expressed a range of reactions from contesting what was understood as the reductionist conceptualization of 'Black', the undermining of the role modelling effect international Black academics had for students, and the external undermining of what they appreciated as the intrinsic value of one of their own. As an observation, this refinement/change in policy had a complex effect, particularly within NVU, which was wrestling sometimes sensitively (as above) and sometimes in a perfunctory manner with the fact that international Black academics were no longer positioned as EEA beneficiaries. In section 7.3.2., on institutional culture, the perspective of international Black academics themselves is also be presented. Nonetheless, there was a palpable frustration, that the Black academics that NVU was able to recruit were not considered as EE beneficiaries.

One of the most often cited reasons for why South African Black students and graduates did not pursue academia as a career was that it was perceived as financially unattractive and unviable. This was often a complex challenge to the academic profession, that other professions were perceived not to face. Participants debated whether this was individual's exercising agency by obtaining employment elsewhere or whether social determinants constrained the likelihood that academia could even be an option:

> We are not representative in terms of staff … and it's, it's probably due to the fact that there are not many … young Black graduates in Biochemistry, Biotech who want to be academics. It's not that they are not competent, it's just the salaries are not good and academia is not their choice (0250: FwSCS).

> They are interested but… often circumstances determine otherwise and… certainly with HD students it's in a sense also family pressure and that helps determine that… I don't want to put it crudely, but you go where the money is. If you have a degree from [NVU] and it's sought after in the private sector and in government and if the private sector and government pays where universities don't pay, that's where you go; and it makes, you know, pertinent sense to me.

> You do sometimes have students who want to, all the same, come back. I mean I have a recent case of somebody who went into marketing and, into the advertising industry and, she wants to come back into academia, somehow. I mean you have those exceptions. Also, our most recent junior appointment was working for a research institute who was interested in her. She could have obtained a position with them being paid considerably more but she chose to come here because she's passionate about academia. You do get those exceptions. We're very thankful that they exist (0248: FwnSD).

> You can't tell me that a country that is 80% Black and [where] 1% of academics are possibly Black – everything is fine and all we have to do is sit and watch – but I mean our school system has a lot to do with it and… it does feel a bit sort of wrong to be pressured at this level to fix something that our country has failed to address at the level where it actually originated. So, I don't think we will achieve transformation until some much more fundamental things will have been addressed in our society …

> Where people don't have to really form this extended family which drives them away from academia…where people actually grow up from when they're kids able to follow a vocation, I mean it's actually a privilege to grow up saying "I want to be a marine biologist" … But it's something that's very difficult for us to fix at the hiring a lecturer level. So that's, that will be a problem for transformation in years and probably decades to come. But I suppose, also that is where having these role models becomes important. So anyway, ja, those things are quite a catch 22 (0246: FwSCS).

Whilst the lack of appeal of academia was a fairly universal problem, that was articulated across all faculties; there were some particular areas, such as the professions (for example, in health science, law, commerce and education) where the marketability of academia generally, and at NVU, was perceived to be a distinct disadvantage:

> From a racial demographics perspective, the industry has very high salaries and for young Black folk coming up through the system, many of whom are first time university attenders in their family, the kind of character going and working in industry, particularly when the industry is under its own equity pressures, tends to be able to pay far better than the university could even start to dream of…

> Keeping Black undergraduates in the system long enough that they are then eligible to join the academic staff contingent is most impossible. We had two very good young Black male, [regional] students in our

> Honours class last year and tried very hard to get them to stick around and do Master's, both of them are working in Johannesburg and there was just nothing we could offer that kind of competed with the job offers and the opportunities they were being offered up there. So, transformation in our discipline is going to be a very long term, difficult growth…
>
> A lot of it comes down to very crudely the sort of salaries that the IT industry offers. IT is a high paid field. An Honours student is typically starting at considerably more than I think a lecturer earns here; with a very fast promotion track likely to be ahead of them, with perks like company cars and cell phones being pretty much standard in the industry (0247: FwSCS).

Other participants weighed up various advantages and considered what accommodation NVU could make but still found the circumstances lacking in the context of potential candidates' whole life choices:

> I think that for the quality of life that the Business School potentially brings the fact that with the short courses people can top up or supplement their income, it's not a bad career move… We have a research associate [who] did a PhD in the department of management … I asked if she would consider coming to [NVU] and she laughed at me, and said "I'm very happy in Johannesburg and there's a lot of stuff that is exciting for me" and I think if ** represents perhaps an average young African female with a Doctorate perhaps with the excitement of Johannesburg and the activities that she's involved in there… I really tried to encourage her to say look all of those things you can still do in [here], and then she said "well my husband wouldn't really want to come … either" … so it's a challenge.
>
> I think it's not as acute as it is for Accounting, for example… Charted Accountants because there's so few Black Charted Accountants in South Africa…the kind of salaries that they can command are telephone numbers relative to what they could earn in an academic environment (0241: FwSCS).
>
> Young people often don't see that. They see a pay cheque … We are battling to attract, but also, we have specific, for example, in pharmaceutics, there is one post that's been vacant since 1999 because it's a very specialised area… it's difficult to attract people to [NVU]. It's a small town. A lot of young people are saying it's too boring, and housing is expensive in this place compared to elsewhere…if you have a partner, what's your partner going to do? The job opportunities are limited. Okay, we have great schools but if you work at [NVU] can you really afford to send your kids to Private Schools, if that's what you want to do, so ja, it's hard. We're struggling (0239: FwSCS).
>
> As for staff, I think we've got a much more of a problem because … things move slower on that level. it's going to take longer… for individual lecturers from disadvantaged backgrounds to go through the improved schooling system, improved tertiary education opportunities and then to into academia. That would be one of the reasons… Then, another difficulty is the competition of industry and the kind of salaries that are paid at universities and at [NVU, which] I think ranks amongst one of the lowest paid… in the country, which doesn't help.
>
> We are situated in a [place] with a lower market potential than Cape Town or Jo'burg, which in some ways we regard, some of us who really love it here, as a big advantage, but there is going to be, a limited appeal to, potential academics from around the country. That's another difficulty, but as I said, the competition of industry and the issue of salaries, that's a big one, that's probably at the root of difficulties of transformation, I believe.
>
> In my discipline, in Law, there is no doubt that academics are paid the worse than any other section and … there's a range of employment opportunities, it's not just about private practice being an attorney or an advocate. There's corporate legal services… and those are generally very high paying jobs. There is also a range of state legal services … with the imperative for transformation, strongest in state services, you tend to find the majority of lawyers… in [state legal and corporate] services are Black and that they

> are sought after… In the last eight years, we've lost two very promising Black academics to corporate legal advisors. We were not even close to being able to match it financially, for them to stay, because they were offered so much elsewhere. So, that is our biggest difficulty (0249: FwSCS).

As the above quotations illustrate, in these fields, academia is definitely the least financially rewarding option anyone can take. Many were sensitive to the fact that many White academics may have the benefit of second or third generation wealth that allowed them the option of choosing an academic career, whilst this option was not a possibility for most first-generation Black academics.

In interviews, the issue of uncompetitive salaries was virtually universal and often stated as preventing people from either applying at all or dissuading them from accepting the job offer, after they had been selected. However, those particularly in Commerce-related fields often noted that NVU's salaries represented as much as a 40 – 66% cut for those looking to transition from urban areas and/or from industry.

> In *my case*, people inevitably phone up ask what the salary scales are and say 'thanks but no thanks' and put the phone down… why relocate from Johannesburg to a place [here], 'okay the schools are good but you know if I'm going to take a 40% whack in my salary can I really envisage myself being able to afford that?'…that is what it comes down to (0204: FwSCS).

> … Or else, they just laugh at you when they see salary scale, and say, 'well can we negotiate?' and [NVU] says, 'no we can't, this is our salary scale' and they say, 'oh well cheers'… 'I don't feel like taking a 66% cut in salary' and that's that (0202: FwSCS).

Participants also spoke of their own post-graduate students, job applicants, and prospective employees, as well as their own staff being actively poached by other universities within the sector. Often this was articulated as a dual exercise in agency with applicants "leveraging one job against another". In other cases, 'poaching' seemed to take on more of a sinister or pathological dimension, at the institutional and systemic levels:

> We've had two experiences over the last couple of years of employing Black staff members who then turned the job down at the last minute. It's because…the pool of Black academics is so small and because of the pressure of equity. There is such a hunt, there is such competition for what is a section of a very small pool of resources. In both cases, we appointed people but then we got outbid by bigger institutions [with]… more money and at the end of the day, this is a small university with a small purse, it cannot afford to *buy* itself into Transformation in the same way [as] say, UJ can…

> …you're asking should one offer to pay extraordinary salaries to Black scholars in order to correct the equity profile? … I can only see that creating problems…there's an obvious appeal to it [but]…it's also an industry outlet the *hunt* for these *qualified Black people*. Should the university create these extraordinary positions and pay this extraordinary money to *seduce* people to stay in academia in the first instance and then…to stay at this institution? I haven't thought of that and I can see it creating lots and lots of problems…I would hesitate (0203: FwnSD).

As the quotations (above and below) show, participants were well aware of existing practices in the sector, whilst participants had different opinions about the utility of differential salaries as a mechanism for attracting and retaining Black academics, they both exhibit sensitivity with regard to the implications of such. Nonetheless, in the quotation above the language used and the participant's choice of stress and emphasis on the words 'hunt' and 'seduce' as well as the explanation provided below, both convey the centrality of White normativity as the institutional perspective:

> I think if one is going to compete with that, then one's got to compete with that… which would mean offering packages to Black academics in a discipline like this [IT] that are seriously out of kilter with normal academic packages. These [would raise] a whole lot of very uncomfortable issues around fairness to deal with. Why does the Black lecturer in the office next door get paid way more than the person in the next room who is doing the same job but he's White? I suspect one's probably going to have to, at some stage, face up to that and try and do something about it. It's not going to be easy to manage and the potential for a lot of pain as the process works itself though I think is fairly high (0247: FwSCS).

Institutions in Gauteng and the Western Cape were most frequently cited as those with the "bigger purses" to attract those looking for a "bigger salary". Several participants spoke of not being able to do much to replenish their own rank and file but of NVU being a "good training school" for other universities and knew of several employing their former graduates in academic positions (0204 & 0216). Some departments took the decision to no longer staff the position of junior lecturer due to continual rotation ('revolving door'), of such posts (0202: FwSCS). Participants from disciplines where comparative industry had strong BEE requirements and charters also noted that they struggled to fill positions because of the industry-competition (0202: FwSCS).

However, in the majority of discussions, there was a degree of empathy and/or genuine understanding expressed in the explanations provided. 'Absent applicants' were for the most part, understood not to simply just be chasing higher salaries. The explanations offered often included the family obligations faced by first generation academics and the need to repay loans, family or funder debts, as well as obligations to pay for the education of other siblings - these were often put forward as the primary (or underlying) reasons Black graduates chose other options other than academia or an academic career at NVU (0201, 0202 & 0203).

With regard to the impact equity had on vacancies, participants highlighted that NVU had begun to plan future recruitments based on anticipated retirements. Thus, projected equity targets were planned for and of late several of these were linked to donor funded Accelerated Development Posts (ADPs). However, unanticipated resignations that urgently needed to be

filled, were filled with candidates that applied and were successful in the interview process (0212: FwSCS). Thus, the aforementioned issues discussed here all come into effect. It was noted though that specialist posts (regardless of who fills such) are sometimes advertised up to three times before being filled (0212: FwSCS). In at least three faculties (including commerce and health science), it was noted that vacancies have remained for two to three years, with one extreme case of 12 years also noted (0201, 0202, 0212 & 0216). These were not necessarily due to the equity imperative (although this could exacerbate such) but due to difficulty filling especially high level and specialist posts.

Two additional process issues compounded the institutional constraints NVU faced. A number of participants, observed that fairly regularly, when a Black candidate had been made a job offer, these were reportedly often turned down. It was reported that this was sometimes a salary issue, or because a more competitive offer or counter-offer with better terms and conditions than NVU was able to offer to both South African and international Black academics. The upshot was thus that a White person was appointed into the post by default. Therefore, frustration was articulated that institutional efforts sometimes fell short in this manner.

Institutional power dynamics and a lack of insight into the policy were also identified as significant limitations:

> The Equity policy is not fully understood by Chairs of selection committees and you have very uneven practice. I've sat in a couple of selection committees and I have problems doing this because I don't think the Union's job is to play HR; but we've got a whole new system in HR with generalists and specialists and some of the generalists are too scared to open their mouths when there are Professors around. So, I end up saying, *"but you can't do that* the Labour Relations Act says you can't do it" … It should be HR's job, not the Union's job but the Union has to do it very often and we can't get to all interviews so there are … places where it really goes wonky and there are cases where it really goes wonky on the other side too. If you advertise a, a post three times and you haven't found an equity candidate yet, appoint a White person for God's sake, you are not finding the person you need [0251: FwnSD].

There were also instances were internal heated exchanges occurred within selection committees over the interpretation of policy and the appointment of candidates. In these the equity and excellence debate was at the forefront. A lengthy excerpt is detailed below as the participant raises a number of pertinent issues:

> We've just filled a vacancy now…the University has an equity policy [that] we're expected to understand and adhere to … I for one agree with it … Unfortunately, the way it's written … there's room for interpretation … Some of my colleagues did not actually read the small print … when it came down to the crunch, as an equity candidate versus non-equity candidate, the policy is very clear, we've got to consider the equity candidate first … They got up in arms and basically … almost ambushed … as a consequence of, their blinkered [understanding] of the policy.

> So, there's been a lot of angst about this whole process… in my opinion, in this instance, part of the problem has been, I believe, and they probably would deny it, but I believe they have not embraced the equity imperative in any meaningful way whatsoever.… There's an unwillingness to … change the mind-set that there might just be a suitable equity candidate out there that we could have in our department … But there seems an unwillingness to imagine … a different department … So that's been extraordinarily frustrating, [it's] very difficult to put your finger on and say, "now stop it, you're being racist" but extraordinarily … bigoted sort of mind sets …
>
> Their motivation is dressed up in very strange ways about some concept of quality … where … it only comes down to the CV because … the good people are the ones we want and of course the good ones are usually White and we're not prepared to give somebody who has had a completely different background a chance to … benefit from what they've benefited from over the years…They just simply couldn't understand the bigger picture … For me, … an academic, being in academia is about seeing the big picture. It's not always about your selfish needs and what you want and who you want to work with.
>
> It's about … what's good for the student body, it's about what's good for the University, it's about what's good for the country and … above all else … in our instance the equity candidate we've got is a *really good* person … but for me, I'm *heck* of a disillusioned, I'm *really, really* disappointed in my colleagues and perhaps the wider malaise is in my department but … their lack of imagination, their lack of seeing the bigger picture, their lack of being able to imagine … if you like a parallel universe…I feel, right now I'm actually considering giving up … I've had it, I'm finished with it…
>
> Having said all that … if there had been an equity candidate who was … not acceptable and not up to standard, I would have certainly not have taken them on because of the sake of equity profile. There has to be a meeting of the minimum standards in the process, and in our selection process we made damn sure that all the documentation laid out what that minimum was, so we had the benchmark, and we set the benchmark *high*, and that was not enough for some of my colleagues … the fact that we said somebody with x, y and z, we've got somebody with x, y and z, we've got lots of people with x, y and z, three of them were non-White, one was non-South African … It illustrates that there are people out there looking for jobs … that we, we do have the capacity to appoint … and it's more a matter of the willingness to engage in a different scenario. …
>
> If you cannot see the writing on the wall that says the Government are looking at you, the Government has an equity law, we've got an equity policy and you're ignoring all of that and you're ignoring the Vice Chancellor's announcement in Senate and Faculty then you're stupid…but along with that went a not too hidden self-serving agenda as to how they could boost their own careers, by getting somebody else in who they could immediately work with … but again the lack of imagination … instead of saying … let's imagine the department with this person or that person or this skill or that skill, it's saying let's imagine the department with so and so in it. And then doing everything they can to get him in … I actually don't understand it, it, it boggles my mind … (0237: FwSCS).

This excerpt powerfully illustrates the emotion and tension that manifests itself between senior academics acting in management roles and their colleagues when there is a disagreement. It also shows there are multiple positions, on EE, within the academy. It illustrates the core of the equity and excellence debate at NVU and a crystallisation of key issues in one case. It further illustrates how these also intersect with the ways in which academic careers themselves are individualistic and network bound. It also demonstrates how in many ways academic interests are perceived as specialist and anti-collective interests and thus come up as directly

oppositional to collective social interests. Nonetheless, the pressure the higher echelons of NVU was subject to, in relation to EE compliance, is also distinctly evident in the excerpt.

### *7.2.3. The quest to keep Black academics within NVU*

Participants had differing opinions about the use of salary differentials and whether incentives or allowances should be used. As was discussed above, some were firmly against the use of these. However, others strongly supported the use of such:

> I just don't see how we can change that [lack of Black academics] unless you have differential salary scales…I don't have a problem with that, I think it's the only way to actually go but the University so far hasn't recognized or suggested that, that would be a reasonable way to go (0202: FwSCS).

Despite some participants' hypothetical consideration and support or rejection of salary differentials, in the context of the interview setting; other participants reported that scarcity allowances were actually used at NVU, at the time of the research. Reference was made to these in three faculties (Commerce, Health Science, and Science) but most especially in departments with listed critical skills such as Accounting and Statistics. This was an area that appeared to solicit discomfort and closure in interviews. It is anticipated that this was directly because of the reasons cited, by participants, earlier. Nonetheless, the use of scarcity allowances potentially appeared to be an easier transition where generalized skills allowances were already in place. Participants repeatedly asserted that Human Resources (HR) handled all negotiations with specific individuals, once selection had occurred.

There seemed to be variable amounts put forward as to what this allowance was. Some suggested, for example that: Chartered Accountants received a 30% scarcity top up plus if they were from a designated group another 30%. Therefore, Black academics in this field could get 60 - 70% above scale (0216: FwSCS). Whilst in other fields, it was reported that NVU no longer paid in set scales but at the 50$^{th}$ percentile of SAHES and that those receiving a 'top-up allowance' earned within the 90$^{th}$ percentile (0212: FwSCS).

As seen in section 7.2.2.2., academics explicitly claimed that salary incentive was not the major 'pull-in factor' for current academics, instead work satisfaction, social and lifestyle factors were regularly stated as such. However, several participants (both Black and White) remarked that they knew Black academics who had left the institution because these latter aspects had

been ‘push-out’ factors. The explanations provided mostly included the ‘absence of a social niche’, ‘the inability of the family to settle’, and imaginings of what it must be like to not have a ‘Black middle class community’ to slot into, etc. (0202, 0204 & 0207). As described below, this was thought to be accentuated for those who first moved to the University for post-graduate studies or employment.

> [Elsewhere], you can have a social network that extends way beyond what you are doing at work, [here] … that’s not possible, your friendship circle is also drawn pretty much exclusively from [NVU] and I think that makes it very difficult for incoming young Black professionals to settle and find their people … so if you’re doing your PhD at [NVU] you aren’t generally thinking, “well I would fit in well here if I stayed” … maybe I’m being uncharitable, maybe that’s not the case but if I look around I don’t see enormous retention … [if] you look at the Mellon scholars they … tend to finish and shuffle off. They don’t tend to be retained within departments, mostly because there aren’t posts for them, I suppose. But also, because why would you stay here when you can earn more money at UCT and have a life? (0234: NFL)

> … Probably that has something to do with the town … the young single academic is not going to be happy in this town, it’s not going to be easy to find a comfortable space, there’s not going to be enough people to meet and interact with and have a social life with. It’s a sort of place that works for married couples with children, provides an infrastructure for married couples with children, where there’s good schooling, a sort of peaceful life … I think the challenge is retaining the single and the young …I had an experience recently where I actively recruited a post Doc… and his host department were very keen to have him and he came and we had organized an internal [NVU] funded post-Doctoral fellowship … but his family wasn’t keen to move … so he was travelling and then he was made an offer by [another HEI in the province] … so they kind of poached him (0245: NFL).

In order to maximize and smooth the transition for all academics, NVU had both a housing policy and a placement policy. In terms of the latter, it attempted to find work for the spouses of NVU academics. Whilst this no doubt helped in some cases, it also had the unintended consequence that when an academic decides to leave NVU, it may well mean that two people, as opposed to just one, leave. The effect of which can further facilitate or be to the detriment of EE.

Institutional culture, particularly adverse student behaviour was something that negatively affected Black academic staff. Unwelcoming, intimidatory, and exclusionary behaviour was recognised and articulated by both Black and White participants. The examples below illustrate some of the pertinent concerns:

> When he [An African academic] started teaching, some students came… and they complained that …they can’t hear his accent or something like that. Then, somebody gave the example that…they had a German lecturer there, that year, and his accent was *so strong* but nobody complained…When White lecturers are lecturing their accent is not easy to get for Black students…but they don’t come to complain so… it’s not always easy… If you are a Black man you get to feel like you are scrutinized more and you really have to prove yourself… Obviously, the department hir[ed] you because you are qualified [but] to the students…you have to prove …that you are actually competent (0207: FwnSD).

> I've had Black students in here…ex-Model C students who say 'she's very good…when you see what she writes but I can't understand any lectures'…and at some level that gets back to that person. That begins to make them feel inadequate within the social setting and inevitably at some point they move on. I have had one or two cases like that…It's not purely the market, it's also the nature of the student population and the nature of the academics that they interact with, it's very difficult (0204: FwSCS).

Participants also recalled specific examples that they had with both students and parents:

> To be honest, I found myself, when I'm interacting with certain parents, for instance, because I'm a Black female … When I started, I looked as young as their children who they were leaving… Sometimes you'd get the look of, "hmm, you know I'm leaving my only child, who has just left high school and never been away from home", sometimes I got that impression. Sometimes … because I went to a … private school so, I know how to put on a good accent when I need to put on an accent …
>
> [There was this] lady, I swear she thought I was White, because the comments she was making to me [on the phone] could only have been because she thought I was White … her child got sick and she called me and… she was like, "my daughter… can you help her because I'm not happy with this 'kaffer' hospital that she went to…" I thought I heard wrong and I was like um, "I'll, I'll follow up with her and see … and I thought, 'kaffer' hospital? … You know sometimes you're not expecting to hear that word so but that's what she said…
>
> Later… about two years ago, the staff members were on strike, so there was no kitchen staff preparing food and the University had made plans, they got volunteers… This lady calls me, same woman complaining, her daughter is not getting nutritious food and then she says to me, "*why are these people even on strike, you know, I know lots of poor White people that need jobs and stuff, they can just come and, work in their place and stuff like that, what's wrong with these Black people*?" and I said, "I'm sorry but if we're going to now have a racial discussion. I cannot carry on this conversation, it's fine for you to tell me your concerns about your daughter but I'm not carrying on this conversation anymore". She put down the phone.
>
> She's never called me again… after that because I think also my response when she started that, she probably didn't expect it because she was, "*these Black people, there are lots of poor White people*". She thought that I was White, she felt very comfortable, a little too comfortable… (0230: FwnSD).

Another participant, a senior academic, from East Africa, shared his experience of student prejudice:

> One of my students, a long time ago… Let me just confess that, for me, English is my first language. I might speak it with an accent but it's my first language… One of my students wrote online, 'you must first go and learn English and then you can come and teach us'. This is a first-year student or second year student. For me, I'll be honest it didn't really bother me because I know students can be very nasty and I've also got a lot of positive feedback from students. I've got so many testimonials from so many students and I'm not sensitive … this is a young kid, you know, they say all sorts of things.
>
> I've heard of Professors crying and running out of classes you know here at [NVU], so I didn't take it personally but … if you don't have enough confidence in yourself as the teacher … it can be quite devastating actually. I think for a student to say something like that about a teacher and like I said, English is my first language now the only reason I think this student was saying this was maybe she couldn't understand my accent at the beginning but who is she, I don't know whether it was a boy or a girl, but that's what she wrote, you must first go and learn English and then you can come and teach us, you know…

> I said, "my goodness" and I still have it, I still actually have that thing, I have my evaluation … it's something that I want to share with you as a way of showing you… you encounter certain prejudices … I imagine that's something which will never happen with somebody who was maybe South African born, they are speaking with an accent, I'm not going to talk about colour but South African born that maybe if the student had encountered a person who was like themselves in terms of the way they speak they wouldn't have to say that
>
> … as you can hear, I've been speaking English, it's my first language, but it's only because I'm speaking with an accent, it's different, even I know that. It's different from the English accent that is used in South Africa. But that's what a student said to me, you start feeling those little things and you pick up a little bit of that … I don't let it get to me, I say 'these are young kids, this is a country which is steeped in a particular history' and where it's difficult for you to be dealing with what a person means and what a person is so I try not to take it too seriously, I've tried not to take it too seriously so at least on the part of the students, I've tried not to take it too seriously (0235: FwnSD).

Despite, protestation, one can see that this has had a profound effect on the speaker. In both of the aforementioned examples, the participants have chosen to remain within the institution despite these racialized experiences in which parents and students feel they have a right to enter into certain kinds of conversations and/or to address (Black) academics in particular ways that are riddled with prejudice and reveal problematic and complex power dynamics.

Another participant elaborates on a range of institutionalised discrimination that Black academics face, drawing on experiences of former departmental and faculty former staff:

> Just to give you an example, there's the one person who left … she's been teaching third years and we've heard that on a number of occasions, the third-year students have given a young Black woman teacher a hard time; where they wouldn't have given another person a hard time… a kind of insubordination. I don't whether it is because, traditionally [NVU] draws, like the private schools here, draws on the students who come from a farming background, socially conservative background and so the attitude amongst some students that's leaked through is that 'they don't come to [NVU] to be taught by a Black person'. It comes through in attitudes, you know, the social attitudes of people.
>
> A lecturer here walks into an exams hall, he's a younger person, well this person was … a young looking 40-year old… he's assumed to be a student and he's addressed like a student by the invigilator. [Others] ran into a sort of stereotyping and prejudice in their administration. If they submit some budgets and so on they're double checked where if they [were White they] wouldn't be double checked for faults and so on, that sort of thing.
>
> So that shouldn't be disregarded, it does exist and some can deal with it better than others... But then I should think that's an issue in Historically White Universities. There are these residues and pockets of social conservatism and racial prejudice and racism. And it's also that they're, often combined with a sort of an attitude against women so if the person is young, Black and a woman, they are then seen as vulnerable (0248: FwnSD).

The majority of concerns and issues raised pointed, as one would anticipate, to stark facets that potentially and actively did 'push' Black academics out of NVU, rather than contributing to retention. However, as discussed in section 7.2.4 below, there were a range of specific

programmatic interventions that NVU used to address both recruitment and retention of Black academic staff.

The excerpt below is from a Black academic who has opted for a politics of extraction[194] in order to sustain himself within the institution. However, as he discusses towards the end of the quotation, his colleagues' version of non-racialism (as colour blindness) is one such example, that broke his silence and led to his calling out, their behaviour:

> I grew up in a middle-class household, I read Shakespeare like everyone else, …I was born with a TV in my house, I went to good schools, private schools, I went to a University where I was not paying money, we had a good education system you know… So, that's what happened with me. Now, it is easy to come from here and come into South Africa and slot into this fast economy, it's easy for me because I come with a Master's degree and I know not a lot of people, especially not a lot of Black people, have Masters degrees but I was able to do it….
>
> When I came, this guy told me, "don't get too involved" but I was already aware that I was not going to get too involved. In fact, people used to see me as so quiet, so nice. I'm really not quiet, I just choose not to participate in a lot of things, mostly because a lot of the discussions in this country are racialized and those are really not my experiences. It's not my experience to think about people as Black or White or even men or women because for us, let me say identity was not… a part of our upbringing…I never thought I was a Black person, in America I lived in New York, but when I was here in South Africa I *immediately* picked up on it, it was so obvious that I'm a Black person. And yet I never actually felt it at all and I'm not being dishonest, that is the truth, I never actually felt it, so when I came here I decided that I'm not going to talk too much about things. I'm not going to do what I like, it's easy for someone to say I copped out…

The participant highlights (as is noted in multiple other places in this chapter) that he is distinctly aware of how he is different from 'mainstream' Black experience in South Africa, as a result of both his class position and his life experiences. His intersectional positionality, he feels, is the basis from which he cannot, and does not speak for or on behalf of South African Black people, or to the experience of racialization that all those who have resided in South Africa since childhood have experienced.

This participant's experience was reiterated in a number of other interviews with international Black academics, who felt that either based on different early socialization experiences and understandings, or because of their vulnerable status as temporary workers, and/or as a coping mechanism, they would keep 'out' of debates on race. The participant further elaborates below, illustrating that this muted public vocalization in no way means that Black academics

[194] To take a deliberate decision and act 'de-politically' in the workplace in order to maintain an invisible racialized persona, as part of a series of coping mechanisms, within a highly-racialized context.

experience racialized attitudes, actions, and behaviour as any less damaging than those who speak out against them.

> But there have been incidents, all along, there have been incidents, not too many, but some of them have been very, very, disturbing actually… then of course there were those issues in Sociology. There was a lot of animosity and students were telling teachers … I heard that one of them wrote that, "oh my mom would freak out if she heard I was being taught by a Black lecturer". And these were slightly older students, they were not first year… there was a lot of animosity which became racialized…
>
> Now, since the [new Vice Chancellor] has been here there's been an attempt to kind of like de-racialize … but unfortunately, I think it has been overdone. It's almost as if we pretend it doesn't [exist]. It's the White elephant in the room, people pretend as if it doesn't exist. One time we had … [a special] meeting…they passed around a piece of paper basically [with] the demographic broken down … and I saw something very intellectually dishonest.
>
> They put everyone there and then they put me as Black yet I'm a foreigner. I'm Black but really in terms of quotas … it should be foreign national. Then, there were a lot of Black people at the bottom of the food chain, sweepers and what so on, Black. Our department is very big, we have almost 60 members of staff and there were a lot of Black people, but not one of them was an academic, not one, not even as a TA [Teaching Assistant]. It looked as if, the majority of them were White. Now they passed it around and I said, "my goodness guys, don't you see, don't you see a problem here?" because when they pass around this thing to look at equity in the department, we are really not talking about tea girls or tea boys or sweepers or whatever, we are talking about meaty posts like a lecturer, junior lecturer, professors and that kind of thing.
>
> You know, let us be intellectually honest. Let us not pretend that 'they were asking whether your tea girl is White or Black?' We know what they would be; not because of anything else but because of the history of these kind of jobs .... If it was in England, possibly the tea girl would be White, because that is a different thing, it's a class issue isn't it. But people here were pretending as if they don't actually see that and for me that worried me actually. The truth is that when they passed that thing around, I looked at it and there was only one person, one individual, who is Black 'normally', but he's actually an Indian, 'technically'. So, a 'native' Black African, there's not one single native Black African in our department; and our department has got close to sixty members of staff, not one. There were more Black people in 2003 in this department than there are now in 2011, and for me that is a problem (0236: FwnSD).

The participant aptly shows how racial closure operates in this situation. Not only is the situation one is which participants retain control over their exclusive racialized domain, but also act on and in defence of self-interests that are assumed to also be the collective interest, in which everyone is assumed to be in agreement with the status quo and party to its maintenance. These latter examples show the other side of the coin where internal reasons demonstrate the institutional culture is such that Black academics would find the NVU context hostile, unwelcoming and unaccommodating. As mentioned previously NVU had stepped up its efforts to overcome this through its updated equity policies and explicitly targeted interventions such as the accelerated development posts (ADPs), it is to these that the discussion turns next.

### *7.2.4. Specific programmatic interventions*

#### 7.2.4.1. Accelerated Development Programmes (ADPs)

In order to address a number of institutional concerns, NVU had a range of initiatives running under the banner of accelerated development programmes (ADPs). At the time of the research, these had been in existence for ten years and had been funded by the Andrew Mellon and Kresge Foundations, as well as NVU's own funding. After several years of success, the basic tenets of the programme were up-scaled into a national proposal, under the auspices of HESA[195]. As a part of the national proposal, the DoHET was requested to fund a sector-wide programme under the title of the 'Next Generation Academics' Programme. At the time of the research, the ADPs took place at NVU as the HEI of conception and was also rolled out at RBU as a part of a provincial pilot. Latterly, the proposal was approved and a nationwide rollout has subsequently taken place.

At the time of the research, there were eight (then current) academics on ADPs at NVU. Most were Black and/or female academics (often both) who were registered for a Masters or a PhD. In a few cases, there were some candidates who were post-doctoral. All candidates had been through an interview and had delivered a presentation to the department they would be based within, as part of the selection process. The generic components, across both programmes, Mellon and Kresge: included a three year 'contract' whereby the academic was employed as a permanent member of staff but was formally assigned only 50% of the teaching and administrative workload associated with the level or post that they were employed at.

ADP participants were required to do two courses of the PGDip (HE) [196] unless they were post-PhD in which case the full diploma was required. This was an accommodation after it was realized that the full diploma, advanced degree, and teaching workload were too onerous for participants. Therefore, the rest of their time was dedicated to their research, qualification,

[195] Higher Education South Africa (HESA) an association of all the Vice Chancellors of the public universities, that also expanded to included various additional members of senior executive management teams. For example, Deans Forums and Transformation Managers Forums were also organized under the HESA banner.

[196] Post-Graduate Diploma in Higher Education. One module (out of the five) is a requirement for all NVU academics. Several ADP participants opted to do the full diploma as opposed to just the two modules they were required to do on the programme, and several others completed the diploma after completing the programme.

conference attendance and/or publications. ADP participants were assigned a mentor to integrate participants into academia and into their department, to assist with career pathing and personal development, and to "protect them" from additional workplace and other pressures.

After the completion of the qualification, all were meant to be screened into a permanent post. However, according to participants, at least three (of the Mellon grant holders) were cited as 'lost' to other universities, industry, or government partly because their long-term appointment had not been connected to a retirement (i.e. a post). Therefore, the Kresge programme, implemented later, required all to appointments to be connected to upcoming retirements. There had also been some scope for institutional growth and a few ADP participants became full members of the academic staff through the expansion of the academic staffing complement.

One of the coordinators explains some of the differences between the programme at its outset as compared to more recent versions:

> Mellon Lecturers were appointed to supernumerary positions because as I said people don't leave … so there aren't actually many spaces… At the end of the three years, if there was a post then they would be screened for the post. Now and then, we lost a couple of people at the end of the three years because there just wasn't a post available, which was a real pity because it's an investment of R1 Million over a period of three years, on one lecturer… At the end of, it if you don't have that person you've basically spent R1 million to develop them for another institution or a government department or whatever.
>
> So now, the appointments are still in many cases supernumerary appointments but they are made against an imminent retirement or against projected growth in the department. Growth in terms of either student numbers or the department moving into new areas of teaching or research… So that at the end of the three years, there is almost a guaranteed post. Although, there are no guarantees, I mean if you are not cutting it then you won't be appointed but the idea is that you will, you will be screened and hopefully you and the mentor and us, we [all] did our jobs well and, and you are appointable (0244: NFL).

A second participant explains, how their department benefitted from a Mellon post that resulted in the expansion of their department, in the process contextualizing that this only resulted in three to four posts institution-wide:

> There's limited opportunity for growth, but I managed to succeed in motivating for the establishment of a new post … a lecturer post… To put it in some context, there was about R3,5 million available for a new post. There were applications throughout the university for about R12 million. So, only about 25% or 30% of applications were successful. We were one of those, so we were lucky. We probably won't get lucky again for a few more years. So, there's not a lot of money and growth, not a lot at all.

> That particular appointment was a great success, I am sure you are aware of the Mellon program, ** was on that program and was busy with her PhD, she's been part-time in the faculty for the last three years, and her three-year contract ends … She will take up this permanent post … so, on a small scale [this is] a great success, because she's been great and she'll be great to have full time (0249: FwSCS).

As a part of the accountability process, ADP participants and their mentors developed a three-year development plan and then mentors report on the participants' progress relative to this:

> They are quite strict in reporting requirements so, in the first-year mentors have to write two reports. Those reports are … based on the progress of the lecturer in relation to the three-year development plan…they've got to be seen by the HoD, by the Dean, and eventually the VC sees the report and signs it off, queries things, asks us to respond to issues, if there are issues and so on (0244: NFL).

In addition, the Kresge programme also required each participant to be contracted to work for NVU for three years post-the qualification scholarship, especially if they were not going to remain in institutional employment, in the long-term (0204, 0212 & 0213). It was explained that this was because of the investment that NVU and the funders put into each participant's development.

NVU's own review in 2015, reported a 62% retention rate for all who had completed the various AD Programmes, and this was expected to rise to 75% with those still a part of the programme, for whom employment had been lined up (NVU, 2015: 5). The AD Programme was specifically designed to address the racial, gendered, and nationality imbalances within NVU. From the statistics provided, it appeared as though its participants would do so. Overall academics, in the programme, accounted for approximately 8% of all NVU academics by the time of the institutional assessment. At the time of research, these programmes contributed significantly to the equity complement of NVU. For example, some faculties had one-third to a half of all Black academic staff employed on ADP posts.

Each ADP participant interviewed (as a part of this research) felt their mentor and Head of Department (HoD) had ensured that it was possible for them to meet their goals, sustain manageable workloads, were protected from other departmental obligations, and met the criteria for screening and even promotion in some cases (0213: FwSCS). Participants did, however, acknowledge that others in the programme had not been so fortunate. "I heard horror stories" and "… doing a Masters was manageable, those doing a PhD battled" (0213 & 0207).[197]

[197] Further detail from participants who were participants on the ADP is presented in section 7.3.2

In the following, changes to the ADP's focus over the more than ten years since its inception are summarised:

> Initially, it was about … where suitable mentors were. Now, it's about looking at departments equity profiles … Where those are really shocking, that's where we are going to try and put people; but then we need to make sure so that…there's a support system, there's a good mentor, that the HoD is all of those things … That's one of the things that HR would be looking at. It wasn't the case before. I think the sorts of screws are … on literally from the Department of Labour but also the institutional culture … is shifting and people are beginning to recognise that this is an important move. Not only to be compliant with the Department of Labour, but we need to diversify the academy. We need to ensure that there are Black academics who can be … not only role models, for students. Yes, that's really important; but also inject a different kind of thinking into the institution (0244: NFL).

Besides ensuring that all the core requirements were in place to ensure academics had the support and exposure on all core academic and workplace fronts, i.e. research, teaching, and administration; the programme also provided a 'community of practice' and began to transform the institutional culture. The quotes below elaborate how this was envisaged:

> The other thing that we do is to try and build a community of novice academics with people on the programme… The management of the programme is really important because we don't just … manage in terms of administration but we also have a secondary and additional mentoring role… So, one of the things we do is to organise regular … meetings at least once a term. We have a lunch to which all the Mellon lecturers are, well, they're actually expected to come…and at that lunch we make a point of getting people to talk about what they do and what their challenges are, what sort of exciting things they get to do like conferences and overseas trips and what sort of problems they experience … (0244: NFL).

> The new VC has introduced to our understanding of the programme, which you know wasn't originally part of it, but it should have been, given the fact that it's about transformation and equity: is that the Mellon lecturers actually have to think very carefully about what kind of contribution they can make in terms of transformation in the institution …So that's another pressure… you're not only doing your job but you've also got to … think about how you can influence things in the institution … I mean in part, I think it's about just being really excellent at what you do but also, I think really participating in the life of the institution and the department and really thinking about … transformation. So, if you're part of a department to think very carefully about shifting people's ideas. Perhaps, how they can … ensure that more Black students … apply for postgraduate, for example; that they target really good students and try to motivate them to stay on and find bursaries for them so that they think about postgraduate studies and about an academic career as an option. (0244: NFL).

The previous quote illustrates the demands placed on ADP participants to be *Transformation* agents, and that whilst they are supported, they certainly are expected to do more than the average 'new' academic. The success of ADP participants would certainly counter the equity versus equity narrative; although one could ask questions about the personal cost that individuals may bear in the process and whether this is not reproducing certain cultural and systemic logics in which Black academics have traditionally had to work much harder to prove themselves, and have had to individually carry collective responsibility for *Transformation*. From the interviews with ADP participants, there was an obvious sense of satisfaction at having

responsibility for and being able to conceptualise specific *Transformation* initiatives and projects within their departments. However, equally where these were met with apathy, disinterest and/or got caught up in the slow pace of institutional decision-making participants often expressed frustration and deflation.

Furthermore, a number of challenges ADP participants faced were also shared. These ranged from the overall aim and outcome of the programme, to the way ADP participants were treated by colleagues, to the relationship between mentors and the participants on the programme.

> The idea initially was that once people came through the programme, they would then almost immediately be able to apply for promotion and move up the ranks quite quickly. However, I think that … hasn't happened … as originally envisaged. I think it's much harder… to move up the ranks, particularly in the Social Sciences. I think it's a bit easier if you are a scientist because of the nature of the research and it seems to be much easier to publish if you are scientist and it is the publications that get you the promotion. Even though [NVU] has now developed a new set of criteria for personal promotions, which include a wider range of academic activities…. [it's research, teaching, community engagement, professional involvement and then leadership management and administration] (0244: NFL).
>
> One of the problem issues, for example is … that there are jealousies in departments around people on a Mellon lectureship because they get this 50% teaching load. People think that they've got it easy but the point is that they have got a hell of a lot of pressure…So, one of the challenges might be yes, the sort of petty jealousy story or that people don't actually understand what the Mellon programme is about… So, we've had problems in a department where Mellon lecturers are treated like post doc fellows so they're not regarded and treated as being an integral part of the department. …
>
> We explain what the programme is about and make sure they understand the requirements and ask them to speak to their staff about the programme and what it's supposed to achieve and we stress that actually it's not a free ride, it's a huge pressure.
>
> The other thing is that … mentors are quite carefully chosen and we've made mistakes, of course, but we've learnt that ideally the mentor needs to be somebody who is an established academic, who is not desperately trying to forge their own career and it's got to be somebody who is generous to share what they have learnt (0244: NFL).

Lastly, the ADP coordinator spoke of NVU's plans (through the HESA sub-committee) to present the modified ADP proposal to Treasury in order to roll-out a national programme. This was designed to be of benefit to the sector as a whole and was envisaged to also assist with skills transfer across institutions as well. Since that time, the national programme has been rolled out for a six-year period, with a total of 125 academics at all of the country's HEIs. This programme is set to contribute to the re/production of academic labour across SAHES as well as address broader EE concerns as 80% of awardees are Black and women scholars (NVU website).

The discussion presented an outline of the ADPs as a NVU intervention to address the de-segmentation of academic labour, specifically through the de-racialisation and de-gendering of recruitment, with the aim of also fast-tracking promotion of appointed academic staff. The ADPs represent considerable financial investment in participants but are also particularly demanding in their expectations of participants. The initial reported retention rate is significant. This will obviously need to be tracked over time to measure long-term effects and successes. The experience of ADP participants is detailed in section 7.3.2, which speaks to transformation and institutional culture issues at NVU.

7.2.4.2. Other initiatives

A discipline-specific initiative at some institutions was the South African Institute of Chartered Accountants (SAICA) Thuthuka partnership to increase the number of Black and women Chartered Accountants (CAs). NVU, however, had a relatively small student cohort so did not have this particular programme. Nonetheless, the Accounting Department derived two benefits from its link up with the professional association. Firstly, a subvention was paid to the department to bridge the gap between academic and market-related earnings and recognition was given of their output of qualifying CAs, both in terms of quality and contribution to the EE agenda of the profession (0216: FwSCS). Secondly, the department also gained additional academic posts:

> We had a full SAICA accreditation visit in 2008 and they believed that we were understaffed to be able to deliver a proper programme…The University has their standard, if you have so many full-time equivalents you can have so many staff members and according to university formulas we were about right. But SAICA…argued the point for us getting the additional staff members and we said 'thank you very much' …The fact that it's taken us three years to fill the posts… (0216: FwSCS).

These had yet to translate into significant tangible equity staffing benefits for the department as a whole but had benefits in other respects. Participants were hopeful that as the pool of student graduates grew this would change but noted that this was a provincial challenge (0216: FwSCS). As noted in Chapter 6, SAICA was one of the few professional associations to have a direct linkage to, and to play an enabling role within academia. In many other departments, academics were hamstrung by the inability to expand their academic complement, despite disproportional expansions in student numbers. In one instance, a participant cited an example, of a comparable department at another university in the sector, which had apparently not increased its staffing numbers since 1973 (0231: FwnSD).

In addition to these specific programme interventions, participants said they were employing all tactics to keep "good staff" within the institution including staff development, incentives where relevant, retention of students and early career academics including offering junior and demonstrator positions, teaching assistants, accelerated development posts, and the like (0212: FwSCS). Participants also emphasized that they utilized entrance versus exit interviews to catch and ameliorate problems before it became too late. The Human Resources (HR) Division was also said to focus on career pathing, counselling, and guidance for all (0212: FwSCS). There was also collaboration between a range of divisions including HR and research that aimed to give meaning to a "supportive environment" by proactively identifying potential challenges and needs that academics might have within their career development and providing resources and development where possible (0245: NFL). Several participants also suggested improved salaries and the full remission of study fees as well as advance information about warden incentives, as potential upfront as incentives for younger staff (0202 & 0207). There were also a range of interventions and initiatives implemented by the Solidarity Alliance for Women (SA4W)[198] however, these are discussed later under section 7.3.1.

7.2.4.3. Discontentment with EE processes

However, as is to be expected, not all participants were content with the effectiveness of the processes connected to EE. In particular, participants spoke of a lack of institutional willingness to change and of processes being ineffectively applied:

> You sit in these staffing committees and everyone says, "we must just pick the best candidate" and then every now and then they mention equity but at the end of day it's actually who is around that table… And usually who is around the table? A homogenous set who want someone else who looks like them and who they can identify with... I just think, so then who are [they] attracting in [to] this circle…
>
> 'oh, there's no Black academics…How do we get Black academics?'
>
> …Even in my own department, I bring this up again and again and everyone wrings their hands. It's just like, flipping do something, buy someone in… we've to actually do something. We can't just sit here and say, 'Who are they? Where are they?' It's true… there are very, very few potential academics who will come [here], who are of colour…

[198] In order to further maintain institutional anonymity, the names of some internal structures, departments, and the like have also been changed.

> Well, then we've got to nurture someone within our own Faculty. We've got to buy people in from elsewhere in Africa. We've got to do something. I feel…you've got to make sure that they don't come here and fail. That they are integrated, that they are supported by staff, that we put them in student programmes [and] that students become excited about [them] (0209: FwnSD).

In some instances, participants criticised selection processes that maintained the status quo in middle level leadership:

> The Head of Department has been chosen again because of this rotating [system] and one woman … had been very confident she was going to be next in line, she had been groomed for it and she would be good at it. The Dean went and interviewed every single member of staff, which is part of the protocol. But then he ultimately decided …on a White male over this woman. That's not necessarily what the staff had said to him, but he decided that.
>
> …I hear of things like that and I think well, here we go, another man heading the Department. A new man, a *foreign* man, who didn't necessarily want the job and this is what *he* [the Dean] decides you know. So, he does all the consultative thing but there's no real sense that there's a democratic process here (0209: FwnSD).

In another case, a participant was frustrated by the lack of consistency between what was communicated about promotion possibilities, before he accepted the job and once he was in the job. In this instance, the participant felt that hiring had occurred on false pretences and that NVU could have used the EE imperative more strategically:

> [They say one thing in the interview and then tell you different things when you are appointed so…] I thought everything would go well…[then] I had to wait one year to apply [for promotion, and] … I was stood up…I thought if not on the grounds of merit…I should have on equity [but] surely [I should have] got it because I've got all the qualifications, the doctorate, over 25 publications…I am the co-editor of a book… That was very disappointing for me that I apparently did not fulfil the qualifications at [NVU] and I was very disappointed that…equity and transformation was not used to, make me successful here …
>
> I was very unhappy, I still am, I'm very disappointed at the processes here…I did an appeal against [their] decision and did have the opportunity to sit in front of the Appeals Committee … but that appeal failed and that was in the presence of … all the Deans of all the faculties…again [I was] very disappointed at their approach… [There was] a lot of resistance … obviously from mostly the White people in the top positions so that was very disappointing for me (0210: FwSCS).

On the other hand, officials and senior academics repeatedly stated NVU did not compromise on appointment levels. They were unapologetic about this (0212: FwSCS). Furthermore, some such participants were of the opinion that some EE candidates had an over-inflated sense of self-worth. This manifested in candidates asking to be positioned too highly. It was acknowledged that NVU had lost several job applicants this way:

> This University won't…*bend,* won't sacrifice…the level of appointment. We will quite rightly offer a salary incentive…I talk honestly to you …a very good Black South African mathematician is very highly sought after. There are other universities that aren't quite as scrupulous as we are. So, we lost both of them to other universities where they were given the level of appointment that they wanted, and we [are]

> not going to do that. If you're an Associate Professor, you've crossed those hurdles. If you can argue that being a Black South African has resulted in barriers that have *prevented* you from publishing your 30 papers or whatever that's different but just because you're a Black South African doesn't mean we can treat you any differently… The pool is small [but] in some instances they're aiming for levels of appointment that we can't support (0212: FwSCS).

These two examples suggested areas of concern. Firstly, that there could potentially be areas open to interpretation and contestation in terms of NVU's own promotion policy. This was something that the formalization of NVU policy and procedures had sought to address in order to minimize instances such as the former example. Secondly, that equivalence hiring across SAHES was not uniform either across the sector as a whole nor across like institutions. This also meant that differential practices by institutions were thus internally determined and as such open to various interpretations.

Another observation, which was also articulated by participants, was that the appointment of White candidates, in the context of stringent EE requirements was interpreted as evidence of an "ethical" action and a justified appointment. Whilst of course, each specific case would need to be analysed to comment most fairly; it is however, an interesting presumption that could in itself reflect the equity and excellence debate, given the range of possibilities that have been asserted (here) by institutions themselves. In some cases, this was affirmed by participants' affirmation that their expertise and experience had been recognised (0208: FwnSD).

Some participants felt the institution had gone too far with its EE approach and was now just trying to "get bums on seats", apologize for "its altercations of the past", and that the actual message and values of EE were being lost. As representatives on EE committees, they often felt they were not heard or seen, that their input "jarred" against the "Eurocentric norm" and that they felt they were simply placed on committees as a "window figurine" (0205 & 0207).

Several examples were given of the recent institutional restructuring, particularly of the administration and support services divisions and what were alleged to be poor decisions in the auctioning of this (0205: FwnSD). Administration and warden restructuring were allegedly repeated in some cases with the 'new' equity incumbents unable to fulfil the demands of the job, and where the union was called in to contest the processes (0205: FwnSD).

An example in the academic sector was also cited where an incumbent was hired with only an Honours degree after an institutional decision was taken to hire people with the minimum of a Master's degree. The previous incumbent (whose contract was allegedly terminated) also had an Honours degree. Allegedly this became an equity issue as the person replaced was White

and new incumbent Black. Apparently, this was contested, the line manager apparently received a "hand-wrapping" and nothing further happened (0205: FwnSD).

NVU's palpable sense of urgency to demonstrate it was addressing EE led some participants to feel they were seen simply as an EE beneficiary, and no more. For some, this experience was dehumanizing and a devaluing of their academic potential. It was thus a process they actively worked against. The example below illustrates one way in which this manifested itself:

> I remember being introduced… as the Mellon lecturer … and … I got up and I said, "well actually I want to just… correct that. I'm no longer the Mellon lecturer, I'm a lecturer" … In that moment, I think I understood what it meant for me: that I was not going to maintain that definition. I wasn't going to allow the institution even to consistently say, 'this is how you came in' because the implication was 'somehow that you got in through the back door' … and I wasn't willing to accept that implication. So, for me, it was about, I worked my ass off, and if … the people in the department didn't see that I was delivering what I said I would, they wouldn't have asked me to stay…
>
> I think in some ways I don't necessarily fulfil people's expectations … For example, I heard it a number of times when I was doing the PhD, one of my friends said to me, "you must understand that to be a female academic with a PhD is extremely valuable. Once you get it, you know, you can go anywhere … less than five % of current PhD's are female and Black women". I was shocked by that statistic, but it made sense given my experience with my students and knowing that actually, they wait for an extended period of time because they're actually building families or assisting families, or they just never come back. So, I understood what that was about… even though I know what her intention was, I still felt I'm not a statistic… I don't want to be anyone's statistic. I don't want to show up on a piece of paper… 'oh, we've got one Coloured woman who has gone through and done this PhD'…: I never wanted that. I've also felt that … with regard to the Dean that even he wanted me to complete for the very same reason; and even the VC. So, it felt like I was starting to become representative of a group of people who aren't fully represented, and I didn't want that…
>
> I grew up in the 1970's and the 1980's, so I still have a sense of what apartheid did to people, but I'm also of the opinion that everybody was damaged during that period. It wasn't just a specific group of people, everybody was damaged, and when you understand *that* you start to shift what you're doing – not because of quota or numbers, but because of fairness. I think initially probably people felt that transformation in terms of racial transformation, gender transformation, was asking people outright to be fair and to kind of say that we can't trust people's natural inclination because if we don't force them to do this, they're not going to do it, you know. I understand that, but I also feel like I don't want to get stuck there and be representative of what *they* want me to be, you know, because then it forces me to speak in a particular way. It forces me to be a feminist, it forces me to be liberal. It forces me to say any kind of racial injustice or, sexism or whatever, I'll be talking against it. And yet I'm going, actually no, I don't want to do that. I really don't want to do that.
>
> What I want to do is, I want to teach and I want to do my research, and I want to do that to the best of my ability and at some point, if it allows people to shift the way they are thinking and to actually start seeing each other as people and so value each other in that way, acknowledge each other in that way and grow the country in that way so it's inclusive rather than exclusive, then I feel like I've done my work… I think it's hard in some ways to be your own person within an institution that still drives a transformation agenda. Yah, it's weird
>
> … It's strange, because I'm trying to articulate what I know to be absolutely true for myself….

> … and it is that experience of wanting to define myself in whichever way and if it means that I want to remain anonymous without gender, without race, without class, you know, that's what I want to do, and that's what I want to be. So, race-less, class-less, sex-less ... (0242: FwnSD).

The participant is grappling with what it means to be type-casted as a representative of *Transformation*. Whilst she understands and appreciates the complexity and the fundamentals of the change process being engaged within and by NVU, and its potential outcome. She also rejects the form of politics in which representivity is foisted upon new incumbents, of which she is one, who are then expected to re-present the (previously) silent and excluded majority and are obliged to take on the role of re-educating the conservative institutional majority. The excerpt from her interview demonstrates the burden on, particularly ADP participants, to be change agents in a way that forecloses the chance for them to just be 'ordinary' academics.

This again emphasizes an (unintended) double standard that Black scholars and academics within NVU are held up against and feel consistently measured against. In the next section, there are also similar examples that arose in women's experiences. In both these examples, a range of participants contemplate what it means to be beholden to the *Transformation*-agenda and reflect on the implications of consciously choosing to 'go against the grain' and focusing on one's own career and the resistance encountered as this is interpreted as 'going against the cause'.

### 7.3. Transformation

As is evident from section 7.2 above, the successes and failings of EE at NVU were a complicated matter that active and direct interventions were beginning to address. NVU was for too long able to extricate responsibility by locating such in externalized factors beyond its control. However, increased state pressure on EE compliance, a then (new) Vice Chancellor, increased commitment by sectoral leadership as a whole, generous donor funding, and pressure from internal NVU stakeholders were responsible for the changes that were beginning to show results. Along with the structural and systemic processes of targeting, recruiting, and employing people at NVU went the challenge of transforming their experiences of the institution, which effectively meant dealing with NVU's institutional culture.

The *Transformation* debate at NVU focused predominantly on issues of institutional culture. In terms of values, these debates were about what the institution represented and stood for, there was also increasing awareness of how the institution was perceived and experienced by students and staff. The institution was open to women students and academics before it officially gained university status. However, the issue of gender and sexism has been contested on the campus since the 1970s and was thus a long standing part of institutional discussions.

Nonetheless, this does not mean that gender issues were profoundly closer to resolution. Immense progress had undoubtedly been made and there were a number of influential structures and individuals on the NVU campus, but there were also a number of structural, systemic, and socio-cultural constraints that participants still felt to be pervasive. This discussion will begin with an overview of gendered issues that participants raised in relation to academic labour and the NVU context and will then present a more detailed overview of the Solidarity Alliance for Women (SA4W) as a gender-based transformation initiative. It will then contrast these with race-based concerns that participants had within NVU in general (that have not already been raised in section 7.2.3.) as well as those of participants of the ADP. Whilst there are many more facets, components, and interventions with respect to transforming NVU's institutional culture, the discussion will focus on these main issues as those that have the de-segmentation of academic labour at their core.

Whilst, less pronounced than the challenges NVU faced in the appointment of Black academics, it was recognised in some sectors of the university that women academics in general, and universally at senior levels, were far and few between. Participant's discussion on the position, experience, and perception of women academics was more directly based on experience and interaction with women academics based at NVU[199].

Women academics, in particular, spoke of areas where there were less women in the academy. Where there were less women on the whole, for example in the science faculty, women academics interviewed often spoke of having 'gravitated' towards their careers from a young age and only recently had the revelation this was not the case for all aspiring women scientists:

[199] than as was the case with Black academics where perceptions developed out of the inability to get Black academics to come to NVU.

> However, since I've gone into management, I've begun to realise how important it is to have good role models … and I think it's very important for people like me to be role models for our students because many come from … environments where being a woman and getting into science and being an academic is not something that's expected … so from that point of view I think it's really important. It's really only as I've got older that I've realised how important that is, because as I said I came from a privileged background where … it wasn't unexpected for me to choose a career in science and academia. I didn't realise that that wasn't normal … until much later.

> I think it's important for young women to know that you can have a career in science without sacrificing being a parent and being a wife and a partner. You can do it all and our department is really good about that because some of our academics have children and others are single and some are in long term relationships and others aren't. I think we, as women, we kind of [show] … the younger women amongst the students "you don't have to fit … into any category to be able to be successful and you can do it, you can have it all if you want it" (0250: FwSCS).

> Our most high flying researcher who is just phenomenal is a Black woman … and her productivity is amazing and she has gathered around her a cohort of Black postgraduate students that's just like this flock. She's quite phenomenal in terms of developing capacity … and has a great love of that, it's not just about her research career, she's really dedicated to growing … (0245: NFL).

Whilst the role model effect was collectively asserted as important for inspiring confidence and encouraging more women into academia, gender equity in the workplace was something many (women) academics aspired to as opposed to readily experienced. In the current climate as well as considering issues of positionality and lived experience, participants also debated whether men could be role models for women as did White academics also reflect on whether were able to be role models for Black students and academics (0203, 0204 & 0212). Examples of gender inequity and patriarchy across the institution and within humanities and commerce-related fields were often cited.

Participants most often shared tangible examples of the systematic inequalities such as the overwhelmingly junior roles women academics occupy, and the masculinisation of the academic environment including being expected to present a particular (masculinised) academic persona, by students and staff, in order to be validated, recognised, and to succeed in NVU's academic environment. For example:

> I saw how difficult it was for certain women to quickly rise up in the ranks if they wanted to [do so] without playing … the game. I don't know how I can define the game but … my interpretation was that you had to do certain things, you had to be a particular personality, you had to express yourself in a particular way, if you wanted to be a woman that [was] considered a serious female academic who was going to be worthy of promotions, for example (0230: FwnDS).

A participant clearly articulates the ways in which the classroom, publishing and research are for her, masculinised ways of engagement:

> I think there is a sense in which ... women are caught in a kind of double bind, and in the sense, that, on the one hand to be authoritative in the classroom, you have put on an almost masculinised persona. You

have to talk loudly like what I'm doing right now. You have to kind of be authoritative, lower your voice, otherwise you just seem weird. But at the same time, if you do that, you also seem a bit weird ... So, you're kind of buggered if you do and buggered if you don't. I have experienced that on a kind of continuous basis, … I mean I have two identities and it's kind of schizophrenically moving between the two, because on the one hand I feel nurturing, kind, and loving and on the other hand, I feel the need to almost over-assert my authority so that it is accepted.

Men seem to be statured and occupy the space more, it's all those things. I do something, once a year I say to the students, right, I'm going to give you a word and then tell me what comes into your head, first, I introduce myself ... 'I'm Professor …' and then I say, the word, 'Professor' .... what came into your head'? Do you know, that across the board, I have never had anybody have 'female' in their heads and I have never had anybody have 'not White' in their heads. Even though, I'm standing there in front of them and I've just said the word 'Professor' to them. I said, 'I am Professor …'. I'm not the first person that comes into their heads so there's a certain work that one has to do then do to shift [what's] in their heads [and] to put in me in their heads, as a qualified knower, I am somebody, that it is your Professor.

I know, that I know, I am not who you are expecting and I can demonstrate that, that is not who you were expecting. You were expecting something else. There has to be a certain power of that image they have in their head. And a certain disadvantage that I am facing in the end to kind of push that image out and push myself in there. There's always, it, it's surely logical then that, there's a certain kind of questioning of me at the very start of our relationship ... so what do I do about that?

Do I prove that I am this male Professor? That I am, whatever dominant masculine norms are, ... strong, assertive and aggressive even. Then, if I am those things, there's this phenomenon of application that if a woman speaks loudly, she's shouting, she's always shouting, a woman is irritable, she's always cranky, why is she so touchy, so I mean, this amplification of everything and every characteristic whereas I think, I mean if men kind of 'shout it' then I don't think it would really be so bizarre (0231: FwnSD).

This engagement with the academic space and societal and student expectations, given historical legacies, was something that Black academics were subject to in very discriminatory ways. Here, the academic has to consciously surface the assumptions that the students have in order to demonstrate their normativity and actively begin its deconstruction. The same participant provides further examples as to how the practice of research is gendered, in both masculine and feminine ways that affect people differently; but again, how the normative standard is masculine.

So, in research…Let me give you an example... I just got feedback on an article and I thought ... 'oh my god, well ok, they don't like it', and I tossed it in the draw, and then months later I got the journal saying 'that article that we accepted, aren't you going to do the corrections? There were some minor corrections, we waiting for it' ... and I thought, 'but, you rejected it?' So, it's also that… I just find that women are much quicker to be humble about their achievements and the academy, or any work place, I suppose… I mean, I frankly think that people speak 'men' to be frank and speak themselves up. I just think there is a gendered thing where women tend to do the opposite and suffer as a result of it. So, you might get somebody with the same CV, but '*god* .... they've talked it up so much', you would think that they were phenomenal and I think on the whole, women don't do that…. I think men may get ahead more in research, not necessarily because they better, but because they don't undermine themselves and they don't apologise for themselves as much, and they don't ... hide their light as much.

So, we do count the research and for me again, it feels masculine. I don't know if it's legitimate to say that, but it feels masculine .... It just feels, pumping out stuff kind of thing. Which is often kind of alien

> to people who want to maybe sit around and talk about things and do things a little more slowly and a little bit more thoughtfully; and less kind of results orientated and more process orientated. The subsidy formula doesn't allow that, I mean, I do feel enormous pressure to just palm stuff out and I feel that I lose part of myself in that process. It's fulfilling on one level because … that's how you get on, kind of thing; but on a personal identity level, it doesn't feel that fulfilling.
>
> It just always strikes me so much that it's always myself and another woman that are always leaving these committees at 5 o' clock. The committee just goes on…'and [it's as] if those weirdo's want to leave, then that's fine'… [there is] no recognition that this actually is a gendered way of doing things .... (0231: FwnSD).

Whilst the account above demonstrates many of the subtle ways in which 'business as usual' may not be as 'normal' for everyone, particularly, in this case for women; women themselves were also cognisant that they as category experience the institution in heterogeneous ways. Some of this variation is illustrated in the examples below which demonstrate how other identity expressions and faculty location came into effect:

> It's changing but it certainly used to be the standard kind of White English speaking male, heterosexual … was the kind of … quintessential academic per se, a scientist probably. I mean, I certainly in my own capacity as a staff member have come across several incidences where I've been patronised or simply kind of been put in my place as a … I don't tolerate it, I'm quite known for speaking out but it is a kind of way of being here, you know, the standard things around race, gender, sexual orientation played out in very often, very subtle ways because on the surface [everything] is hunky dory
>
> It's not impossible [to challenge this] I think that there are spaces that you can, I mean the University does try to make those spaces available … I mean it's never easy of course, but there are spaces that you can do it. Of course, the more junior you are the more difficult it is. I can speak from certain vantage points because I sit in a fairly senior position, so it's easy for me to challenge and I'll be taken seriously when I do because I have a title, you know… (0232: FwnSD).
>
> I am a woman academic who hasn't faced most of the … problems that women face … I'm a Philosopher who tends to work in a very abstract level in value, theory, and ethics. Who has only now become more involved in social philosophical issues and I find myself now I've been put in a position as a spokesman for various positions that I'm a little [uncomfortable] to speak for. Only now, I'm getting to know university structures, becoming involved in committees, in a way that I think a lot of my colleagues have probably been more involved in than I have… So, I feel quite uncomfortable about making comments about the university itself because I just feel I don't know enough. I pick up on other people's unhappiness but it's not unhappiness I've directly experienced myself (0235: FwnSD).
>
> Certainly, in science, my experience has always been that my male colleagues, and that's across the board, see me as a scientist first and a woman second … I have never experienced any of my male colleagues being patronising … it's quite funny really that … they all open doors for me but I do feel I'm one of the boys in a non-sexist kind of way, I really do feel that I'm accepted and I think all my female colleagues, certainly in my department feel the same … I don't think as women we are at a disadvantage.
>
> I do know from comments women have made that come from other faculties in other departments that for some it's been really difficult … and that it's hard. It's often surprising because some of them are in Humanities and I always thought that my Humanities colleagues would be a lot more … sensitive to that kind of thing and it's always surprising when these comments come up because it comes from places where people study these kinds of things … So, I think women in science are very lucky, I think the

> barriers to being successful are not the attitude of our colleagues. The barriers are … circumstantial and I think they are often about … the time it takes to be a successful scientist and not to be a successful woman Scientist. Like having to make choices … and deal with having to juggle a family and children and all the other things, which I think all women have to do … (0250: FwSCS).

> Ah no, no, no, it's worked a lot on the issue of it's the gender. I think because that is something very visible and the part of it is because there is a strong female intellectual presence, of strong female intellectuals. So, it's easy for them to speak for, it's easy for that part of the world, let me say to speak for itself. Women are really pushing the boundaries, they are into positions of authority. Even our Head of Human Resources now… (0236: FwnSD)

Participants were also reflective about particular gendered issues that shaped or influenced their disciplines. In some instances, these were seen as a deterrent, in others an appeal to the discipline as a whole; whilst in other instances, it meant that specific sub-disciplines were gendered:

> There's also a gender issue … I don't know how realistic it is to expect to see … equal numbers of women in academic posts because for example, there's an extreme bias in Entomology towards fieldwork. Which is not really a safe or secure place for women to be and also the hours are a bit erratic, which means that if you have a family and anything resembling a traditional role as a parent, you probably don't want that job. Whereas, some of the other sciences are far more laboratory-based and are far more nine to five, and you don't have to feed the animals afterwards… Very often experiments do run over but you can just come and fix them and go home kind of thing; those kinds of jobs and those kinds of disciplines have far more women in them (0243: FwSCS).

> I hate it when people say this but, I think there are more women in Pharmacy now and whether that is a spin off or as a result of the fact that you can do locum work in the community pharmacy or you could have a contract where you work mornings only if that suits you or whatever. But I think because pharmacy has changed from a product-orientated approach, many years ago [to where] we've adopted a new paradigm about pharmaceutical care. It's not about the product, it's about the person … we've adopted it wholeheartedly. So, maybe women lend themselves better to those sort of caring professions. I don't know, I mean that's a very blasé thing to say…but there have been a few papers written in the last couple of years that suggested maybe it is just more appealing to, or it might just be a practical thing… [and] people get told pharmacy is a good degree for a woman to have (0239: FwSCS).

> There can be a lot more flexibility in terms of IT careers than there are perhaps in other career directions so why the subject doesn't appeal to women is a mystery to me and as I say there's a lot of research happening internationally that is really struggling to pin down why… (0247: FwSCS).

> There probably are one or two, Family Law tends to be more popular with women. I think that's the only gender one that I can say with some [certainty], where there is some sort of clear trend (0249: FwSCS).

> I think this is uncharacteristic so there would be more women in ethics than there would be in other sub areas … I don't approve of this but that's my impression. So, if you … if you did a search for very influential, very famous contemporary women Philosophers, most of them I think you would find in ethics or at the borderline of ethics and other things (0235: FwnSD).

Thus, some participants also factored in various social constructions in terms of their disciplines to explain both the vertical and horizontal segmentation across their field.

There were also a range of gendered discussions on sexual harassment, homophobia, and what participants described as being on the "wrong side of the right thing" that were seen as central for engagement to ensure that a progressive institutional culture enveloped NVU. As a residential university, a number of these concerns were perceived to affect students more than staff. However, academics felt the need to ensure the NVU environment was one that set the best precedent, dealt with cases fairly, justly, and efficiently, and inculcated a sense of all-rounded citizenry within its student body, and staff.

With respect to transformation, these issues were supported by NVU policies, a number of student activist groups, a number of awareness events throughout the year, and NVU academics also sought to also effect curriculum engagement on. However, these were difficult areas to intervene in and where there had been a mixed response from heated exchanges, resistance, to apathy.

A participant explains:

> It should be with the curricula, it should also be our attitudes, kind of if you hang out on [NVU] campus you will find when I starting talking about homophobia half of campus goes to sleep (0251: FwnSD).

Participants also emphasised that whilst the harassment of the LGBTIAQ+[200] community was something that students often sought advice about, it was one of the forms of discrimination and prejudice that people experienced, where they often felt they could and/or would not take action. This was often not because policy and procedures did not exist, as they did; but because of the complexity of the situation, social expectations and pressures, and power relations. It was reported that 90% of cases where student's sought advice was between students themselves. In cases involving staff, these were most often not officially reported. This is entirely understandable from the individual student's perspective. However, it does allow a situation where serial offences could develop.

NVU had also recently revised its sexual harassment policy and was also conscientiously addressing the reporting process to improve the way the institution deal with these cases. However, it should also be noted, that this was an area of great frustration to many participants as the new policies had reportedly taken more than five years to get passed through all the

[200] Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, Intersex, Asexual, Queer, Questioning, + and others

various institutional structures and committees. It was reported that a lack of correct procedure within committees themselves had been responsible for lengthy delays in the processing of the documents (0251, 0218, 0214, 0224, 0219, etc.). However, procedural and overall issues of overall issues of fairness were also raised:

> There's a … whole range of sexual harassment [on campus] and a lot of that is tied to kind of … sexual identity and gender stereotypes and those things. For me, it's crucial to transform those, if you don't do it as the university, when are you going to do it? …
>
> What's quite interesting is the proctors[201] have always been White men .... By the way, the one White man was very good and very fair but I think it's very important for people facing disciplinary action to feel that they are not being discriminated against by the proctor because he or she is a different race of gender. And they have now appointed a whole lot, and been very careful about that so… they are kind of enforcing that and they cleared something like 17 outstanding cases of sexual harassment … in one blow.
>
> Then there was a sexual offences policy which somehow got tagged onto [the new sexual harassment policy] and the sexual offences policy was unconstitutional. It said that a list of sexual offenders would be kept but you could be put on that list without your knowledge, and there didn't have to be any burden of proof. I could go to HR and kind of say "this guy is a serial rapist" and he would go onto this database and never have the chance to respond and would stay on that … So, we signed off on all the policies except that one (0251: FwnSD).

This latter point related especially to what participants referred to as "being on the wrong side of the right thing". This expression was used almost exclusively to refer to sexual harassment cases and constituencies within NVU who contested the fairness of various processes and specific cases, but felt that their positionality as men de-legitimised their grounds to contest the process:

> 0250: This is a discussion I have with many of my male colleagues and many of them feel the same way but they also feel at a disadvantage because they are male, many of them are White males, and my Black male friends as well, they feel that they can't talk about this … because … they are in a position where they … are on the wrong side of the right thing … So, I often find myself in a position where … I have to talk on their behalf … because they feel they are not in position to do that. Does it make sense to you?
>
> KL: Could you maybe provide an example?
>
> 0250: You can put it in if you choose to, there was an incident … during O' week where … a student … allegedly raped a first year…. After that, there was a witch hunt, they published the picture of the alleged rapist and … the way in which the university dealt with it. Everything was done from … the … victim's point of view. The alleged rapist was vilified … In view, of you are only guilty if you are proven guilty, there was a very vigorous discussion about it between myself and my male colleagues … We discussed

[201] Those who adjudicate the case, internally within NVU.

> this in the residence and many of the male students were very unhappy about what had happened because they felt that whether this guy was guilty or not, he wasn't being given a fair, fair hearing.
>
> My male colleagues said to me, "look we think it's really important but we feel if we said something, we would be, we would be put in a very difficult position" and 'it's the chant, all men are rapists'. So, as a result of that I actually went, I wrote a letter to the university … saying, "look I think we need to deal with this in a different way" … there is a group of people on campus that feel that they can't speak freely because of the … way in which we deal with these kinds of things. I don't have a problem with that, I'm a senior academic on campus … I have to deal with these things because if I can't talk about it, who is going to? (0250: FwSCS).

Acknowledging that there are a multitude of layers and complexities to this case and this example, the specific point that I wish to focus on, at this time, is the tension that arises between procedural fairness, formal equality, and substantive equality. This example illustrates the difficulty in ensuring fairness for all parties, when the very procedure and processes (and therefore, the likely outcome) are understood differently by different constituencies. Whilst this is a more explicit example in which different positions are exacerbated in more pronounced ways, it is also reflective of a range of more subtle issues that pervade generalised gendered, and racialized concerns on the campus.

For example, there was an appeal against a judgment on a homophobia case, in which "the judgment itself contained homophobic statements" (0214: FwnSD). Participants were thus emphatic about the need to finalise the array of policy on discrimination and sexual harassment so that the new policy could be used to better effect.

### *7.3.1 Solidarity Alliance for Women (SA4W)*

The Solidarity Alliance for Women (SA4W) emerged organically as ground-up, network of women academics who strategically conceptualized the financial, social, academic, and institutional support that would better enable women academics and post-graduate students to succeed at NVU. At the time of research, SA4W had successfully motivated for two rounds of three-year funding from the Andrew Mellon Foundation. There had been two iterations in the life of SA4W, the first primarily driven by academics whilst the second was more focused on post-graduates.

What is particularly distinctive about SA4W, is that it was formed by academics themselves. Participants describe the formalization of the alliance:

> For women, there was the [SA4W] development. It's about five years ago, quite spontaneously women [came] together discussing, formed an association … quite organically… by just getting together and starting to talk and then using their own resources to meet (0245: NFL).

> I got involved with [SA4W] because … firstly, I went to a couple of public lectures and I saw this *group of women talking and being so vibrant*, and they were Black women. I was very aware how White the institution is and to see these women. They just had hutzpah and they were alive and, and I wanted to be with them. Then I heard, 'oh no, they are from [SA4W]'... Then, I heard [SA4W] was wanting to fund raise … so called to help them fund raise but then also got to just know them and became very involved with them. We did raise funds, we got a big fat amount from Mellon and it was really[SA4W's] support and nurturing and inspiration that made me feel that even I could be an academic… (0211: FwnSD).

With the initial funding from Mellon, SA4W was able to fund buy-outs, sabbaticals, and organize writing retreats, for women academics. This thereby enabled participants to complete qualifications and major writing projects, and therefore to be better positioned for confirmation and/or promotion. SA4W particularly embraced an alternative approach and sought to fill identified institutional gaps, as detailed below:

> Since it got Mellon funding… [it has been] able to pay for things like letting women staff finish their degree, go on sabbatical for a certain number of months, and it's actually on a lot of the University forms now …

> One of the reasons why [SA4W] applied for Mellon funding was to be able to help people in those situations, [where] you don't qualify, yet, for this sabbatical but you're stuck in this situation where you're not going to get promotion until you have finished, at least, your Master's degree but at the same time you've got [a] crushing teaching load…

> …The problem is like with any career, you can dead-end yourself by making some bad choices or things that just go wrong and it can be difficult to fight your way out of that position…and I think what [SA4W] was particularly aiming at was…for women who don't have a linear career path; quite often, [you] have children at some point or you may have taken time off to support a partner or you've moved around or whatever it is. It's not easy to prove, 'I am a productive researcher and therefore, deserve sabbatical'. The university, like all universities [is quite strict on that] they are not going to fund you…for what they perceive to be unproductive periods…

> There can be good reasons: family obligations, children, ill health, wrong choices, or just been hit by fate at the wrong moment…and then [they] struggl[e] to apply for sabbatical again…or leave of any sort. So, [SA4W] was really to try and provide that escape hatch or that… last chance where the university was kind of saying, 'well, we don't know if we can really do this because you can't justify it on your previous performance'. [SA4W] was then more open to say, 'let's look at this individual case very carefully' and at this person's whole life not just their career path and see whether there was some obvious explanation… (0202: FwSCS).

> [SA4W] organised writing workshops, child care was taken into consideration and was paid for … I think there's generally a recognition too that women might get their PhD's later … Much of the bursary support that's available has limitations in terms of age which doesn't work for many women … and in fact it seems it doesn't work across the board, because the average age for PhD's is late 30s anyway… so when you say the bursary… upper edge is 35, it's quite restricting (0245: NFL).

The appeal of the SA4W 'time-release' initiative was such that applications were received from across the University, including from non-SA4W participants. These were often funded with a

request for retrospective involvement in SA4W itself (0211: FwnSD). The rationale behind SA4W's process was later mainstreamed within NVU itself:

> I'm meeting with Heads of Departments [to discuss] 'Where are your academics at? Who is ready for promotion? Who needs a little bit of a push and encouragement?' The Deans then often will talk to that staff member and say "Where are you and how can we support you?" We've also been able to access money from the Claude Leon Foundation and the Mellon Foundation … for people to have extra academic leave … our [Solidarity Alliance for Women] started this initiative. People could apply for extra academic leave to accelerate their progress, so to make sure that they can get those extra couple of months that are needed to finish the PhD or to get the research profiling… So, we have these funds which as I said buy extra academic leave to try and accelerate people's' progress… [SA4W]'s particular funds are only available to women that belong to [SA4W], [other] Mellon [funding] is more broad-based, but it's primarily for Black scholars, and the Claude Leon is primarily for designated candidates (0218: NFL).

In addition to financing and 'uninterrupted time', SA4W had also identified social, academic, and institutional support as key areas where knowledge and resources could be pooled and shared. A long-term SA4W member elaborates on what drew her to the group and how her participation had changed over time:

> I just thought it was a really good idea for women to support each other and to share some of their kind of insider knowledge, about how the system works. For people on the Humanities side, having things like reading and discussion groups was really important…It was quite often, for me, it was just knowing that I was a member and there were women that I could talk to and connect with and we could laugh about stupid things that your HoD had done, or issues like how to get onto the committees that you wanted to get onto. As I've sort of progressed it's become more that I've been the mentor in the relationship. So, for the last two years, I've mentored junior staff and done things like helping them deal with conflict situations in their department in productive ways. Helping them get their CV's ready for promotion and just talking about the balance between teaching and research, between home life and children, and husband and work, and whatever they wanted to talk about…Which was quite fun for me, I learnt quite a lot just from listening to them, I think as you always do. That was a nice role that I enjoyed. But more than that it was just the kind of … I don't know to say it? Do you speak Afrikaans? *Geseligheid* the kind of *community spirit* shall we say … (0202: FwSCS).

The sharing of institutional knowhow and mentoring were key aspects that repeatedly came up in interviews. However, the processes of managing these changed as SA4W evolved, as its institutional role changed and its budget was differently allocated:

> We have an open mentoring system that resonates with how mentoring started at [SA4W], we had a very good mentoring programme. It had a dedicated coordinator and people were paid to mentor, which I had problems with, but it worked as that system… It targeted 12 people and it cost a lot because the coordinator got them together, got regular feedback, and ran workshops throughout the year for both mentees and mentors. So, I think the mentees felt like they got something very valuable out of it, as did the mentors, they got paid.…
>
> The second round of funding we didn't claim for mentoring… So, what we have done is two of us have agreed to be … kind of mentoring coordinators. We're available every Monday afternoon in the [SA4W] office and people who need mentoring or who would like some kind of mentoring would email and say, "this is the, more or less the issue". So, it's either once offish or it's sort of saying, "okay wait, you need to team up with this person because they've been through this process". So, it's a facilitated mentoring

> if you like. This time around, we'll have to see how it works…I think there are post-grad students who are feeling, "yes I definitely need mentoring". We'll see, we're waiting to see what kind of response we get (0211: FwnSD).

A number of participants spoke of the gap SA4W filled particularly in their early careers and the support SA4W women provided:

> I'm not saying the department has been hostile, it's just that it's sort of assumed that, well 'I'm doing my thing and no one is sort of interfering in what I'm doing', maybe that's the way they interpret it. But they are also not asking me, so "how are you doing, what are you planning to do, is there any way we can help?" kind of thing… Outside of the department there have been some structures where people have been a little bit more inquisitive as to where am I going and willing to provide support to help me get there (0220: FwSCS).

> I was involved in [SA4W] … I haven't been active for the last two years or so, but I always felt very early on particularly, when I started doing my Masters that this group of women were there and they created a kind of support. … There were particular individuals that when I felt let me go and chat or get some advice; I have a problem making decisions. There were people there that I could just go to but it was on an individual basis and I think without that it's unlikely that I would have looked to other channels because I don't feel the university as such has that structured kind of [support] or a centre where you can go for these kinds of things. Maybe that's recently changed but I haven't heard of one yet; where in terms of if you are transitioning maybe from student into academia, there's someone who can closely mentor you and has a plan … who will be able to commit to helping you do that (0230: FwnSD).

> What has happened more with [SA4W] women is that we mentor each other … we become friends, so two women I have mentored, we are now friends (0211: FwnSD).

Some of the other formal events organized by SA4W included reading groups, seminar presentations, and general discussion meetings:

> We have a general meeting every month and we have seminars every month and we probably have between 15 and 30 who attend those. Writing breakaways, we usually have about 20 who attend those and we have about three a year and of course some of those are overlaps, they might go to more than one. So, it's having an influence in a small University … so it is reaching a group that possibly would fall through the cracks if there wasn't this kind of social space to feel at home.

> Our general meetings are opportunities, for people to talk about whatever is on their mind, report back from conferences they have been to, give their experiences in particular areas, pass on any opportunities… The reading group was a *fantastic* programme in the first lot of funding, increasingly dwindled until it was a core group of say four or five... Now some departments have got reading groups. Whereas [SA4W], started off very much based on internal seminars where I'm writing a chapter, I present it to people, or I'm going to a conference I do a dry run with [SA4W] Many departments are doing that themselves. So, it does feel like some of the programmes that were core to [SA4W's] first dispensation, many of those ideas have been incorporated into departments themselves, so there is not such a place for it….

> Then, we have … seminars around specific areas, the seminar coming up is around 'Black women in Science'… some of the seminars will be open so that the wider university, who tends to have… I mean we've heard interesting stories about how '[SA4W] is full of outraged feminists', I mean really I think … very few of them are or '[SA4W's] is too radical' and again I think they're thinking of me when I was SA4W Chair and I was quite radical. I don't think SA4W is that radical, so we want to have more open

> seminars to show the wider university community that we're not going to bash every man! (0211: FwnSD).

SA4W as an alliance had also been strategic within NVU. It had an active institutional presence on committees and was dedicated to furthering equality, instilling a more progressive institutional culture, and addressing problematic structures, hierarchies, and processes. Its presence and role was also institutionally recognised:

> [SA4W] has been quite … intentional in trying to support women's involvement [through] nominations in particular on the influential bodies, like Senate. So, when someone has been on a committee … there would be emails and circulars to say, "if you are on the committee, support the nominations or second or whatever", now you've got people being involved in those structures. But I think without the intentions it probably wouldn't happen. It would probably just be the same people over and over. But I think because particular individuals have done their best to be like 'Are there any women? If there are not, and if there's a channel that we can push some in let's do that'. So, there's some kind of solidarity (0230: FwnSD).

> We sit on committees together so that we can fight the battles that we need to fight. We encourage each other to address issues that need addressing. It really feels that we are starting to have effect and there are now … four [SA4W] members who have been elected onto Senate which really feels like now we can make things happen (0211: FwnSD).

> [SA4W] has also taken on issues of procedures of appointment of Heads of Departments and Deans and

> made lots of noise around it. Of things, perhaps not being what they should be and of alternative ways that things could be done. So, I think, [SA4W] is not just representing women, [SA4W] is representing … a race and class … base as well. … … But we possibly need some more associations of a similar kind … to be out there working. I think [NVU's] experience has been much like other universities where sort of top Black academics are gained and then lost … (0245: NFL).

Another influential committee was the Gender Action Forum (Genact), on which SA4W women were also represented, this structure played a key role in ensuring that the content of policies such as parental leave and sexual harassment were up to date and fully gender (as opposed to simply women) compliant and progressive:

> So, whereas [SA4W] is a more instant gratification thing of helping women right here and right now, Genact is addressing the systemic and institutional barriers through the system, using the system in order to change things that need to be changed. So, it's nice to have both, they do different things, they function differently.

> … [SA4W] has fed things through to Genact because it's a subcommittee of Senate… some of the things that [SA4W] has put on the table at Genact have been for instance: The Council Chamber was the place where all paintings of the previous VC's hung around the Council Chamber. We argued that if you are going to make committees more inclusive, [people may] feel alienated in that space with a whole bunch of aged White men staring down at them so we wanted them removed from there in order to make that space more inclusive. That was a two-year process of going through the various committees, but GENACT was the one that started the ball rolling and it went through various committees until finally they were removed and we're getting the Keiskamma project to do a quilted history of [NVU].

> I think [NVU] might have one of the more progressive parental leave policies in South Africa. It didn't used to be like that though. So that's been a Genact project to work on that. And giving post grad students

> who might fall pregnant space to have their baby without needing to be compromised in terms of their funding, etcetera. Genact has also pushed through child care facilities for after hour … [NVU] events and meetings do seem quite traditional. In some ways, it's tricky because it then almost implies, women are the child bearers so we must have all these policies for them. But in fact, it's recognising that previously this has been invisible labour so we're making it visible. We're fully recognising at the same time that not all women want to have children and not all women are the nurturers. That men can also be the nurturers and the parental leave when a woman has a baby, if both parents work at [NVU] the man can also take … parental leave; and the woman can come back to work. So, it's recognising, it's making visible first what was invisible and then trying to support and then also trying to broaden the category of what it is to be a parent rather than saying women always have the children (0211: FwnSD).

SA4W received institutional recognition, although this was not without its limitations, as discussed by a Human Resources representative:

> In many ways, I mean [SA4W] has been *wonderful* for us institutionally because what it does is it's a catalyst and it kind of profiles issues and it says "hey look at it from this point of view" and then we work quite cooperatively with that and say "gosh, well let's think about that perspective" and "that's a really a good idea how do we mainstream it?"
>
> So, it also creates capacity in some ways so it would be *wonderful* to *have that kind of voice* of Black professionals or Black academics particularly. We're not getting it coming out of our unions, obviously NEHAWU represents a particular kind of voice, which is obviously dominated by Black staff but amongst our academics we're not getting that voice. I think there would be such value in that as well because we have a number of Black staff sitting in these very isolated pockets I think it would be good to hear that voice, now whether one organises that or whether one says 'well if there's a need it would actually be there to start one' I don't know, I do remember the previous Vice Chancellor saying that there had been kind of a request or the idea had been raised on having a Black [staff forum] and it was kind of like "no that isn't a good idea"…
>
> Our current Vice Chancellor I think and he's such an open man and I mean … I don't think even if he didn't personally support it on whatever level I think he would say "well you know put a proposal together, let's have a look at it, let's see what you think you want to do" I mean he has been very supportive of [SA4W] … He in fact has encouraged [SA4W] to take on a particular role in relation to management or admin and said to them 'be careful that you don't get immersed in running parallel programmes that's not your role; play this catalyst role, aim to see things mainstreamed', so and that's been the kind of philosophy… (0218: NFL).

Herein lay both the strength and inherent limitation of SA4W. As an initiative conceptualized and facilitated by academics, it was acutely aware of the needs of academics. In many ways, it was thus best placed to address these. However, its viability and sustainability were also constrained by the competing demands and pressures of academics' work life. There were also competing interests and needs within the group which meant that not everyone's needs were met, not everyone had equal commitment, and not everyone was represented. Furthermore, funding requirements for the institutionalization of women's empowerment also came with the requirement that the institution per se (as opposed to say for example, an activist organization) take more responsibility for gender mainstreaming.

Two participants explain what this meant for the second instalment of funding:

> Mellon indicated that they would fund a second cycle if it was integrated into the University, so they wanted to see the university integrating the support for women. So, what we have currently is a small amount from Mellon, which keeps [SA4W] going as … an independent association and now a fund specifically to support women's research that falls under the management of the research office, … that's across all faculties… I think we've yet to answer the question, "has [SA4W] actually been integrated into the administration and the University and what has it changed as a result?" Well maybe it will be in three years' time. Currently, it's still an add on … providing extra support in resources, so where women might have fallen short and not been able to do something, they can now turn to [SA4W] … but it's still pulling plasters … (0245: NFL).

> What has happened with the new lot of funding, is what we decided: the funders, the VC and the Research office, was that whereas previously all of that money came to [SA4W] and we just decided what we wanted to do with it; this time … [SA4W] gets a portion of it but the bulk of it is located in the Research division, in order for the Research office to own more responsibility for supporting women and scholars. So, now what we are doing with that funding is targeting individuals especially in departments that are struggling to get [Black] women with PhD's… and finding within those departments, who has their Masters, come and write a paper, we'll give you a writing respondent. You're going to write your paper…and we'll give very targeted specific support from specific staff members to strengthen the layer of women and particularly Black women in that area, but there are very few Black women there.

> So, I am just … putting it out there and hoping through this kind of funded targeting through the Research office that [we] strengthen women and value women from an institutional view rather than from a [SA4W] point of view that … we are [able] … to push … the sense of giving back. While universities tend to be hierarchical and where you tend to be very protective over your research funding and your research focus, we are saying "if you are getting funding for this, what way are you going to give back and there are these options for how you do it" and kind of trying to push a more reciprocal participatory ethos... (0211: FwnSD).

SA4W's key constituency had changed over the years, from academics to post-graduate students. However, of late, it had been observed that SA4W had begun to resonate more widely with academics and students from across NVU:

> It is still necessary for post grad women because … often they feel alienated in their departments and what's been interesting, is it's always been a very Humanities-based organisation and what's happened this year… It's become predominated by Black women scientists, who are rare in their departments. Who are considering academic careers but they look in their departments and see "oh, all White men" … I think there are only two South African Black lecturers in the whole of the Science faculty. There are some foreign Black Lecturers but I mean, … that has a large influence on whether … Black women consider a career in academia, the fact that there are no other people like them….so [SA4W's] still got an immense purpose (0211: FwnSD).

Given NVU's commitment to EE, it is perhaps an unfortunate coincidence that what appears to be a downscaling of the SA4W initiative may coincide with the time that more Black women may need access to the support it has provided. Nonetheless, as one of the participants above said, time will tell whether NVU itself has sufficiently picked up and delivered on such.

SA4W as a group had, had its challenges. These included somewhat of an interest gulf between academics and post-graduates, reliance on one chairperson signalling a leadership lacuna, a potential inability to bridge the gap between White and Black women academics, a cult of personalities, and questions of its overall success (and efficacy).

Perhaps one of the most constructive criticisms, was the following appraisal of the different reasons why academics joined SA4W and the different positionality of women within the alliance and within NVU itself:

> 0220: For example, when I joined [SA4W], it was mainly young Black women and it's still mainly young Black women but the only people that are still there…are all White, because the White people stay and the Black people left … I think staff turnover among Black academics is higher… and White postgraduate students are more likely to stay on and become lecturers, and Black academics not. So [NVU] is not succeeding in that respect. But it's not to say that there's absolutely no commitment or attempt on the part of anyone to change that but there hasn't been much success.
>
> KL: … Do you think the existence of SA4W has begun to shape or influence women on campus?
>
> 0220: Yes and no… it's hard to get an organisation like that going and it's hard to … balance, a lot of women, for example, in academia and I think a lot of Black people in academia are not necessarily that committed to a kind of radical transformative project … Often the people who will involve themselves in an organisation like [SA4W]… Often the White people who involve themselves in those kind of organisations … are more committed to a radical project than some of … the Black people who might just try and cope in the institution and not be that keen on fighting and having battles here and there with funding, [they're keen on] having a space which feels comfortable and that sort of thing.
>
> I think even within [SA4W], there are women who want to be part of [SA4W] because [SA4W] provides certain things for women: conference funding, opportunities to go away on research writing breaks and that sort of stuff is helpful but the same women are not necessarily committed to ongoing struggles against patriarchy. Perhaps rightfully so but other women have been quite irritated about it and feel those women are just sort of the…people who are interested in involvement in [SA4W] for I guess, for self-serving reasons.
>
> I don't know and I think one has to be careful there, sometimes not every Masters student studying Biochemistry needs necessarily, wants to, or has any responsibility to spend part of her two years here transforming the institution but at the same time, one feels quite frustrated when people who perhaps are at a disadvantage in the institution don't really want to … try to change the institution; they just want to try to make their *own personal* path a little easier and that can be quite frustrating sometimes …
>
> But certainly, having organisations on campus which provide an alternative and alternative for people I think is helpful, as long as they resist co-option, that is tricky but I think, it's helpful. Not just [SA4W] or whatever but any kind of group of people who seem to be *pushing* a particular agenda, can be threatening to others but it's also kind of that group is there and might take up certain issues. (0220: FwSCS).

The participant asks pivotal questions about what demands can legitimately be put on SA4W participants, and to what extent they can be expected to adopt the agenda or role of the group as a whole. These questions are also inherently complex in that political agendas then become intertwined with the financial means for people to advance their studies and/or careers.

Identity-based activism was something that came up time again and in which there was an inherent assumption that women and Black people "ought to do" and to which there was often consternation to disapproval when this role was rejected.

However, other SA4W members felt that there was a great deal of flexibility with regards to one's own political stance and commitment:

> What I quite liked, it's not like a political party where you have to tow the party line all the time. So [SA4W] might say to me, "look * please speak to this item, I would say, "I'm quite happy to do that, I'll put your case forward but I am actually not in support of this particular thing, so it's absolutely fine", so that's, that's also okay so I can be a [SA4W] member and I can talk for [SA4W] but I can also say, "I see their point but it's not mine in this particular case" So you don't feel kind of squashed, that you have to wave your particular banner. We acknowledge that there are lots of ways that [SA4W] members can be active. What was the joke, you could be a member of 'Umkhonto We[SA4W]' if you wanted to, or you could be a more surreptitious member... Whatever your role was that you felt comfortable to play then, you could do that…So, it's a very flexible kind of structure which is great (0202: FwSCS).

However, for others, the alliance's change in membership, less explicit focus, and competing interests meant it no longer fulfilled their own needs:

> I used to, but… firstly, I just don't have time… and I'll be quite honest with you, [SA4W] is a wonderful organisation I think in theory and on paper. In practice, it has really limped along and one of the reasons a lot of academics have dropped out is because it started to become very much a student thing. A lot of postgraduate students were just desperately trying to belong to something and this was a gap that they grabbed onto. It became very uneasy because somebody who is a student has very different needs to somebody who is an academic. There are different… So, I found that… also quite difficult in that the initial impetus for the organisation was a very feminist one and then loads of other people came in and said, "oh God no we don't want to be feminist". Some of us were going, "well why are you in a woman's organisation, what is the politics here then, why don't we just let anyone in who wants to feel supported?" So, I think there's a kind of uneasiness, I do exist on the periphery but I'm not able to take on a lot of opportunities like writing again, I love to do that, I can't with two children, it's very difficult so maybe further along the line … (0209: FwnSD).

In this regard, the opening up of SA4W to a broader pool of participants actually de-politicised the overall alliance. In complex ways, the de-masculinization of post-graduate studies and academic labour began, without necessarily the de-construction of patriarchy. Furthermore, as the previous participant noted, the turnover of particularly Black post-graduate students, then also suggests that even demographic change itself (race and gender-based) was limited.

Whilst recognizing colleagues who had been promoted, participants also raised questions about the limited extent of internal promotions, whether SA4W could address systemic aspects of the institution and whether women themselves were allies to each other:

> All the people who I know are Professors now it was from Lecturer, Senior Lecturer and then I think in particular cases if it hadn't been their own will to get things done and maybe some of their connections especially with [SA4W], some of the opportunities, they may not have had the direction they have taken,

> it would be different or [taken] even longer because … you always saw in these [SA4W] things, congratulating and giving that support…
>
> But I guess there are deeper questions around … why aren't there more women professors. Is it that the profession itself is not conducive to family? [If you're] a woman, is it more conducive for someone who is not interested in family, if you want to rise up between the ranks do you have to be a single woman who is not interested in anything but just writing and publishing? …
>
> Then there's a question about in the university, about allowing you to get that PhD so you can get the promotion versus being loaded with all this teaching and then you can't do the research and you can't get promoted. All the women I know who are at lecturer positions, they just don't have time and the luxury to publish because… "we've got a big five hundred student class and then he's got like thirty Honours and whatever, Masters and PhD", where it's a completely different pressure (0230: FwnSD).

Participants also questioned the extent of influence and change at the very top of NVU's hierarchy:

> I don't think systemically anything has changed. [NVU] itself has moved quite quickly in terms of a whole lot of new relatively senior management appointments being women … I think everyone was very pleased that a woman was the … preferred candidate for the Director job, they wanted a man, I think there was a bit of, "well we need more women, not quite in top management but in senior management" … so you have your top layer … are still all male and then you have a layer of women [and then another layer that is] all the Deans are men … and that doesn't look like it's shifting yet, [there are] … different successes… but I think it's on the table, it's being addressed. There is an awareness of it now (0245: NFL).

Some were angry that SA4W women, themselves, were not supportive of each other:

> So, no matter how good the policies are and no matter how good the numbers look in terms of equity, if you don't have an environment in which people think differently, where people in their daily interactions respect each other as humans before they see each other for titles … then just I think then we haven't even begun talking about any kind of change, we haven't begun talking about transformation…
>
> And [SA4W] was meant to be one of those platforms where women could at least get in power with women and it enabled and reinforced us to enable you to get there. … even in [SA4W] people were saying, it got to a point where women were saying amongst women that, "some women … get even worse, they get even more bureaucratic than men, once we're amongst ourselves, then we begin pushing each other away, we begin making things difficult for the others". Older much more established women who were Professors … were less … accommodating for women who were younger who had just completed their Masters and are perhaps looking at their academic careers, and you would think that once you get into a space such as [SA4W] you'd break down those boundaries … maybe they don't realise that we are all fighting for the same things … and it's, it's pitiful to be fighting over crumbs … (0228: FwnSD).

There was also a convergence between the individual and institutional changes that appeared to potentially accompany the evolution of SA4W. Whilst this could potentially just be part of cyclical organizational change, the group may also, as a previous participant cautioned, need to be weary of co-option.

> What's happened for me and what's happened for a lot of the mature [SA4W] people is [SA4W] gave them the space to make the sister friends that we've now got, [so] we don't need [SA4W] for [that]

> because we've established those alignments and those friendships, we sit on committees [and can have effect there] … So [SA4W] isn't as necessary for us … (0211: FwnSD).

However, the long term viability of SA4W would require active participation and leadership. As the long term chair shared, being able to get other SA4W members to take over the leadership role had thus far proved a largely insurmountable barrier:

> The people who started [SA4W], there was such energy and there was such passion and commitment and incredible stuff but a lot of those initial bunch have moved off. I then took over as Chair … then I couldn't for the *life* of me, get anybody to agree to be Chair after me. So, I took a second term as Chair, so by the end of that I was pretty damn exhausted...When I finished at the end of my second term, we configured the committee to be two co-Chairs, to try and dilute that burden …
>
> I think the problem with [SA4W] is that the more mature … academics …who have been involved in [SA4W] … since it stated are women who also take on a lot… and often I mean we know that women also have all kinds of invisible labour that they do at home and in their departments and in mentoring … so then to still to take on more tasks on the [SA4W] committee just feels rude … so I'm busy having an interesting debate with myself at the moment because I'm again Chair… So now we've got another three years of funding and I'm a little bit terrified again because I am feeling again that's it been driven by me, and everyone always says, "oh thank God, you're doing such a great job", but I don't want it to be about me, if it's not participatory, it's anti-feminist, to just have one person pulling it all the time.
>
> And last year in a sense was me saying, "I've got to let it go" I mean, it was support, support, support, dwindling, dwindling, dwindling and then saying "okay you're on your own" and … it crashed, it was a disaster … it wasn't a disaster in terms it had good writing breakaways, people learnt stuff, people went to conferences, people finished papers, people finished their Masters, finished their PhD's; things happened but it's not the ideological vibrant group that it used to be…
>
> I am deeply passionate about [SA4W] but I think when you ask me about it often feels like it's pulling a dead albatross around my neck, it's like I carry an enormous weight for it, I take on the responsibility because I feel, I always make *wide* appeals for help but … women don't have the time, so it's a tricky thing. It's all very well to say let me try and mentor people into the next leadership role and there are women who have said, if I say, "how about coming onto the committee?" and they say, "ask me next time", but every time there is a next time, there are more burdens for them to bear, so the next times don't quite happen.

Hence as is evident, SA4W had made a significant impact on NVU both in respect of the individuals who have been through its various 'programmes' and the overall contribution it has had in facilitating the start of more engaged and considered gender and race-based mainstreaming within the institution. It has also begun to address issues of institutional culture and systemic processes. Nonetheless more structural and systemic change has been slow progress, for which many do not necessarily see the benefit within their time at NVU, whilst for others this has effectively become a life project. It was too early to determine the effects of institutionalization. However, the experience of which could be bittersweet for the activists of SA4W. Nonetheless, it is likely that both would exist in parallel for some time (pending resolution of the issue of leadership).

Just as there was evidence within the interview data of the variety of positions SA4W women occupied; the same was true for those who chose not to pursue an activist agenda. At an individual level, a participant reflects on her decision not to join SA4W. Her account reflects an understanding of intersectionality and that institutional resources be reserved for the benefit of those most in need:

> I know that some of my colleagues belong to [SA4W] and I've thought about it long and hard and I've decided not to join for one reason…Although, I'm a woman… I have been privileged mainly because I'm White, and I always felt … that having been privileged… I would feel guilty if I went, but I know that some of my colleagues go and they really have benefitted. So, that was just a personal decision … which, is something we have to live I think. And I actually deal with it, but it was my decision not to join because I feel that I have had the privilege that many others don't have. Therefore, I shouldn't try look for other privileges if that makes any sense.
>
> But I know that the others have benefitted hugely from it and have really enjoyed belonging to it as an association. I think most of them work quite well … and support it wholeheartedly in recognising that many women have not been privileged either because of racial issues or gender issues or both. Or sometimes just because they've had families… with their children, they've had to put their careers on hold or haven't progressed as fast as they may have otherwise. I think that's a biological issue as far as I am concerned. You decide to have a kid, that's just a decision you make and not everyone does.
>
> But you also need to know that I am not married and I do not have any children so, my life is about my work. And I'm quite comfortable with that. I think that's important you know. Context is everything, isn't it? You know if I had a young family, if I had young kids now I wouldn't be able to do … I don't think I would even stand for … I'm being perfectly honest because I think that's what you want? (0239: FwSCS)

In other instances, participants noted, with some surprise that not all women academics were committed to women's empowerment initiatives, for students or staff. A male participant shared an example of his own department:

> We've had very good open frank discussions with my female colleagues and [they] pretty unanimously tell me 'no, they're not interested in kind of starting initiatives for female students in Computer Science' … It's a little bit frustrating when I thought maybe we can do something that might help address the demographic issues in the student numbers. Nobody seems particularly interested in getting involved in anything like that. … I'm not sure that having a male trying to drive something like that is going to achieve anything. In terms of the gender imbalance [in staff] I've sometimes said 'shouldn't we have initiatives in place within the department' and have kind of been rebuffed; but I would be open to those, if someone's got some ideas of things we could do differently that would make more people feel more comfortable (0247: FwSCS).

There were also a few participants who shied away from SA4W explicitly because it was an unknown quantity (to them) or because of how it was perceived, misunderstood, but most often because of its feminist tag:

> I'm also a little nervous about getting into something which is so clearly involved in women's rights or in feminism because maybe I could get too hooked into it and I wouldn't like to become a militant

> feminist. I think I'm outspoken enough as it... I know in my own department I'm seen as being very outspoken but … I'm looking for the … middle of the road … (0217: FwSCS).

> Have you heard of the [SA4W]?... Apparently, they do get funding, the university does fund them. But there are those things, I just don't feel comfortable, it sounds like a very feminist group, so I don't know if they really do support female academics in that sense because I don't want to be a feminist, I hate that feminist… I don't like being a feminist. So, you can say the university is doing something along those lines, our HoD is trying to employ females … but I also see it as a challenge because a lot of South African, Black South Africans, don't seem to want to do postgraduate studies… I'm trying to encourage them, so we're trying to encourage them, you get more foreign Black post grad or lecturers … (0213: FwSCS)

> *I'd better not say this*, the gender Nazis [laugh] of which we have several... [as a scientist] there's no point in showing me a graph showing me that there's no women in top management when you're not telling me how many are coming up the ranks who will be in top management in ten years' time. You are just bemoaning the fact that there are no women in top management, you're not celebrating the fact that in two rungs below … it's more than 50% women. So, for me, it was interesting because … the way facts and data were handled was very interesting but some of the discussion was really fascinating (0237: FwSCS).

### *7.3.2. Black academics' thoughts on the ADP, institutional culture, and Transformation.*

#### 7.3.2.1. Institutional Culture

A range of participants' perceptions and experiences of institutional culture (IC) were discussed under section 7.2.3 on EE. However, the perceptions and experiences of academics who have been connected to NVU's transformation initiatives are presented here, including institutional experts and ADP participants. For NVU, EE and IC were two vital components of *Transformation* that in many ways had to occur simultaneously for sustainable change:

> The biggest priority we have now is to transform the staff profile, that is the biggest challenge that we have and is the highest priority and all others are equally important but we can't achieve everything at once…We all know the history of our country, Black people were excluded from coming here so a big priority for us is to bring on board all those segments of the South African population that were previously excluded. But that means we need to deal with the institutional culture because those segments that were previously excluded find the institutional culture alienating and so on the one hand we must make sure we bring on board those that were previously excluded but also make sure the institutional culture is welcoming, is affirming, is supportive, so that's the biggest challenge for us at the moment. (0224: NFL)

Nonetheless, participants described and experienced the general IC in ways fairly reflective of most participants, who were not a part of NVU's predominant socio-cultural hegemon. The first three quotes describe NVU's overall IC with some stock examples that repeatedly arose in the fieldwork:

When they say 'the final frontier', it's a good advert. You, kind of have to tough it out here (0221: NFL).

"[It is] primarily suitable for White males…White females don't sail in this institution either… it's not a hugely lovely comfortable space for them either. I guess for somebody like me, it's not as foreign as I understand for the non-middle class because I am middle class, not by economics…but in terms of cultural practices… there are things that help me here, but there are also things that I don't have [in both cases, cites examples of cultural capital] … I can be '*whitish middle class'* and I can do the *Black stuff*, [but] only certain Black stuff ... it is very rare, here, that you wouldn't have been to some former model C or private school… You need people who there's enough [in] common…to talk from shared understandings (0221: NF).

Who holds the centre of power, who holds centre court and speaks? Who are the people after they have spoken, no one else will speak on that matter? ...Who are the bodies that occupy this space, like seriously occupy the space, and leave no room for anyone else? … How would that not be unsettling? How would that be a safe, comfortable space?... The majority is people that look the same – they're the same race, they're the same gender, they're almost the same age group as well. I mean their life experiences are so similar [that] nothing else can come through, even if you're trying to express it…

There's a Senior Common Room, where people go to have tea time, but only a *certain kind* of people ever go… and there's a group that sit quietly and chat and have their cup of tea…and then another group at the other end of the room that sits and does their crossword puzzles… [At NVU,] there's no communal feel, for me it's a strange working environment, so you find out there is a place where you can go and have tea and you think 'wow, I can go and talk to other *human beings*, *colleagues*, *yes*!' You arrive there and you're immediately asked, 'have you paid for your tea?'…In an exchange that was not nice, she did eventually get her tea, but the minute she sat down, everyone else stood up and left…Another group decided they were going to go together and have tea, and were told they were laughing too loud…

Additional examples of stock knowledge that was well circulated within NVU, were shared:

A staff member arrives at the library and says 'I'm the new academic in History and I don't have my staff card yet' and is told: 'no you're not an academic, stop taking chances, we get that all the time'. A staff member goes to the exam room to invigilate, and goes to the front where there is tea and scones for the staff that are invigilating and is shooed off the table because 'this is only for staff, not people *like you'* (0229: NFL).

As academics, embedded within the institution, the implications of the IC, particularly for anyone who might be different and/or construed as different, was obvious to participants:

[NVU] has had such a long, long history of this institutional culture that it makes it easy to suppress things and even if they are isolated incidents...we can't every time we have a new Black staff member or even a young staff member, we can't have staff disrespected… Some people have a patience for it... and then people come and they leave… because it's an accumulation of small things that people say every day, sometimes without intention but sometimes with the intention to hurt…You would think at least your colleagues would have your back, [and would give] a bit more support in terms of endorsing what you say in front of students… (0228: FwnSD).

The institutional culture…you have to have an opinion at all times that places you on the left or the right.

Whereas, for me, if you remove all of that [race, gender, etc.] the institutional culture doesn't allow for the individuality of people, it's as simple as that. It becomes concerned when it sees you as not following institutional etiquette… (0242: FwnSD).

In participants' experience the IC was not abstract, but had had effects within their specific departments. Throughout the course of the AD Programme, NVU had become more rigorous about where participants were placed to ensure that they had the support needed. However, the issues raised, particularly in the early days of the programme, reflect broader issues of IC and the difficulties Black academics faced:

> We have struggled a little bit with the kind of notion that this is a deficit programme but *… works quite aggressively with it to say that its really about identifying very talented people and helping them accelerate their prospects, if anything they are held to higher standards … so more is expected of them…it's a high fly programme (0218: NFL).

> People don't take you seriously because you're in a junior position, you're not a *real* fulltime lecturer. So, what are you actually supposed to do here? Are you just adding *colour* to the department?' (0214: FwnSD)

> You can get stuck doing other people's dirty work…Everyone knows *you're not permanent* and its meant to be one of *those* projects that are aimed at getting more Black staff on board difficult ... It's a transition for both, it would be hard to expect people who have taken me for four years as a student, to suddenly treat me as a colleague… So, it has taken time to establish those relationships … It was terrifying to speak and when you did it felt as though your ideas were undermined or not taken seriously… When I [deliberately] chose to present something differently students said 'this is not how it's been done before'…'I know it's because you don't know how to do it' … 'I can show you my notes, and how to do it'… [they would never do that to someone else] (0228: FwnSD).

> We had a Mellon scholar at the [Satellite campus], she felt patronized, she felt 'here was this poor Black person who needed a chance and needed this mentor watching over her shoulder whereas the rest of the people could get on with their jobs'. No matter how hard we tried to reframe 'this is actually a unique opportunity so that you can be fast tracked because *we recognize* your potential, we know you'll do well more quickly'; it didn't sit with her, that was not her interpretation and she was not going to buy that kind of a narrative. The whole experience was very uncomfortable for her and in the end [she left]. Whereas, here its worked quite well, we've got a Mellon Foundation scholar again and the mentorship has been very thorough and she thinks she's gained a lot from it. So, it's a mixed bag ... despite the best intentions, these programmes can backfire (0232: FwnSD).

> We had a Mellon but it was a post-doc, the woman was here for two and a half years … she was just ignored, completely ignored, a Black woman who was a foreigner, but still she was 28 with a PhD, she came with a PhD and was ignored! She left without any real impact, but she was not even really encouraged to stay, and the job she *could have done* ... They didn't *really* try hard [to] use her expertise, she was *very* intellectual, *very sharp* and *vibrant*, and a wonderful teacher. But it didn't pan out and we lost her to Canada! (0236: FwnSD).

> I'm getting a reputation for being a hothead ... [She said] 'I need to choose my facts carefully, only when I am a doctor or professor, can have you have a firm voice and years of experience…' I have years of being a brown person, I can draw from that. I will choose my fights carefully but when I do fight I don't' care if I'm a hot head! (0214: FwnSD).

Participants on AD Posts also noted that their screening for a permanent job, came at the end of their contract and that they had asked for this to be moved forward by six months because they felt: "its inhumane to say right at the end, 'Sorry we can't take you, and the person…has

no safety net, has applied nowhere else, it means they have no money, no salary coming in, nothing… (0228: FwnSD). As this section shows a lot of ground work was needed to address the IC even in spaces where ADPs were located, as NVU's general IC also filtered down to affect the everyday working lives of Black academics on the programme.

7.3.2.2. Envisaging Transformation

There were two key contributions that participants made with respect to *Transformation,* the first was a criticism of institutional processes that foreclosed and limited *Transformation* actions, whilst the second was a set of humanistic insights and aspirations for what *Transformation* would, should, and could look like.

Two participants concur on how academic processes themselves have been used in defence of exclusivity and in the end, are anti-transformational:

> It's got pockets…so structurally…that's what [NVU] is really good at…The actual and cultural stuff, phew, its slow, very slow, but I don't think depressingly slow, I would like it to move faster, but it's not stationary, just slow…People seem to say the same thing over and over again and that seems to be how it works here. You say the same things over and over and over until, one day someone says 'Oh' [snaps fingers] … and maybe part of that is how academics work…or work here. We have to debate it, we have to argue, we have to go back to the drawing board, we have to debate it, we have to argue [again], and that's part and parcel of who we are... *But* sometimes I think we hide behind that, we use that very same process to make sure there's no progress… We get away with it because no one is willing to make a mandate and say *'stop no more, these are the consequences!*' How we construct academic freedom, autonomy, equality… is not a collective, its collective points that we have come to an agreement on, but when it suits us, it's an individual approach (0221: NFL).

> It is a place where there's more debating than decisions ever made… debating is good but maybe I want more outcomes...I find it [Higher Education] to be a space where proper governance and accountability are held at bay by noises about academic freedom and autonomy and all these things, and I think they begin to be excuses for not going where it's not comfortable to go…

> Honestly, I just think sometimes everyone has just been sitting here in this valley, it's the last outpost, the last… I don't know what, and transformation has just arrived… everything that has happened before this minute, has really just been speak… There's just been a lot of talk and professing about it but not really any embracing or reckoning with it as a reality… The steering isn't reproducing the same old, the value and quality and excellence we speak, it's about standing still (0229: NFL).

With an outsider's view, the participants were able to incisively cut through and decipher constructive from obstructionist processes and content of debates. This insight also explained why there was relatively high and fluent '*Transformation speak'* without the concomitant tangible evidence of past change.

Participants themselves had interesting takes on what *Transformation* meant. In many cases, a comprehensive account that included demographic change, socio-cultural change, curricula and pedagogy changes, and social responsiveness was articulated. In selecting specific excerpts from participants, those that spoke more to the *Transformation* of academic staffing were the one's chosen. As can be seen below, the majority of participants had humanist understandings of change that was either based on how they perceived human relationships and/or how they hoped it would become possible to 'see' each other. Several articulated the complexities embedded in these processes as one moved from a highly racialized context to potential a less or de-racialized context:

> One way of looking at it is the numbers game. How many people on our campus look like me and what role or job do they have? I know we get often told 'we can't just do the numbers game', and its true you can't … but there's something about the numbers, it means something when you are in the minority.

> So, there's the numbers…but do those five people have a commonality of what Blackness means? I find it difficult when people think 'am I Black enough? Am I White enough?... But what I'm thinking about 'is there some sort of Blackness: being in South Africa, and in Africa, where your whole being and orientation is [as opposed to] 'I kind of live here but I don't really want to be here', I want to be… [in Europe or the US or Asia] So it's not necessarily Blackness as in ethnics or skin colour. There are people who are, for whatever reason, as Black as they may come and they are not from here, they don't relate here. So, if you don't relate here and of here [but] you look like here, I don't necessarily think that's transformation…But you can look White but be of here and understand here and for me there's something about that being. Therefore, your agenda is about here, it's about South Africa, it's about our space… That for me, is about transformation. I don't think there are enough people who understand what it is to be of here and of this space…It's almost like they don't feel it in their bones, there are people who have good intentions and do wonderful work, but I don't feel it (0221: NFL).

> You don't want people to lose their identity when they come to the university, they actually enrich the institutional culture. It's not about assimilation, it's about you coming to the institution with your own lived experience and background. You don't have to feel you have to leave that at the gate and assume a new and different identity in order to fit in…An important dimension to transformation is to affirm those that were previously excluded…rather than trying to create a monolithic culture because the real world out there is not monolithic…that requires a different kind of transformation in the way we see each other… Never mind their appearance, their racial appearance, the sexual orientation, and this or the other, once you start to see the human being first then you start to accept that person with all that he or she brings with him or her. So, we just have to make sure as part of our transformation we don't encourage the culture of assimilation but the culture of acceptance, not tolerance, but acceptance (0224: NFL).

The next participant motivates for a much deeper form of substantive equality (as opposed to simply formal equality) that is also a personal process that each undertakes, rather than something that is simply 'bought into'. She illustrates this with her own struggle in which it is evident she, to quote the above participant, 'feels in her bones':

> [You] want to have a collegial relationship because it encourages people to work at their best level …I think the institution in a very broad sense is starting to do that, with regard to taking care of people who haven't started out with much… people in academia have a deep worry and deep concern about actually

putting themselves on the line to say 'I don't appreciate what's happening in my institution at this point' ... How can you find the money for infrastructure but not human capital? …everyone wants to be valued and respected…I came up against this a number of times where I say 'well no it's not a system, it is made up of individuals that make the system [ and take the decisions]'...

…I do think the idea of transformation is becoming more personal for me and am understanding that maybe [NVU] is a place which allows me to reconfigure and configure who I am ... So, not necessarily fitting into other people's boxes and not fitting into even those I have prescribed for myself…People are either extremely sensitive to what they say or they are not ... or they constantly reading motivation and intention.

It was very apparent to me that I have a history of struggle in different ways, from my grandmother up, I went through a bit of an existential crisis at that point, because I realized the more I say that I'm human, the more I seem to negate my history and how difficult it was for them to live in a segregated state, and yet I kept wanting to go back there. If I keep wanting to assert that identity, if I keep wanting to say to myself but I am this, it means holding onto the past so tightly anyone who wants to be able to speak to me on the level of human being will not be able to, because I will be sitting in a particular predefined way of thinking where I belong to one group and no other.

I see that happening, amongst my colleagues, at faculty level, and further as well. I think I am saddened by it because I keep thinking we're not critically engaging with what that meant and what it should mean now; because once I think you decide on that, it filters into everything you are doing, the way you teach, the way you research, how you live your own life on a day to day basis … because it [transformation] does feel like it has no experiential meaning, until it really becomes personal.

I might have been on the receiving end of that [discrimination or prejudice], but it's not representative of me and it's so representative of you, and where you are at, and how you are feeling…Academically, I feel like I've been given the material with which to question the world…post-colonial thinking allows for that and feminism allows for that… It gives you ways to actually re-think what has happened and to possibly rethink and reposition yourself…But I'm also having a vastly spiritual experience at the same time which allows me to say everybody is journeying, everybody's in a process, and that process is undefinable, you can't actually define it for each other [either] you know, you have to allow other people to be who they are (0242: FwnSD).

### *7.3.3. Institutional Culture and the Imbizo*

A short while before the fieldwork, NVU had, had an institution-wide Imbizo[202], something it held every five years with about 60 select and invited participants[203], from across the

[202] A Zulu noun used to refer to a gathering or a meeting that is called by the (traditional) leader (http:www.en.oxforddictionaries.com). This was the second Imbizo, the (new) Vice Chancellor at NVU had, had to date each had been five years apart. NVU had also had other Imbizos preceding the current Vice Chancellor's term of office, as well as other similar meetings at a decentralized level.
[203] Something which participants did contest and object to (0251).

institution. Several participants had attended the event. There had been three presentations that explicitly addressed the issue of institutional culture and appeared to have made a profound impact on participants. Most influential had been one of the paper presentations that had been based on McIntosh's (1988) conception of the "invisible knapsack of White privilege". The presenter had specifically applied this to the NVU context. The other two papers also spoke broadly to issues of positionality and privilege and dis-privilege, again with tangible NVU-specific examples provided.

The presenters and organisers of the Imbizo were "pleasantly surprised" with how well the papers were received. Furthermore, several participants in this study, made reference to them, and had already applied some of the key ideas and were thinking through their own privilege. It would, of course, be more useful to gauge the relevance and extent of this in actual practice, now that the immediacy of the short term has passed. Nonetheless, the importance of these, were that they appeared to give members of the NVU community a conceptual framework and a language with which they could conceive of their own position and role as well as what to do about it; which was something they appeared to not have had access to before. Furthermore, these ideas and discussions came from within and from amongst NVU academics, themselves. Therefore, they provided a very safe space and means through which the anxiety, tension and conflict that *Transformation* engendered could be dealt with; in a context where people at large, were feeling very volatile and vulnerable, given the EE pressures and demands.

However, a few participants were frustrated by their colleague's racial amnesia and apathy as well as what appeared to be institutional inertia:

> … move with the times … We did this in 2006, we did this in 2008, we're doing it again five years later. It's the same issues, we're not changing mind-sets…people's personal stories seem to be singing the same kind of song … going over the same sort of legacies that happened… We're still tripping over them, falling over, stumbling over small things that should have gotten out of the way by now…I don't know if it has to do with institutional memory that we forget we've already spoken about this, or if those things are just not monitored to see it through…'ok we know that story was told and this was put in place to make sure nobody else has to experience that in the same way again' … then I realise, there are things in place but people are still holding onto 'this is the way things have always been done, you can't change it'. So, these stories come up against … pride and [NVU] loyalty… (0228: FwnSD).

### 7.4. Re/production of academic labour

This brief section takes the accumulated understanding from the previous three themes and applies it to assess NVU's contribution to the re/production of academic labour. Whilst, students were not a focus of this study, Chapter 5 did briefly assess NVU's contribution to the academic pipeline through its own graduate students. In Chapter 5, it was observed that science and humanities contributed significantly more to post-graduate students and graduates, than to other faculties. In the interview data, this was confirmed both by participant discussion within these faculties as well as participants in other disciplines who acknowledged that their staffing complement limited their supervisor capacity to a mere handful of post-graduates, at any given time. Thus, NVU's own capacity to contribute to the re/production of academic labour was itself constrained and limited to specific areas of the university.

That said, NVU had access to a range of post-graduate funding opportunities (0218: NFL). Participants, especially located within the sciences, spoke of access to a variety of bursaries and scholarships for post-graduates (0237: FwSCS). In addition, the NRF, and other major research funders, that provide post-graduate funding through grants to academic award holders, were also cited as a source of funding. They were also noted as providing an opportunity for post-graduates to work closely with academic mentors (0243: FwSCS). NVU, unlike most other HEIs, also provided conference funding for each masters and doctoral student to attend one conference during their course of study (0218: NFL). Thus, theoretically, facilitating opportunities for exposure to academia across the board.

However, in most cases, these were not necessarily considered as potential opportunities for, and neither was the general issue of the reproduction of academic labour per, front of mind. In most instances, replenishing the academic profession was mostly considered when vacant posts needed to be filled. As cited in previous sections, participants in various roles from Head of Department upwards did, though, pay more attention to this, and often tried to identify students who may be potential candidates. This had become more frequent, especially with the Mellon and Kresgie ADP programmes (0232, 0241, 0247 & 0249). For some, this was a concerted effort that was pursued on an ongoing basis whilst for others, only when the opportunity arose.

As previously observed, sometimes such ideas failed to gain the necessary traction amongst departmental staff for these to materialize into viable interventions at the department level

(0247: FwSCS). However, in some cases, alternative sources of funding were also being sought for additional internship type programmes. The Tutoring Assistant (TA) programme located mainly within the Humanities, was also cited as an example of 'getting a foot in the door'. However, in other cases, participants criticized the allocation of these opportunities for not being sufficiently EE-oriented as well as for not being considered opportunities of academic internship (0241: FwnSD).

As flagged previously, and as was the case at RBU, participants in the professions, mostly found the profession out-competed and certainly out-paid academia. Therefore, the professions were often cited as contributing to the loss of potential academic candidates (0249: FwSCS). In the Health Sciences, and Sciences, it was noted that in the public sector the 'occupation specific dispensation' (OSD) applied (0239 & 0245). It was suggested that these specifications for salary terms, grades and notches had made public sector work more attractive to a wider range of skilled people than previously. It was also noted within the Health Sciences, that NVU's large cohort of international post-graduate students presented various kinds of challenges for students transitioning between student, professional, and/or academic largely based on internship and community service requirements in South Africa, and curriculum content equivalency examinations in students' home countries (0239: FwSCS). Nonetheless, it was acknowledged that this was one professional board conscious of academic labour constraints (0239: FwSCS).

As noted earlier, only Accountancy had contributed positively and proactively by paying academics an industry-related subvention and by motivating for an extra academic post at NVU (0216: FwSCS). It was observed in several cases, that academics were aware of how associated professions constrained the academy, but remarkably few had discussed any collaborative initiatives or interventions to possibly address this.

Nonetheless, the substantial contributions that NVU made to the re/production of academic labour were those at a more centralized level that spoke to collective institutional issues. These included teaching and learning training for all academics and specific interventions for Black and women academics. As a part of NVU's commitment to teaching and learning and staff

development, all academics were required to take an assessors course[204] (0244: NFL). This was part of NVU's commitment both to theoretically informed practice and good practice but also its commitment to re/producing academics.

On the one hand this requirement broke with the generalized tradition across the country in which academics are usually only subject experts and learn the other aspects of their work in situ, on the job as tacit skills, over time. On the other hand, it also provided opportunities for the development of communities of practice amongst those on each particular course, amongst academics within each department, and also ensured all NVU academics have a grounding in the same teaching and learning philosophy and pedagogy (even if they choose not to use such). In terms of institutional culture and the reproduction of particular educational ethos, this is very powerful. This idea is gaining influence across the sector, but as far as could be established, NVU was one of the few institutions were this had been mainstreamed.

NVU as a case study had two further components that made it distinctive with respect to the re/production of academic labour, those being the SA4W and ADP initiatives. SA4W was nationally distinctive in terms of it being an organic, cross-faculty, academic intervention designed for the advancement of women. Through the provision of financial resources, time-outs, writing retreats, and mentoring, it invested in the production and advancement of individual women academics (both scholars and post-graduates) (0211: FwnSD). Its original focus as a feminist alliance and (now) its active participation in institutional committees also meant that it explicitly tackled structural and systemic factors that constrained the re/production of women academics (0211: FnSD). The mainstreaming of its interventions are likely to add more focus and address specific (targeted) areas of need within the institution. This may however, narrow and/or cement the agenda of these (SA4W) advancement interventions as EE-oriented rather than more broadly *Transformation* per se. To further, the 'academic production' component of these interventions, it would also be important for these to be more closely connected to women post-graduate students with an intention of becoming academics themselves.

[204] If interested were encouraged to take the full PGDHE, and some also then went on to pursue a Master's in Education.

The ADP undoubtedly was the main intervention and contribution by NVU to the re/production of academic labour. Its high retention reflected well on the success of the programme and NVU's commitment to change (0215: NFL). ADP also focused on aspects of individual advancement within the pre-existing conduits of reproduction. However, it aimed to accelerate participants' progression and route to promotion. Primarily this was to be achieved through a half teaching load, active mentoring and supervision, academic networking, and completion and/or substantiation progress towards the higher degree and/or publications. The resistance, the 'accelerated development' encountered illustrates individualized and institutional concerns to be one of (misplaced) principles around reproduction in particular. The following quote captures the sentiment often expressed:

> I think it's also about dealing with the expectations that young academics have…How quickly do they see themselves progressing up the ranks? You know, the fact that you've got a PhD perhaps, but you're only 30 years old… Does that now mean that you're entitled to be a Professor? I don't think so. I think you've got to earn your stripes at the end of the day and you earn your stripes through understanding what it really means to teach, what it really means to research…
>
> That's a frustration some of the older Professors maybe had to flog themselves over many years to eventually get to that position. Now you have young academics coming through, who seem to be progressing up the ranks faster. At the end of the day, it's probably necessary that you do that but how do you do it in a way that doesn't … cut out the fabric of what the institution stands for, that your teaching and your research standards are not actually compromised? …
>
> Therefore, it really requires a level headed somebody that can really articulate the big picture and from that point of view, we're very fortunate …and that's why at the end of the day I think [NVU] will have a very *reasoned* debate as we try to grapple with what it is that we're going to do… (0241: FwSCS).

However, the fact that as a 'high fliers' programme, participants were required to do more than would be required of other incoming academics, does raise questions as to whether the particular individuals (ADP participants) are 'jumping through more hoops' to be acceptable and accepted; and whether that in itself is not a form of (status quo) reproduction in which only the most excellent Black and women academics qualify and achieve within NVU. This therefore, turns the table on the main research question as here the reproduction of academic labour itself is what potentially limits *Transformation,* in response to *Transformation* being seen to potentially affect the re/production of academic labour. However, despite this, ADP intentionally and explicitly aimed to change the EE profile of NVU and also, latterly required participants to conceive and action a *Transformation*-related initiative within their departments and/or faculties (0244: NFL). Therefore, ADP did have an explicit change component built in to the programme.

It may well be that despite the extra pressures placed on specific programme participants, such a situation may prove likely until Black and women academics reach a critical mass and positions of influence within the institution, where such inequities will no longer even be unintended consequences of change programmes themselves. However, more generalized engagements (such as those mentioned at the Imbizo), will also need to take place. These will ensure that NVU as a whole begins to seriously confront the ways in which its conception of meritocracy, excellence, institutional autonomy, and the like, continues to reproduce the academy in very particular racialized, gendered, and class-specific ways, that are in fact out of touch with and problematic within the context of South Africa.

In addition to demographic changes, participants were also concerned with how and what academia reproduced, through how and what it taught, and the engagements and power dynamics academics and researchers had with students and the community. As mentioned previously, participants spoke of the need to inculcate in students an appreciation of *Transformation* and the value of all people. Most who spoke on this topic, felt it was part of what academics needed to do in a *Transformation* context, or at minimum, were concerned that students might leave NVU without such an appreciation (0229: NFL & 0250: FwSCS).

This was largely spoken about in terms of race, gender, and acceptance of sexual identity. Particularly with respect to race, the recognition for people of all, and/or regardless of race, was stressed, by participants, themselves of diverse positionality. A number of participants also worked actively with *Transformation* and/or transformation-related concerns, both in the curriculum and in terms of pedagogy. Whilst this was mostly participants in Humanities, and particularly in the Arts, it did also extend to various Science subjects, the integration and use of first, or home, language (for example, isiXhosa) within the professions; and at minimum, and also included the use of applicable, context-relevant examples across the board (0238, 0240, 0242, 0243, 0247 & 0251).

This suggests that to varying degrees, participants were actively engaging in a different kind of academic practice, from that which many of them had been taught under. The fieldwork for this study preceded the #FeesMustFall movement by four years, but already there were indications of the current wave of discussions on decolonization. However, these were not prominent in any of the interviews conducted for this research.

## 7.5. Conclusion

This chapter has shown how NVU managed to protect itself from undergoing a merger. Whilst this was in the institution's best interests, the transfer of its satellite campus to an HBU was constructed as its 'contribution' to *Transformation*. NVU thus, determined its own pace and direction of change. However, the institution's overwhelmingly restrictive construction of 'excellence', in conjunction with very real contextual constraints, meant that employment equity (EE) was far from even a pipe dream. Both internal and external constraints were largely conceived as factors beyond institutional control, whilst reconsidering its own particular understandings and practices of excellence was something NVU was not willing to compromise on. Thus, the prejudice and discrimination faced by the few Black academics who were employed, was individualized rather than located within structural and systemic factors. Thus, the revolving door continued. Those who stayed, by self-disclosure, had assimilated or found a way to make peace with what else the institution could offer.

At the same time, a collective of women academics (SA4W) organized themselves and provided opportunities for academic, social, and structural support for women within the institution. The sad irony is that this was set up with active participation by Black women, and whilst many Black women post-graduates continued to benefit from its interventions, Black women academics themselves have either left NVU altogether or withdrawn from active participation. SA4W itself also became depoliticized over time, as its membership and its memberships' needs changed, and consequently, its relationship to institutionalized forms of power.

In response to state pressure and new institutional leadership, NVU recently began to seriously engage EE. As the chapter shows, this is an ongoing struggle for NVU as it goes to the heart of its understanding of itself. Through the introduction of the Accelerated Development Programme (ADP), NVU has begun to proactively address and recruit more Black and women academics into the institution. This programme, although not without its own challenges, was labelled a 'high fliers' programme and has sought to provide both employment to EE beneficiaries whilst also changing the institutional perspective about EE candidates.

However, the unintended consequences have been that ADP participants have, in the process, been subject to the institutional culture, to proving themselves beyond that which is expected

of the ordinary (read as ‘White male’) academic, and have been requested to also become active *Transformation* champions in the process. Despite this, the success of the programme is such that it has been emulated at the national level to address broader concerns of the re/production of academic labour across the sector. Meanwhile, the rest of NVU tries to grapple with what it means to be steeped within, to occupy, and to begin to think how to possibly move out of and away from the position of White privilege.

# Chapter 8: Findings Discussion and Conclusion

## 8.1. Introduction

This chapter serves a dual purpose; it provides both a discussion of the findings in Chapters 4 through 7, and concludes the study, and thesis, as a whole. The analytical focus ties together the preceding empirical, conceptual, and theoretical threads from the findings chapters. It synthesizes the overall contribution of the study by substantively considering the extent and impact of *Transformation* on academic labour. It does this by comparing and contrasting the findings from the secondary sources and fieldwork sites. In doing so, it explains and analyses the extent of de-segmentation within the academic workplace, and of academic labour, post-apartheid. The implications of this, for the re-/production of academic labour, will then be considered.

First, the chapter briefly re-considers the study's key concepts in relation to each other and the research methods used. Secondly, it presents a cumulative summary and engaged discussion of the research findings in an integrated manner. Thirdly, a distilled and concise answer to the research question is provided. Fourthly, the significance and implications of the findings, and study as a whole, are discussed. Lastly, the chapter rounds off with suggested directions for future research and recommendations.

The principal research question that drove the study was: 'to what extent have restructuring, employment equity, and transformation brought about the de-segmentation of the academic labour market post-apartheid?' By exploring these three components of *Transformation* collectively, in conjunction, and as contingent processes, this study provides nuance, insight, and a more complete overview of post-apartheid change processes within higher education. Although highly ambitious, the broad perspective and insight gleaned from viewing these processes as intersectional and as compounded, would not have been possible had these processes been studied in isolation.

This was especially true for Reconciliation Bay University (RBU), the case study institution that underwent an incorporation and merger, post-apartheid (and would equally apply to other such universities). By comparing a merged and unmerged institution, pivotal insights about

institutional functioning came to light in the context of direct, and indirect, state involvement in *Transformation*.

A holistic understanding was further enabled through empirical and conceptual dialoguing (constant comparative method) between the collective and individual narratives of institutional *Transformation* and the national academic (macro) employment trends.

This study furthermore sits at the intersection of, and builds upon, an array of existing literature and research on labour markets and *Transformation*. It thus draws upon, and makes the argument for, both macro and micro *Transformation* processes in the de-segmentation of academic labour. This is done while emphasizing the fundamental importance of foregrounding the institutional (meso) context in understanding, explaining, and intervening in these processes. A situated and distinctive argument has therefore been made about *Transformation*, which has otherwise been conceived of, both theoretically and politically, as a universal, generalised, and national phenomenon and process.

## 8.2. Concepts in context

The core concepts upon which this study is built are defined in Chapter 2. They are revisited, and reflected upon here, to lay the analytical foundation for the argument of the thesis. The concepts on which the analysis hinge are *Transformation*: employment equity, restructuring, (symbolic and socio-cultural) transformation, de-segmentation, the re/production of academic labour and the professional academic labour market (and its variants). Additional pivotal concepts that emerged on site and within the literature, of racialization and institutional culture were also of immense value in explaining the findings.

As argued in Chapter 2, this study conceives of *Transformation* as all-encompassing; ranging from the macro to the micro, the material to the symbolic, and including also the political, economic, social, cultural, spatial, and personal realms. It thus incorporates the macro 'restructuring' of existing structures and systems (including institutional and infrastructural change); meso level 'employment equity' (as attempts to deliberately de-segment the labour market to bring about demographic representivity through affirmative action and/or equal opportunities); and symbolic 'transformation' as that which refers to, and engages, society's core socio-cultural values (often referred to as a social justice agenda).

In each instance, the study was concerned not only with the processes designed to give effect to these levels of change, but also with the accompanying ideological explanations and justifications, as well as the responses engendered (and associated rationales). Before this study, it was understood that these *Transformation* sub-components could be enacted in ways which were mutually exclusive, sequential, and/or contingent. The overall conceptualization of *Transformation* was perhaps less nuanced in its originality than in its operationalization, application, and unfolding utility in explaining the empirical data. By focusing on these sub-components of *Transformation*, within one study, an assessment of the relationships between the sub-components, and a determination of whether they were mutually reinforcing, cumulative, complementary, and/or contradictory was made possible.

Therefore, *Transformation* was conceived of as a set of processes and actions the effects of which were determined by the extent of 'de-segmentation' of academic labour (inclusive of the academic workplace and academic work) with respect to how it had shifted from an apartheid workplace regime (AWR). Building on Bunting (2006) and von Holdt (2005), historically the AWR, within the academic context, amounted to segmentation as evident in: i) the race and gender positioning of academics relative to other higher education staff, ii) academic jobs, occupations, and disciplines within the 'professional academic labour market' (PALM) were themselves segmented, both vertically and horizontally, in ways that reflected both race and gender discrimination, as well as exclusion, and bias; iii) higher education institutions (HEIs) were racialized institutional types (divided into 'Black' and 'White' institutions) reflective of apartheid's political, economic, and educational policies; and iv) HEIs were further bifurcated into universities and technikons according to designated educational purpose (the former being more academic, the latter more applied and vocational). Post-apartheid the sub-components of *Transformation*, individually and collectively, contribute, potentially, to de-segmentation of these four areas.

The study thus explored the extent, impact, and effectiveness of the de-segmentation of the AWR within, and across, higher education at three levels: the macro level with respect to the South African Higher Education Sector (SAHES) as a whole; the meso level within specific case studies conceived of as internal labour markets (ILMs); and at the micro level, in terms of the perceptions and experiences of individual academics within each ILM. An assessment, at each level, of the extent to which these were unified, de-racialized, and de-gendered was made. The study's unique contribution was in its combination of breadth and depth which enabled the formulation of linkages and explanations between the macro and micro realms. The

conceptualization of case study HEIs as ILMs also facilitated the overall assessment and explanation of institutional functioning, continuity and change. In this respect, Peck's (1996) approach was invaluable. In this study, the application of his conceptualization of ILMs to HEIs drew attention to the importance of the particular, regional, national, historical and geographical dimensions that shaped institutional functioning; and was thus essential to the constant dialogue between the macro, meso and micro levels of the study's focus.

Furthermore, part of the conceptual framework was based on an interest in exploring the relationship between *Transformation* and de-segmentation, as well as its effect on the re/production of academic labour. Therefore, the study has interrogated the extent to which the academic labour force was continually produced to serve its professional and social functions; the extent to which it was influenced or changed as a result of restructuring and/or employment equity; and whether fundamental academic norms and values were reproduced and/or transformed in the process. The formulation of these concerns in this particular way is also a nuanced approach, as all are treated as subjects of rigorous study, as opposed to subjects of a polemical debate.

In order to bring these multiple strands together, a mixed methods approach was employed using an array of sources. Three core data sources included: permanent academic staffing data from the Higher Education Management Information Systems (HEMIS) database of the Department of Higher Education and Training (DoHET) from 1986 – 2012; 113 in-depth interviews across the two-case study HEIs; and post-apartheid policy documents. The quantitative component builds upon, extends, and updates the foundational work of earlier scholars such as Koen (2003), Cooper and Subotzky (2001), and Peacock (1993). The qualitative component, on the other hand, is part of a growing tradition of case studies across the sector (Matthews & Tabensky, 2016; Mabokela, 2003 & 2000; Koen 2003; and Jansen, 2003). This study brought the strengths of both quantitative and qualitative approaches into one comprehensive study.

### 8.3. Summative presentation of integrated findings

The purpose of this section is threefold: to present a condensed and synthesized summative discussion of the core research findings, to interpret their meaning, and to position them within

the most relevant literature. The empirical findings themselves were presented in detail, with accompanying evidence, in Chapters 4 through 7. Here, the core findings are extrapolated, woven together, and discussed thematically as *Transformation,* de-segmentation, and the re/production of academic labour. In section 8.4 these are combined to provide a succinct answer to the research question.

### *8.3.1 Conceptual possibilities and limits of Transformation in practice*

#### 8.3.1.1. The proposed *Transformation* framework

One of the core contributions of this study is its conceptualisation of *Transformation*. Like most studies on higher education, this study began with state policy as an indicator of what change should be, how it was envisaged to take place, how it could be assessed, and who would ultimately be responsible. Jansen (2002) in arguing that 'political symbolism' was a mechanism of 'policy craft', and Reddy (2008), in identifying the ways in which *Transformation* itself was variously conceived and contested within ANC and state discourse, both provided a critical foundation for this study. This research sought to explore how *Transformation* was used within state policy, institutional documentation, and in the everyday discourse and practice of post-apartheid higher education institutions (HEIs). Throughout the research, four dominant understandings and processes arose which had direct bearing on academic labour, work, and the workplace. These were: restructuring, employment equity (EE), (symbolic) transformation, and the all-inclusive, compound concept of *Transformation*.

This framework generated a nuanced understanding of '*Transformation* in practice', which in itself stretches contemporary conceptualisation. The empirically grounded idea of embedded *Transformation* sub-components allows for a number of ways of approaching the matter. First, there can be diverse relationships between these processes; they can occur in parallel, in series, and/or in an integrated combination. Secondly, each of the sub-components may, or may not, work towards the same obvious end. While the sub-components are expected to facilitate reaching the end goal, any might actually be displacing the goal, or be counter-intuitive and/or counter-productive, given the stated aims and objectives. Thirdly, each-subcomponent has a distinctive texture that will have direct, and indirect, effects on the others, for example, the way each of the others will be received, the likelihood of stakeholder engagement, and the likelihood

of success. Therefore, restructuring, employment equity and/or transformation may facilitate and/or inhibit the realisation of their own, each others' and/or their combined purpose.

This grounded framework illustrates the complex nature of *Transformation*. It provides an explanation of how and why *Transformation* pans out differently, at different sites across the country. In practice, particularly at RBU, the sub-components were found to have contingent effects, and often to have been enacted in ways antithetical to the broader goal of *Transformation*. This framework acknowledges, and provides an explanation for, the way *Transformation* is both understood and experienced as conflict-ridden and conflict-generating, despite broad consensus and affirmation of its goals. The part of the conceptualization that specifically addresses the 'why' component of the framework is addressed under 8.3.1.3, 8.3.2 and 8.3.3.

Academics and officials were implicitly cognizant of the inter-relatedness of the Transformation sub-components and began (and continue) to conceptualise ways in which such relationships could, and can, be positively re-constructed. State policy provided a comprehensive Transformation scope, arguing that areas should be mutually supportive. RBU's (new) vision document integrates the Transformation agenda into an expansive purpose statement, and plan. NVU itself acknowledges that EE cannot be achieved without addressing the IC.

This study is thus timely in addressing the effects of the Transformational sub-components on each other, and on the Transformation project at large. Though these findings can be attributed to context, this study also provides invaluable lessons from transformation initiatives, initiatives in which the person/people were actively brought back into Transformation. This differs from restructuring and AA, processes which had often been dealt with as structural change, and which left academics feeling bypassed, excluded and inconsequential. This study further suggests that Transformation, in all likelihood, will not be actively supported, positively understood or experienced, and effectively and successively undertaken without the transformation sub-components.

#### 8.3.1.2. Restructuring in retrospect

The study contributes to the existing scholarship on mergers in South Africa, much of which has detailed the effects of mergers as they took place (Jansen, 2003). The value of this research

lies in its retrospective assessment of restructuring, within the broader context of *Transformation*, and its comparison with a non-merged HEI. From this, it was deduced that the direction, pace, and overall experience of *Transformation* at an HEI was significantly affected by its respective position, and ultimate merger status (merged or not). It was also evident that close proximity to the state, through the very process of restructuring (as was the case at RBU), made for hyper-visibility, impacting the extent to which state directives were institutionally implemented. In contrast, NVU's relative distance from the state (until recently) gave it *Transformation carte blanche*. This affirms, but also contextualizes, Jansen's (2003) finding of incongruence between state intention and institutional outcome.

The study also found that restructuring and AA were often implemented in ways that could potentially jeopardize the *Transformation* process as a whole. At minimum, these had negative connotations with a direct bearing on the other sub-components of the change process. Restructuring and AA were most often experienced as de-constructive, and re-constructive processes were subsequently needed to rebuild the institution and internal relationships. An HEI's capacity to do this depended on a range of factors including past and present experience, leadership, cohesion, operative discourses, and organizational practices.

The restructuring that generated RBU, and its destabilisations, centred around educational and institutional de-segmentation much more than around racialized and gendered de-segmentation. Thus, *Transformation* discourse, within this particular merger, became framed within a deficit discourse as the upgrade of academic skills, qualifications, and research output were notably emphasized as RBU goals. The effects of restructuring on de-segmentation and re/production are further detailed in sections 8.3.2 and 8.3.3. It is important to note here though that participants felt restructuring reaffirmed, and entrenched, a particular pervasive managerialist logic and practice in which rationalization often dominated over humanism.

Conversely, NVU neither experienced a merger, nor capitulated to the growing neoliberal management trends within the sector. This leads to the question of whether NVU had successfully resisted all forms of restructuring and/or just demonstrated that it was possible for some HEIs to pick and choose what was best for them, and effect this autonomously and at their own pace. Either way, NVU offered an alternative example of state and institutional relations; and of relative autonomy as opposed to circumscription. These contrasting positionalities would come to define, and impact on, later forms of *Transformation* at the respective institutions (NVU and RBU).

8.3.1.3. Employment Equity

The empirical findings contain much detail on EE policy and the practice of AA[205]. The discussion here will focus only on the most significant and/or new contributions made by this research. Whilst the participants in the case studies had a range of similar experiences of AA, their institutional progress was at different levels, and their institutional discourses contained different inflections that reflected their past and present positionalities. This study makes four major EE contributions: it positions academics in general (as a category) within the EE/AA debate; it demonstrates how the prevalent 'equity versus excellence' claim, in practice, functions as an exclusionary mechanism of closed shop; it offers an integrated explanation for academics' resistance to, as well as support of, AA; and it acknowledges the diversity of perceptions and experiences that exist at 'the chalk face'.

Without necessarily having the language to articulate their concerns, academics in general were found to be in support of formal equality, equal opportunities, and the goals of EE, but, at least in the context of academia, not in support of substantive equality and AA. This suggests that that which has been accepted as normative is at least 20, if not 30, years behind best practice, even within the sector.

Whilst both RBU and NVU had institutional policy that followed the EEA closely, in practice their policies were enacted in at least three different ways. This made it less likely that AA candidates would be appointed, and affected the rate at which the ILM moved towards EE. However, over a ten-year period both HEIs modified institutional practice, largely due to legislative amendments, changes in state monitoring and evaluation, and changes in institutional leadership. Fredman (2009: 15), in describing AA as the attachment of "socio-economic benefits to those disadvantaged by status", acknowledges the redistributive potential of AA, but also the potential reification of status as a weakness of substantive equality. This intrinsic tension captures the two fundamental positions academics were found to occupy.

One set of arguments was ostensibly located within the debate between humanism and racialization. Key concerns were about formal equality, the perpetuation of inequality, and

[205] In this chapter, a distinction has been drawn between EE and AA. The purpose is to delineate between EE as the ultimate outcome and AA as the principle mechanism designed to facilitate movement towards this goal. It should be noted that in lay usage, and thus throughout the rest of the thesis, EE is often used synonymously with AA.

reverse discrimination. Participants feared the continued practice of the EEA, as is, would prevent the realization of transformation. This position was in itself heterogenous. The more refined arguments cohered with those expressed by Erasmus (2010b) whilst there was a position that was more closely related with the next set of arguments.

Building towards the second major insight this study offers on EE, the most common justification provided for unease, inaction, or outright resistance to AA was by way of claims to excellence. This, in fact, often masked the defence of personal and collective interests. These functioned to exclude those who were perceived as substantially different, whilst affirming those most similar, and/or those perceived as most likely to advance collective, and narrowly conceived, academic interests.

In many instances, excellence was articulated as the 'very best', with anyone else conceived of as sub-par, and thus undeserving. In most instances, the excellence discourse was highly racialized, gendered, and class-specific, serving therefore, to maintain the status quo. Furthermore, the discourse of merit proposed that achievement through apprenticeship was paramount within the academic environment. Participants, therefore, often tussled over demonstrable potential (over a candidate at the start of their career) when faced with demonstrable achievement (of a candidate well established within their career). Although excellence claims are presented as objective and rational, they were often found to be highly subjective and ideological.

This therefore, supports previous arguments put forward by Ramphele (2008) and Maphai (1994) on the political loadedness, and social contextualization, of 'equity' and 'excellence'. Ramphele argues that the academy has failed to understand that excellence will only be achieved when there is full and active participation by all (i.e. equity), while Maphai demonstrates how excellence is particularly racially determined. This study takes these points further by showing, through in-depth data, how personal and academic interests, and responsibility, effectively meant that both individuals and the collective were not only complicit in inaction, but actively upheld exclusion. The collective, as well as the individuals making it up, therefore played a core role in the maintenance of academic ILMs as relatively closed shops.

By demonstrating the power of the individual (in collective action) to keep EE at bay, this study showed that the EEA's greatest strength is also its greatest weakness. That is, its reliance on, in this case, the everyday academic, for implementation. This gives further urgency to the

recurrent question: whose responsibility is *Transformation*? This study, whilst acknowledging the role of the state and institutional leadership in directing and facilitating *Transformation*, also emphasises the role of the individual and collective agency. The role of individual agency in facilitating, as well as inhibiting, *Transformation* (particularly AA) was aptly demonstrated through the use of in-depth interview data. Nonetheless, given the overwhelmingly racialized nature of society at large, and academia in particular, such an approach to the EEA, whilst crucial in inculcating personal responsibility, is also unlikely to be effective.

It is most important to stress, academic positionality on AA was not a uniform conservative position, but was both supported and wrestled against from many different quarters, with several strong and powerful voices arguing strongly in favour of AA. At this stage, these latter voices were yet to be mainstreamed, despite often being present in senior and middle level leadership positions. However, it is absolutely critical to stress that most participants, even those who rejected AA outright, very seldom did so from exclusively racialized positions. This is an important contribution, especially at the current time, as it reaffirms that racialized positionalities are not the only basis of in/action within academia, post-apartheid.

Instead, what this study shows, the third major contribution, is that for the most part, academics developed their position based on three criteria. Arguments for and against AA were an inherently complex combination of both racialized and class-based ideologies coupled with a profound sense of what the academy should be, and academics' worldviews, including their own personal sense of agency, latent perceptions of change and 'the unknown', and of the degree to which they felt the need to and/or were able to influence and control their own work and workplace. This discussion will be further unpacked in section 8.3.3. This finding adds nuance to explanations (although not a justification for inaction) on EE. It locates both support and resistance within an interconnected individual, social, and institutional framework.

The incorporation and extensive use of in-depth interview data enabled these understandings to emerge, as it was within the micro level that individual and collective rationale, motivation, experience and *Transformation*-related interactions came to light. The complexities associated with, and the implications of, AA in particular, that have here been characterized as 'White loss' and 'Black cost' were similarly revealed. For the most part racial redress has, thus far, largely played out in a manner that affirms Bonilla-Silva's (2001) observation that the normal situation is one that is highly contested and conflictual as a result of competing racial interests.

The fourth EE related insight and contribution was that whilst operative discourses were certainly reflective of traditional race-based ideologies, these were also reflective of intersectionality, double consciousness, and discordant patterns that suggested the complexity of individuals' positionality and the shifting terrain itself. As a result, monolithic positions and experiences increasingly became one of a plethora of modes of engagement. Despite this nuance, at present, Whiteness as hegemonic and Blackness as subordinate were still very much the major configurations of academic power.

This last section briefly compares and contrasts the EE/AA experience at each case study institution. Resistance to AA at RBU was partly rooted in the merger experience, as EE was seen as another externally-imposed divisive strategy. The equity and excellence debate, a lack of appreciation of the importance of substantive equality in an academic context, and humanist values, were the dominant reasons for AA resistance. This often meant that AA actually lost credibility as a legitimate *Transformation* strategy and the EEA was complied with to appease both RBU leadership and the state. This highlights layers of support and rejection and adds further nuances to organizational debates. 'White loss' and 'Black cost' arose here to account for the polarized experiences of academics. and demonstrated the highly contradictory nature of the goals and outcomes of AA. These are further unpacked in section 8.3.2.

Excellence was articulated as NVU's primary institutional identity. Thus, many participants viewed the demand to move towards EE as an undermining of institutional autonomy. State pressure and institutional leadership increasingly required NVU to embrace AA more seriously and convincingly with evidence-based outcomes. A number of (mainly White) academics responded defensively, as though this were an 'all or nothing' situation; whilst others called for critical institutional self-reflection into the way in which excellence upheld White privilege. Here too, there was a fundamental struggle over EE's legitimacy and a public attempt was made to re-position and regain a credible status for AA as a *Transformation* strategy. Officially, it was acknowledged that AA could not be successfully addressed without also tackling NVU's institutional culture.

Thus, the study demonstrates that whilst EE was recognised as a valid outcome of *Transformation*, the use of AA to achieve it was highly contested, and until recently actually opposed, through inaction and minimal compliance. The principle of substantive equality did not sit comfortably with the exclusive and exclusionary culture of excellence and/or meritocracy. Nonetheless, AA is now being implemented as a generalized strategy and through

specific programmatic interventions at both RBU and NVU. However, both workplaces continue to be racialized and the emergence of new forms of racialization make it imperative for transformation to take place. As will be further illustrated in section 8.3.2., the EEA has begun to alter the racial and gendered composition of academic staff. However, its practical application at the case study institutions demonstrates that de-segmentation and de-racialisation are not equivalent.

#### 8.3.1.4. Interventions aimed at *Transformation*[206]

As a part of the exploration of transformation, the study contributes both to the growing scholarship on institutional culture at HEIs and on *Transformation* interventions. This study raises important issues about activist-led versus mainstreamed interventions and asked the fundamental question of whether participants and/or beneficiaries of such programmes necessarily need to be *Transformation* champions and/or agents of change. The case study interventions used a range of different strategies and tactics to counter the mainstream institutional culture and/or promote advancement for AA groups. For the most part, they were often assimilative with some scope for broader change, whilst some realised a sub-culture.

At an individual level, the SA4W worked with the promotional requirements of NVU but made additional space available to circumvent the structural constraints and/or implications of a life-event on a woman's career. At other levels, it participated in university structures in an effort to change institutional functioning. Meanwhile, the ADP expected more of its grant holders as a way to fast-track their career progression through existing systems, with the aim of providing a counter-narrative to the equity/excellence debate, whilst the BSF acted mostly as a pressure valve and provided a temporary counter-cultural space. The facilitated collective transformation journey amongst education academics at RBU was an attempt to significantly change institutional practice, amongst colleagues.

Whilst most HEIs have had a variety of *'Transformation'* interventions, the first dating back to the mid-1980s, the three examples reflected on in this study have unique aspects. ADP became

[206] The interventions here speak both to transformation and Transformation, therefore each concept is used as appropriate.

the model for the first national roll-out of its kind in South Africa. SA4W was distinctive in its original formulation as an activist-generated intervention for women academics. The transformation journey collective was also particular as a disciplinary-based intervention. Each of these attempts was concerned with changing the experience of academics within the institution and by design, through effect, or through methodology could and/or was used to counteract the negative co-effects of restructuring, AA and/or the general IC of HEIs. Thus, it was essential, in its re-constructive potential and contribution, to the case study HEis.

In addition, several individuals (in both institutions) were conducting profound, soul searching personal political work on race and/or gender. Often the complexities of occupying race-based or gender-based identities as opposed to a set of humanist values were at the heart of people's core deliberations. A few examples were detailed in Chapters 6 and 7, and were exemplary cases of personalized transformation and potential resources for broader institutional transformation.

These individual and collective transformation interventions resemble various initiatives that Erasmus (2010a) describes as necessary for long term change, that is, 'constituencies of conscience' and 'communities of transformative practice'. The examples cited primarily focus on 'internal constituency' work. Whilst absolutely vital, the real test would be alliance work across differentiated individuals and groups, in what Green and Elison (2014) refer to as 'tranifesting'. The RBU education transformation collective is perhaps empirically closest to both tranifesting and transformative practice although its aims were not overtly politicized.

The study provides additional insight into the prevailing institutional cultures at RBU and NVU. Whilst a range of scholars (Clark, 2008 & Tierney, 1988,) discuss the variety of academic cultures, this study also found a range of *Transformational* institutional cultures (IC) that were present on the campuses of HEIs. This was most evident at RBU, which had a number of iterations of its IC. As elaborated on in Chapter 6, RBU had examples of 'the untransformed university', 'the university in transition', and the 'aspirational university' simultaneously in existence.

As a part of these iterations, it was also found that HEIs both perpetuated and contested predominant socio-cultural understandings. At both institutions, diversity as a tolerated presence gained more traction than substantive change itself. At the perceptual level, it would seem that NVU, with a more 'liberal' history, had expanded awareness and lobbying into a greater range of areas than RBU. This contradiction of diversity itself, links to Wilz (2000)

who observed that women (and/or any other constituency), can be simultaneously recognised and supported whilst being simultaneously de-legitimated and devalued within the same organisation. Experiences of double consciousness were frequently cited throughout the research, demonstrating the ongoing contribution of Du Bois (1903) to conceptualizing contradictory experiences. This links to a subsequent point on the hard debates HEIs need to have about the relationship between equity and diversity within their institutions.

This discussion inevitably generates further questions such as: whether *Transformation* is only successful when and if such substantive transformation is realized. Acknowledging that this level of personal and collective transformation may not happen for all (or will be a long time coming), exploring how one facilitates forward movement, interrogating whether this type of transformation lends itself to the setting of acceptable benchmarks to be reached in acceptable timeframes (what would the nature of those EE or transformation measures per se, or both, be?); and whose responsibility is it to enable this type of transformation? Thus, whilst transformation offers some hope of unifying and building social coherence, there are very real questions about scope, scale, who initiates and facilitates such interventions, as well as what realistic outcomes can be expected in a workplace, even one such as the academic workplace in which much more may be possible, expected, and resisted.

#### 8.3.1.5. Measurement of *Transformation*

The study continuously raised the pivotal conceptual, analytical, pragmatic, and political question: What is *Transformation* and how is it measured? On the whole, it was found that EE scoring was the main official form of *Transformation* tracking, which has a range of limitations. These included reducing complex phenomena to an important but single indicator which alone exacerbates the perception that de-segmentation alone is sufficient, and that equity is incongruent with excellence. However, participants at HEIs acknowledged the difficulty of assessing performance through educational indicators such as degree completion and research papers published, as they noted whilst these were often what funders required, it was unclear whether individuals' own potential was realized or accelerated in such situations. Indicators of IC change or substantive transformation were not raised.

Within this study, a range of indicators (quantitative and qualitative) were used to illuminate *Transformation*. The study used longitudinal data presented as a series of snapshots to describe pertinent trends over the 26-year period. This enabled changes in demographic and educational

segmentation to be tracked over time and across HEIs within the sector. Through this, the extent of (and changes in) segmentation were demonstrated, pre and post-1994 (and EEA) changes noted, places of open and protected labour observed, and in important ways this study goes some way to debunk the equity versus excellence misrepresentation. The qualitative data then extended, deepened, and added complexity to the understanding by engaging both the experiential and ideological aspects of changes as well as revealing how motivation and effects more often than not were incongruent.

It was observed that quantitative and qualitative indicators may be in alignment or may offer highly divergent assessments and explanations of the situation 'at the chalk face'. From this it was clearly evident that de-segmentation and de-racialisation (for example) were not the same thing. Thus, this study suggests that substantive understanding requires both quantitative and qualitative measurements. It utilized both demographic (race and gender) and educational indicators (qualifications and occupational rank) in addition to qualitative assessments. This was found to provide a more holistic overview with complementary and generative insights gained from both sets of data.

Furthermore, through the selection of two contrasting HEIs, the study provides a comparison of two different approaches to *Transformation* with their attendant possibilities, constraints and limitations. The insight gained from the case study comparison is important in terms of contesting the expectation and application of *Transformation*, particularly EE, as a universally-identical policy across all workplaces and even across all HEIs. Bezuidenhout, Bischoff, Buhlungu and Lewins (2008) motivated for a sector-specific approach to EE. This study extends that argument, as this research demonstrated both quantitatively and qualitatively, the range of different positions and concerns HEIs face and the need for context-specificity to be taken into account in planning.

On the one hand, this relates to the pertinent issue of academic EE benchmarking (which is further discussed in sections 8.5 and 8.6.). Significantly, it also speaks to the need for institutional and sectoral introspection to adapt current strategies to ensure that Black women academics, specifically, are advanced through AA and not excluded through a process that has to date prioritized single variable equity. As Acker (1990) and especially Crenshaw (1989) note, Black women have not been the main beneficiaries and have often been disadvantaged by the very policies designed to protect and advance them.

Similar questions within the study are also asked of EE 'within the Black category'. For example, where Black equity targets, on the whole, may be met but an HEI is predominantly Africanised with considerable under-representation of Coloured and Indian academics. As discussed in section 8.3.2. de-segmentation was not a singular process but was also subject to change, modification, and continuity, such that aspects of racialization, deracialisation and re-racialisation were all simultaneously found within the research.

### *8.3.2. Empirical findings on the state and extent of de-segmentation*

Peacock (1993: 4) observed, that without radical change, time alone would be insufficient to bring about the necessary changes to the South African academy. This study shows that 18 years after the political transition and after several major interventions (including restructuring and AA) dismantling, reforming, and transforming historical institutions of separation and segregation remains an ongoing effort. De-segmentation was operationalised as the movement away from the AWR, across the sector and within the case study institutions, this was determined quantitatively (as per Chapters 4 and 5) and qualitatively (as per Chapters 6 and 7). Whilst the AWR focuses solely on race as the axis of inequality, this study also incorporates gender and education in the assessment of academic de-segmentation. As it sought to explore power, privilege and/or penalty (Collins, 1995) across multiple axes of de/segmentation.

A comprehensive overview was achieved through an assessment of statistical de-segmentation, focusing predominantly on access to permanent academic labour. Chapter 4 details this over a 26-year period, for the sector as a whole, by institutional type, and at key junctures in time; all the while providing illustrative examples from HEIs, that reflect the ongoing and changing situation according to demographic (race and gender) and educational indicators (qualification and academic rank). Chapter 5 specifically focuses on the regional academic labour market (RALM) within which the case study institutions are located. The key issues are explored and further detailed within the case study province and within the two HEIs.

Given the complexity of the South African case and that de-segmentation was not the full story, the qualitative dimension was core to exploring unification, racialisation, gendering, and the overall experience of the academic workplace. The fieldwork was conducted in 2011 (as per Chapters 6 and 7). This ensured that broad coverage of 'de-segmentation' was achieved and

accounted for. The findings chapters engage the core issues as discrete subjects of study. The aim here is to selectively discuss findings most relevant to the research question.

8.3.2.1. Educational de-segmentation: by institutions, qualifications and occupational rank

As restructuring was deemed a national priority and ultimately affected two-thirds of all HEIs, which reduced from 36 to 23 at that time, it is useful to begin the discussion of de-segmentation at this point. As far as de-segmentation is concerned, restructuring was somewhat equivocal. The aim of a unified higher education system, turned out to be more of an administrative and political goal. The actual delivery of higher education moved away from a system of racially-defined universities, technikons, and distance institutions. However, the new system was still educationally differentiated, as nationally determined by human resource needs.

However, despite attempts to deconstruct the past racialization of institutions[207], (the three 'new' categories of traditional universities (TU), comprehensive universities (CU) and universities of technology (UoT)) still carry the burden of their legacies. This is palpably obvious in their academic staffing statistics (discussed below). However, NMIs as opposed to HWUs now employ most academics (49% in 2012).

Whilst the jury may still be out on the impact of restructuring on the demographic statistics at these HEIs, this study suggests (see Chapter 4) that several NMIs did, and continue to, experience an improvement in their EE profiles as a result of the merger. Notwithstanding, that NMIs themselves are a heterogenous category reflective of their varying pasts. With only a third of HEIs now in an un-merged situation, the gap between some HWUs and HBUs has actually grown (obviously not as a direct consequence of the mergers, but the differences are now more pronounced). As the case studies are an NMI and an un-merged HWU, these provide a good basis for comparison for a range of issues.

Irrespective of HEI location, one of the goals of post-apartheid higher education has been to standardize and improve academic qualifications across the board. In 1988, 32% of academics had a doctorate and 29% a master's degree. By 2012, this had increased to 39% who had a

[207] Of the new institutional types: 12 are TUs, 6 of which are HWUs, 3 are HBUs and 3 NMIs; of the 6 CUs: 2 are HBUs, 1 is the DI and 3 are NMIs; all 6 UoTs are NMIs.

doctorate and 34% for whom the masters was their highest qualification. Furthermore, academics are now required to be credentialised, earlier in their academic careers. For example, in 1988, 35% of lecturers had a master's degree, by 2012 this had increased to 50%, whilst 33% of senior lecturers had a doctorate in 1988, by 2012, this was 47%. For South African academics, this drive towards qualifications came particularly late with the formal opening up to the global economy and restructuring of the academy at large, post-1994. Although, the reasons for such are multiple, the unintended effect is that Black and women academics who are now entering academia in increasing numbers (along with their White counter-parts), have to achieve higher qualifications sooner, than previously. It is thus, understandable how and why this could be interpreted as 'impositional discrimination'.[208]

Furthermore, this should install confidence that Black and women academics within the SAHES are more than equal to the task. However, from the qualitative data, this was seldom the case. Instead Black and women academics were assumed to be deficient and had to perform at higher standards in order to be deemed acceptable. This is where it has been vital to have both the qualitative and quantitative data as this has provided empirical backing against, for example, the equity/excellence debate.

However, it must be noted that immediately pre and post-the restructuring period, there was a general decline in qualifications (especially academics with a doctorate), across the sector. As a result of academics, particularly professors, who left academia and were not replaced. Subsequently, some NMIs took between five and ten years to recover the proportion and distribution of qualified academics. However, whereas previously no technikons had professorial staff, only two UoTs still have no professoriate at all. There continues to be a noticeable differentiation in the proportion of professoriate versus lecturing staff between the HWUs, HBUs, CUs and UoTs. This somewhat corresponds with differentiation in qualification sets as well.

In some cases, such as RBU, there was a discernible improvement in both the EE profile and the qualification profile of the institution, as a whole, post-merger. On the other hand, as the qualitative data shows, the experiential component of the merger and its after effects did little

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[208] Where criteria are set beyond that required for the job as a means of attracting specific types of candidates, and to the exclusion of others (Standing, Sender & Weeks, 1996: 384).

to cohere the institution and was a divisive, and alienating experience for most academics, with institution of origin and qualification set being two of the major fault lines. Thus, counter-earlier scholarship, mergers cannot be conceptualized only as an individual event with immediate effects but as a long-term process with accrued benefits and/or challenges.

Furthermore, this study has also shown that there has been a continuation of de-segmentation across institutions. Whilst race and gender de-segmentation are part of a longer-term trend, technikon-educated academics were virtually locked out of university employment until the creation of NMIs. Since the mergers, technikon-educated academics have been able to gain access to a greater range of HEIs than before and have also reached greater heights within the academy, including in a few cases, the professoriate. This study has shown that whilst this category of academic employment has always been a minority (less than 8%); it has historically been important as an entry point into academia. However, this too is declining.

Within RBU, this was often a specific locus for change where AA appointments were made and where the need for a higher standard of qualification was set and met. However, this was often also where Black participants experienced considerable disjuncture and exclusion at the hands of White colleagues. In addition, this was also where concern raised, in some disciplines, that academic drift may be occurring, as academic over vocationally-grounded appointments were made. Thus, de-segmentation may bring more opportunities for individual advancement but may challenge the basis of differentiated higher education itself.

Whilst not specific to restructuring, the study observed, over the period under review, both an increasing juniorisation of academic labour and the lack of standardization in both qualifications as entry requirements into the different academic ranks, and the use of occupational categories specifically junior lecturer and below junior lecturer. As confirmed by the qualitative data, such inconsistencies had the potential to become labour disputes. It was not possible to determine the extent of such cases, but those raised in this study, had racialized and/or gender inflections as well. Furthermore, connected to the topic, new funding models often constrained promotional possibilities even when formal criteria had been met. This had the potential to lock academics into junior positions and/or contribute to institutional attrition.

This discussion has shown that educational de-segmentation is somewhat of a mixed bag. Institutional de-segmentation, through restructuring, has quantitatively in the medium term (5 to 10 years) shown signs of improvement with regard to the qualification set, and occupational distribution of academics as a whole. However, some of this has been repairing the initial

effects of the merger and the disparities brought by the merging partners. Meanwhile, the experiential dimension provides an alternate record. NMIs have been fraught with tensions over institutional deficit and inadequacy, pressured for qualification upgrades, and have been particularly vulnerable to re-racialisation as a result of both the structural and systematic changes and hostile and embattled institutional cultures.

Institutional segmentation was previously 'contained' in separate institutions. The challenge is that this has now been brought into the majority of institutions (NMI) who have had to find ways to solve their internal contradictions. Whilst, as per the quantitative data, this can and is beginning to be achieved formally through standardized measures; the cost to human potential, social cohesion, and academic vibrancy is questioned. Meanwhile, the few unmerged HEIs, have largely continued to be in a privileged position as far as academic qualification skills set is concerned. However, there are still large discrepancies between the size and seniority of the academic staff complements at HWUs compared with HBUs. As discussed next, there are also concerns regarding the relative EE profile of HEIs by institutional type.

8.3.2.2. Racial de-segmentation

As far as staff demographics are concerned, sectoral race and gender patterns reflect both continuity and change. De-segmentation is evident across the higher education sector but is notably less pronounced towards the upper end of the hierarchy, as per general societal patterns. Non-professional service workers also bore the brunt of outsourcing which had distinctly racialized effects.

There has been a considerable increase in Black academics' access to academia, from 9% in 1986 to 53% in 2012, with reasonable horizontal de-segmentation across the sector as a whole. Notwithstanding, that institutional types are still very distinctly identifiable, some HWUs reflect very mediocre EE statistics, and some HBUs now run the risk of becoming racially exclusive (Africanised), while several continue to be disproportionately male dominated. Figures 8.1. to 8.5. summarise the broad sectoral changes.

In 2012, Black academics are still disproportionately employed by institutional type and representivity is still highly skewed: at HBUs (75%), NMIs (59%), and HWUs (25%). The provincial legacy, although waning, still reflects historical racialization in employment patterns. This is particularly so for Coloured academics, employed mostly in the Western Cape

and Indian academics, employed mostly in KwaZulu-Natal. Meanwhile, White academics have disproportionately remained within HWUs and within the Gauteng, Western Cape, and the Free State.

Perhaps some of the most interesting parts of this analysis and contribution of this study were to be found in its micro detail which together told the story of academic labour across SAHES. For example, the institutional type patterns detailed the past and present segmentation within HBIs and HWIs, these documented how race and gender employment patterns changed over time and when respective HEIs really 'opened' their labour markets. In addition, the study shows how employment patterns changed across the sector, and very definitely within specific HEIs, in accordance with political and legislative changes (including the political transition at 1994, the implementation of the EEA in 1998, and the restructuring of 2004/2005). These showed distinct connections between the socio-political context, individual institutions, and national trends both at the end of apartheid, and post-apartheid. This thereby intimated that these macro historical and state processes did influence SAHES' patterns and trends.

Therefore, this study was able to substantially further the earlier analyses offered by Koen (2003), Cooper and Subotzky (2001), and Peacock (1993). In particular, it showed how racialization and gendering affected all HEIs; it showed how and when HEIs responded to the democratic change, and showed where racial and gendered de-segmentation still remains of concern.

The analyses of case study data (see Chapter 5) demonstrated that at RBU and NVU, vertical segmentation was still firmly in place as only a few Black academics and women academics had reached the top of the academic hierarchy. Furthermore, there were distinct disciplines and faculties that were gendered and racialized; mostly in terms of under-representation of Black and women academics, but in some cases, there was an 'over-representation' of women academics. This confirmed that internal horizontal segmentation continued within academia. It also added nuance to the aggregate overview and showed further differentiation and complexity

As discussed in Chapter 4, a few graphs would be included here to synthesise key issues. Figure 8.1 is a simplified representation of sectoral data over the 26 years, showing the race and gender gap as a dissimilarity index between Black and White, and African and White academics as well as women and men academics. The utility of this measure of change is that it allows comparisons to be effectively made across institutions and across time. Figure 8.1 shows race-based equity has outpaced gender-based equity despite, the initial starting points being much

further apart. However, as is also evident, the gap between White and African academics is also taking longer to close.

Figure 8.1. Dissimilarity Indices - SAHES Academics: 1986 to 2012
Overview by Race (Black to White & African to White) and by Gender (Women to Men)

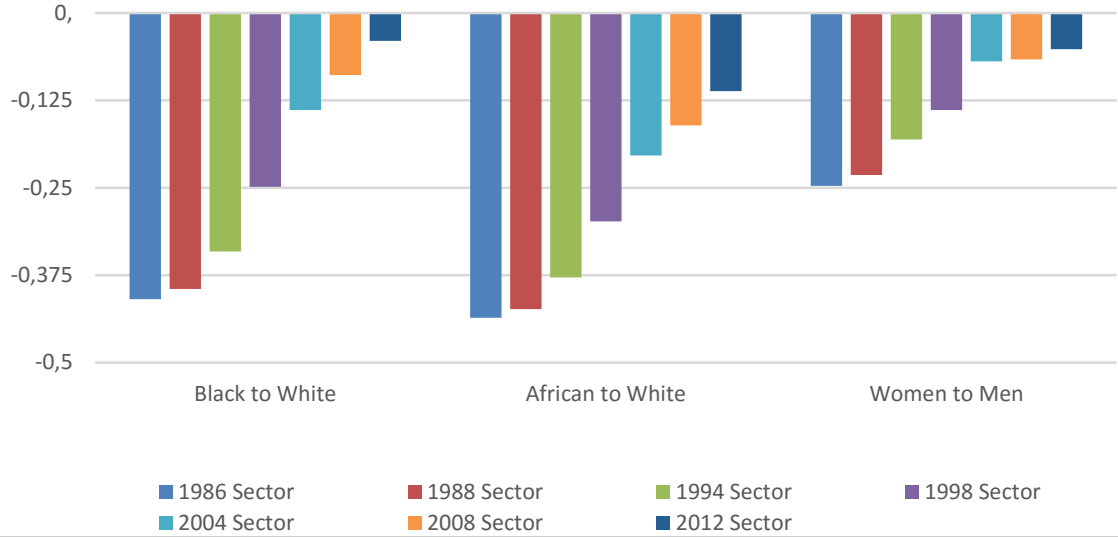
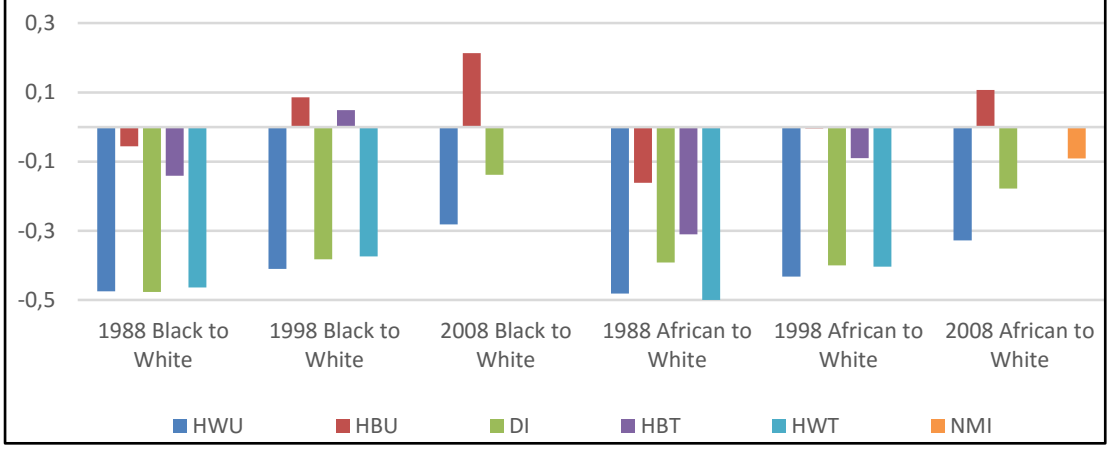



Figure 8.2, uses the same measurement tool to compare progress across different HEIs. This aptly captures the heterogeneity and inequity across the sector as reflected by the different institutional types. As can be seen, in 2008 only the HBUs had crossed the parity mark, whilst the NMIs were also very close. This demonstrates that whilst aggregate de-segmentation has been improving steadily, this is occurring very evidently at an uneven pace across the sector.

Figure 8.2. Dissimilarity Index - SAHES Academics by Institutional Type and by Race (Black to White and African to White): 1988 - 2008




Figures 8.4 and 8.5 below further demonstrate the extent of change pre and post the EEA, illustrating how race-based change has accelerated, particularly since the EEA was introduced. A projection, using sectoral trends, determined, at its then current rate of change, the number of Black academics expected within the sector by 2008, without the EEA, was achieved in 2002 *with* the EEA in effect. Since, 2008, the sectoral rate of racial de-segmentation has further increased (see figures 8.4 and 8.5). Therefore, it can be seen that the EEA has had a positive effect on racial de-segmentation within the sector as a whole.

However, despite quantitative improvements, the qualitative data shows that racialization is still very much present within the case study HEIs. The experiential dimensions suggest that HEIs are troubled places where Black academics are tolerated, assimilate, and/or continuously have to find ways to cope with pervasive prejudice and discrimination by the majority of White staff and students. Restructuring and AA hires and promotions have only added fuel to the fire. AA today is fraught and resisted and as discussed in section 8.3.1, EE has not been located within a paradigm that is understood by or acceptable to the majority. Hence its practice is met with compliance, apathy, objection, resistance, and sabotage. Furthermore, Black academics bear the brunt of colleagues' opposition to the system, and often themselves become stern opponents of the process. In other instances, AA hires are accepted but only after they have been made to jump through an extraordinary number of hoops to prove they are worthy and not, in fact, 'AA hires'.

Thus, neither restructuring nor EE have done much to go beyond numeric de-segmentation, not necessarily because they lack potential, but because of the way they have been implemented: either by a distant and heavy handed management and/or through reliance on an (unsympathetic) everyday academic. For the most part, implementation of the EEA is met with a combination of very real constraints, and resistance to application at both the individual and social levels. On the other hand, transformation interventions have demonstrated individual and institutional potential, ability, and commitment to address these issues and their consequences. However, these are few and far between and rely overwhelmingly on individual good will and dedication.

Therefore, racial de-segmentation is definitely evident and has been facilitated by restructuring and EE initiatives across the sector and within specific HEIs. However, progress is not uniform and there are concerns over racial exclusivity, at both ends of the spectrum. Furthermore, within HEIs, de-segmentation has not, for the most part, been accompanied by de-racialisation, except where conscious transformation efforts have taken place. On the whole, restructuring and EE have been met by and facilitated, racialization and re-racialisation within HEIs, both as a part of individual and institutional discourse and practice.

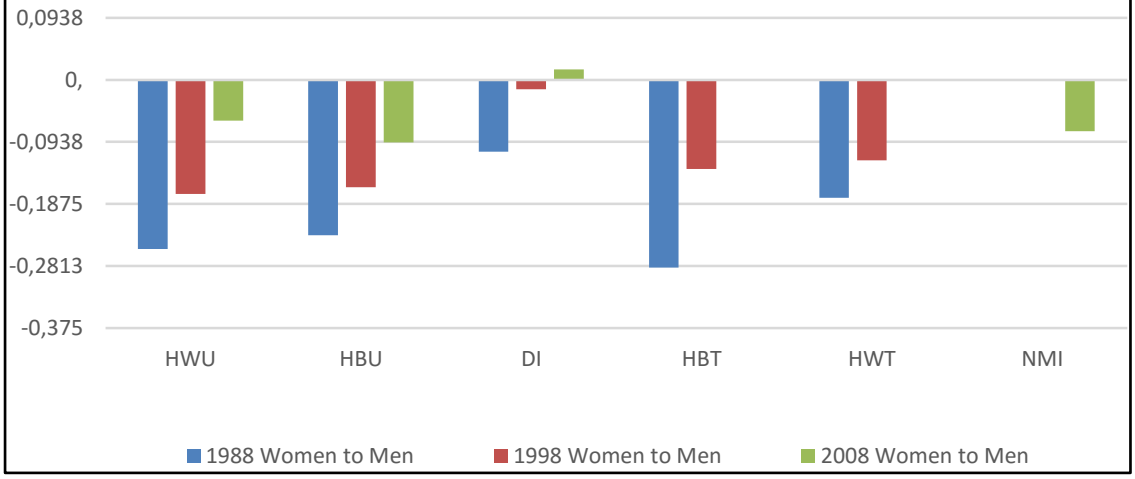
8.3.2.3. Gendered de-segmentation

For the most part, there was a much narrower range of women academic representivity across all HEIs. Not only did most institutions perform more similarly, but most entered 1994, with a higher proportion of women academics than Black academics. However, by 2012, sector-wide, there was parity between Black academics and women academics. The gender gap (between men and women) consistently narrowed and in 2012 was within a ten percent range (See Figure 8.1). However, despite reaching critical mass and nearing overall parity, gender de-segmentation has of late reached a virtual standstill (See Figure 8.3). Specific HBUs and NMIs (particularly, UoTs) continue to have comparatively poor gender records, often despite significant proportions of Black academics.

Given that most HEIs had fairly comparable women academic representivity already, restructuring did little to change the gender balance at HEIs across the sector (See Figure 8.3). Meanwhile, the EEA had mixed effect. Projected targets based on a continuation of (then) current employment trends showed that, across the sector, the number of women academics expected by 2005, without the EEA, was reached in 2002 with the EEA. This thereby

demonstrated the positive effect that the EEA had on hiring to enable the sector to attain gender parity faster than it otherwise would have done.

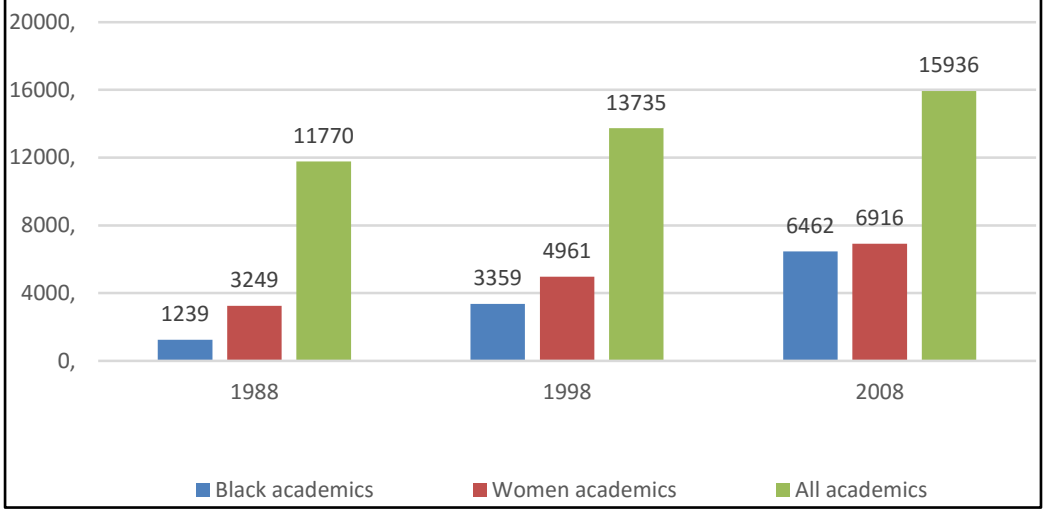
Figure 8.3. Dissimilarity Index - Academic Staff Across SAHES by Institutional Type and by Gender (Women to Men)




The true test, of course, would be whether this would be true for African women academics, and whether this would also hold true for all women, not simply for access to, but for participation at, all levels of the academic hierarchy. The quantitative and qualitative data (see figure 8.4 and 8.5) demonstrate that this was not the case.

Furthermore, recent disaggregated data from the CHE (2016) allows for some approximations to be drawn. In 2012, of all occupational ranks, lecturer level was the only level at which there was comparable hiring across both race (Black and White) and gender (women and men). This thereby demonstrates that participation is quite different to access. In addition, approximately 41% of White and 38% of men academics across the sector, were at the top of the academic hierarchy, within the professoriate. Comparatively, just 6% of African and 17% of women academics were. This situation is further amplified when the professoriate is considered as role models for all staff, the professoriate represent 21% of White, 6% of women, and 2% of African staff (Webstock & Sehoole, 2016: 286 - 288). Therefore, when examined at the dis-aggregated level, both gender and racial de-segmentation are still firmly entrenched within academia.

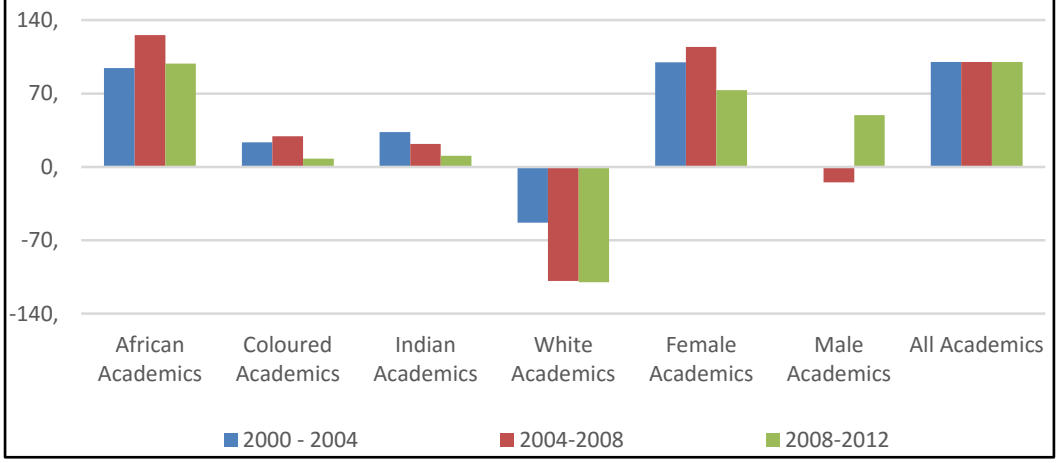
Figure 8.4. 10 years Pre-EEA, at EEA, & 10 years post-EEA: Comparison of Black Academics & Women Academics Against SAHES Totals (1998 - 2008)




An important part of this study was to track the impact of specific interventions on de-segmentation. A 20-year comparison (see Chapter 4 and Figure 8.4) showed that in the ten years post-EEA, the overall percentage increase in women hired slowed in a period when this should have been consistently increasing. This contradictory pattern is partially explained by the significant increase in Black academics hired over the period. However, this again suggests that there was not comparable hiring between Black women and White women or Black women and Black men academics. Thus, as AA categories, Black men academics and White women academics have likely benefitted more, on the whole, than Black women academics.

However, figure 8.5 presents the same dataset in four year cycles; it shows a more complex situation that is reflective of actual workplace entry and exit. As such, it suggests that intersectionality may be beginning to play a larger role in academic hires, making this a topic worthy of future study.

Figure 8.5. Comparison of Net Change in Academics, by Race and by Gender, every four years post EEA as a Percentage of Overall Change (2000 - 2012).




Gender de-segmentation was a surprisingly muted topic in the findings as a whole, especially given the continuing low proportion of women at higher levels of the academy. In the case study HEIs, race-based change was clearly the major priority. Nonetheless, there were particularly interesting debates in feminized disciplinary spaces about whether efforts should be made to de-segment those spaces or not. Furthermore, at NVU, the existence of SA4W had done much to conscientise the university community of gender rights and to advance women academics. Whilst qualitative benefits may have been realized, the impact on the overall academic gender statistics were not yet significant. In addition, the differential positions and experiences of women academics need further exploration.

Thus, this section has shown that whilst there has undoubtedly been significant progress towards de-segmentation on all indicators both educational and demographic; the task is such that considerable work still lies ahead. One the one hand, the damage wrought by the apartheid system is such that de-segmentation is a long-term project requiring understanding and commitment for the long haul. On the other hand, the very nature of academia itself is inherently conservative such that internal constituencies, for multiple reasons, will resist change. Structurally, systematically, and culturally protectionism and isolationism has been built in to the foundation of academia itself. Nonetheless, efforts at de-segmentation through restructuring and AA have done considerable work to shake the associations of this with unjust and exclusionary race, gender and class-based practices and legacies. Nonetheless, these have their own anticipated and unintended fall-outs which time and transformation interventions have sought, and are beginning, to address. However, needless to say, we are still surprisingly inapt and inept at graciously, thoughtfully, and generously occupying our 'post'-apartheid conceptual and workplace space.

### *8.3.3. Re/production of academic labour*

Whilst the study was primarily concerned with the impact of *Transformation* on the de-segmentation of academic labour, this in itself could not be addressed without considering the issue of re/production of academic labour. Throughout the study the relational tension between transformation and re/production emerged in three core ways that provide useful insights for thinking about the academy and its future. This is increasingly an area of concern in South Africa, although as of yet, there are few academic studies on such. 8.3.3.1. and 8.3.3.2. speak to the issue of 'numeric re/production' whilst 8.3.3.3. speaks to 'normative re/production'.

#### 8.3.3.1. Re/production of professional functions

On the one hand, academic labour has to be continually produced both for its own functional and social viability and that of the professions at large. This functional contextual role both shapes, and is shaped by, the macro social context. This in itself has changed globally over the last 50 years, with the ascendency of the knowledge economy (Beck, 1992). However, as widely documented within the existing literature, the 'academic profession' is not homogenous and thus has responded to, and or resisted, the macro socio-economic challenges with varying degrees of 'success'. Furthermore, South Africa's historic and contemporary positionality in the African region, the global South and the global context as a whole, provides SAHES with specific opportunities, constraints, and challenges (Blankley & Booysens, 2010). Both the quantitative and qualitative data showed evidence, at different points, of attrition of academics within HEIs, with a movement out of academia and, particularly, into the newly formed state (circa 1994) and into professional disciplines, where in some instances participants describe higher education merely as "an incubator".

Across the board, the challenge of filling current academic posts was already noted, especially if those were specialist subject posts and/or high level professorial posts. In several cases, the potential of academic disciplines to re/produce themselves from their own academic pipeline (i.e. students) was severely constrained by limited supervisory capacity, and thus non-existent or small masters and doctoral intakes. This applied to both case study HEIs. Often science and humanities were the only faculties with continual pipelines, and even these were discipline-dependent.

In disciplines with strong professions, post-graduate opportunities were often limited beyond professional requirements. Furthermore, better salaries and perceived working conditions and/or locations made the profession more appealing than academia. There were very few collaborations and interventions between professions, industry, the market, and academia to improve this situation, for the benefit of professions but more especially, to ensure the viability of academia itself. The few interventions identified included sponsoring academic posts, providing for internships, paying academics industry-related subventions, paying a critical or scarce skill top up and/or retention allowance, and providing set time for consultancy work. On the whole and at a variety of levels, there appeared little agency and/or commitment to the investment in academic human resources.

Furthermore, across the board, the working conditions in SAHES were reported as increasingly demanding and continually declining. In most instances, the qualitative data, showed little to no room for expansion, requiring existing staff to take on increasing teaching and administrative loads, often reportedly at the expense of research, for particularly junior academics.

The heterogeneity of the academic workforce and its core socio-cultural norms and values (as discussed in 8.3.3.3.) also contributed to the inability of academics as a whole to conceive of themselves as part of a profession and/or a collective. Whether this be part of a discipline and/or part of an institution, there was little conceptualization of academic work beyond what was actively being done 'now'. Therefore, future planning was rarely a part of departmental, institutional, and/or national disciplinary planning. There were thus a range of internal and external factors that currently constrained and restrained academia and impacted on its ability to successfully re/produce itself at all and certainly to the best of its ability.

Based on projections that by 2020, SAHES will have a deficit of 7 000 academics, half of whom will be retiring professors[209], the question of re/production is more acute than academics themselves are generally aware of or acknowledge. Recently (2015), the DoHET has developed a task team on Staffing South Africa's Universities Development Programme (SSAU-DP) to

[209] NVU Website

address this through various interventions at key junctures of the academic pipeline[210]. One of which is the Next Generation Academics Programme that was being run at the time of this research at both case study HEIs as a pilot. However, these and other interventions are both recent and the first national interventions in response to the 'crisis' of the reproduction of academic labour. Nonetheless, as identified herein there are many substantive challenges that also need to be addressed in order that participants in these initiatives stay within academia.

8.3.3.2. *Transformation* and the re/production of professional functions

As is evident above, questions of numeric re/production should be a major concern for the sector. It is thus imperative to ask 'to what extent has re/production considered AA and to what extent has re/production been influenced by *Transformation*, particularly AA?' The inequity of the past and ongoing challenges mean that the question of de-segmentation forces SAHES to conceptualise current and future 'production' of academic labour and the workforce in very necessary but potentially bio-essentialist and reductionist terms. However, the qualitative data illustrated that at both individual and collective level, career pathing and workforce planning was only just being implemented (despite more than ten years of EER[211] and DoHET planning). HEIs were substantively considering their staffing needs for the first time and hence EE should be part of that planning going forward.

Furthermore, the demand on all sectors of the economy to become equitable had proven academia considerably underprepared and thus far, unable to become a 'workplace of choice'; despite being the education and training pool for the most highly skilled equity candidates. All of the factors identified in 8.3.3.1 were exacerbated when it came to the employment and retention of Black graduates and academics. The general lack of appeal that academia had was compounded with the socio-economic conditions and context of particularly first generation Black graduates and academics.

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210 http://www.dhet.gov.za/ssauf/Content/STAFFING%20SOUTH%20AFRICA'S%20UNIVERSITIES%20FRAMEWORK/STRENGTHENING%20THE%20PATHWAY%20FOR%20THE%20DEVELOPMENT%20OF%20ACADEMICS%20THROUGH%20THE%20SSAUF.pdf

211 Employment Equity Reporting

The in/ability of the profession to sustain (would be and actual) employees underlines the importance of addressing the economic, social-cultural and institutional reasons responsible for attrition. Whilst the growth in actual numbers of academics nationwide suggests that more people do find an occupational home within academia, the limited extent of de-segmentation suggests the sector is able to do little more than reproduce (i.e. sustain) the class-base of those who are traditionally employed. In the qualitative data, this was often confirmed by Black participants who stressed that they were able to culturally, educationally, and sometimes economically assimilate into the established institutional culture. This therefore, limits the actual extent of de-segmentation of the profession, particularly those in permanent employment. It also emphasizes that normative reproduction is likely taking place.

Therefore, the actual versus the potential pool of AA candidates is vastly different (based on socio-economic class). This raises the question of actual access to and participation in academic labour and whether de-segmentation has actually occurred. In short, graduates and permanent academics continue to remain two vastly different categories within SAHES. Furthermore, at the two-case study HEIs, it was also found that graduate students largely reflected the academic profile, thereby also affirming the importance of reproduction at these HEIs.

However, across the board, HEIs had of late begun to more seriously implement their EE policies. They were more engaged in interventions designed to facilitate entry into and success within academia for AA/EE beneficiaries. Nonetheless, before national mainstreaming, the scale of this was fairly small. An exception to this is the Accelerated Development Programme at NVU, which by 2014 accounted for approximately 10% of its academics. In addition, given the post-apartheid context, it is likely to be the very foundational basis of EE that has enabled most HEIs that have had access to grants such as those administered by Carnegie, Mellon, Kresgie and the like to be awarded these. Thus, some of the improvements in sectoral reproduction are likely to be because of EE. This is certainly also true of the national Next Generation Academics Programme.

However, despite the similar ways in which anyone finds a career other than in academia more appealing, the loss of potential candidates due to a lack of interventions on the part of HEIs to address issues such as remuneration and institutional culture (identified in the WP3 (1998) as key limitations), and the actual benefits accrued to SAHES through EE; the most common default position was inevitably connected to the equity/excellence discourse. This underlines

the importance of normative re/production as *Transformation* was collectively perceived to be a constraint on the reproduction of academic labour.

8.3.3.3. Normative re/production

The study also raises a number of questions about the socio-cultural orientation and functioning of academia and academic institutions. In particular, academics' conception of the world, their positionality, their way of engaging with the world, their professional practice, and whether or not these should continually be reproduced or transformed. Throughout the study, it became apparent that *Transformation* called into question the norms, values, ideologies, practices, and social relations that define academics: 'academic sense perhaps not so sensible after all'. It also emerged during the research that academic reproduction itself was potentially a challenge to *Transformation*. Thus, there appeared to be an inherent tension between these two dimensions as currently constituted within the South African academy.

The question of *Transformation* has raised fundamental questions of access and participation in academia that have proved to be ultimately connected (within academics' operative discourses and actions) to questions of the existential rights to be and to self-determination. These suggest that academia is conceived of, by most academics, not merely as a form of labour, work, and/or a workplace but as a fundamental 'human' condition in which rights, responsibilities and obligations are bestowed on its 'citizens'. Academic citizens have come to believe their own ideology of excellence and merit without reflecting on how these themselves are normative ideals, and most importantly how they function to exclude those regarded as 'non-citizens'. By invoking claims to self-autonomy, academic freedom, excellence, and merit, academics are often express their sense of insecurity when confronted with change, their wish for continuity, their desire to control their 'freedom' in what are perceived to be unknown, unreliable, and changing circumstances. However, due to the disproportionate scale at which these claims are articulated they most often serve a reproduction and maintenance of the status quo function, for the same generosity of 'citizenship rights' are seldom extended to those who are not enabled by the existing system.

In the defence and resistance against the maintenance of the status quo, the stakes do rise and positions polarize such that White academics disproportionately understand their experiences as one of loss whilst Black academics are caught within a nexus of the costs of being part of such HEIs. However, HEIs are not bound to continually reproduce these same conflictual

relations. Interventions such as the facilitated transformation discussions in education at RBU had actively begun to tackle embedded norms, values and the reproduction of the institutional culture, the SA4W and ADP also had key aspects that continually questioned and unsettled the normative culture. Furthermore, the existence within HEIs of multiple iterations of ICs demonstrates that transformative change is possible and going against the ingrained normative reproduction is possible. The challenge is that these positions are peripheral and often confined outside of the mainstream. Sectoral experience has recently taught that disrupting the normative come in two forms, contained well conceptualized small scale interventions with limited effects or unscripted, organically unfolding resistance with large scale effects. In both cases, nothing is guaranteed, both have risks, and adverse effects, but one can all but try.

### 8.4. Succinct answer to the research question

This exploratory research has shown that all HEIs were racially and gender segmented. Racial and gendered de-segmentation of the academic labour market, pre-dated the political transition of 1994. The rate of change with respect to access to permanent academic labour within the sector as a whole certainly sped up with the impending transition of 1994. However, the most conservative of HWIs held out until the implementation of the EEA to begin academic racial de-segmentation. By 1994, gender de-segmentation was significantly further ahead than racial de-segmentation, and the EEA accelerated gender-based change significantly until the mid-2000s, when race-based change became predominant.

Restructuring of the sector in the mid-2000s fundamentally changed the higher education landscape and undermined the racial and educationally disparate structure that apartheid entrenched. However, apartheid's legacy was all pervasive and the contradictions now bore out internally within the 'new and merged institutions' (NMIs). The experience of which, at RBU, was highly divisive for academics on the basis of HEI of origin and set a hostile environment for future AA interventions, whilst non-merged HEIs continued with business as usual.

Despite this, 18 years after 1994, racial de-segmentation in terms of access to the academic labour market reveals significant change at the sectoral level, and within NMIs. However, the remaining HBUs and HWUs are still racially distinctive. Meanwhile, gender parity is in sight within most HEIs, with the exception of some HBUs and UoTs. However, at the disaggregate

level, most noteworthy changes have barely transcended above the lecturer level. Qualifications have improved across the board, although notable differences remain according to institutional type. Of fundamental significance, racial de-segmentation has not materialized into de-racialisation, For the most part and often in response to AA, racial contestation and racial conflict was perceived and experienced as White loss and Black cost. These were pervasive at RBU and NVU (both with a HWI legacy).

A number of activist-initiated and institutional interventions were doing essential work to address the de-constructive effects of restructuring, AA and the embattled and conservatively restrictive institutional cultures. Nonetheless, the effect of these are currently peripheral. De-segmentation also raised fundamental questions about the re/production of academic labour, which itself was a challenge, with/out the EE imperative and often reproduction itself was seen as a challenge to de-segmentation. The sector needs to seriously address both.

Thus, without a doubt, de-segmentation has occurred. Its effects are definitely not yet as extensive, as all encompassing, or as embedded within the academic labour market as one may hope. Furthermore, the very processes of, particularly restructuring and AA (as the mechanism of EE) have brought about other forms of de-segmentation which highlight that quantitative/numeric de-segmentation is not equivalent to qualitative de-racialisation. These expressions and practices of racialization and re-racialisation show that *Transformation* is not a linear progression forward and that much transformational work still lies ahead.

## 8.5. Significance and implications

Due to the scope and scale of the research, there is much that could be addressed, however, just three points relating to the conceptual significance and practical and empirical implications of the study will be discussed.

First, the study has potential to contribute to contemporary debates on the *Transformation of* higher education, particularly based on the proposed framework, the complex and intertwined nature of the relationships between the sub-components, and the unintended consequences. The conceptualization of multiple simultaneous *Transformational* institutional cultures and the detailed examination of White loss and Black cost also provides a lens through which to

examine and understand academics' situated and relational racialized experiences of the university post-apartheid. In addition, the location and positionality of AA resistance provides a nuanced view on this topic. The implications of these insights are that they provide an assessment of where the sector is at, of the continuation and morphing of racialization, as well as of the potential for future more progressive directions.

Secondly, the study raised a number of practical and pragmatic questions about implementation and responsibility for *Transformation*. These are useful for anyone with an interest or role to play in *Transformation*. The study demonstrated an understanding of individual, collective and stakeholder agency and responsibility for EE and AA. Conversely and equally important is responsibility for complicity in inaction and/or failure. The double-edged nature of this was highlighted as part of its ineffectiveness as policy. Therefore, it is important that more effective ways of facilitating improved participation are considered, both within the academy and by the Department of Labour at large. Within academia, it may mean considering more effective ways of rooting substantive equality and AA within institutional cultures. Furthermore, the various transformation initiatives demonstrated the tension between activist and mainstreamed interventions, and small versus large scale interventions. It is also important for these issues to be considered in ways that facilitate and enable academics without take-over, co-option and capturing. It also emphasizes the need for all academic departments and disciplines to be thinking much more creatively and critically about the re/production of academic labour and transformation.

Thirdly, the question of adequate measurement of *Transformation* indicators continually arose throughout the research and the analysis. It is important that such indicators be adequately conceptualized and developed. Although a much narrower focus than would be recommended, but as a valuable starting point, the question of EE benchmarking and against whom academics are deemed comparable, is important and was raised in this research. For example, 'are academic EE targets best compared against: the economically active population (EAP) as per current Department of Labour practice, the academic labour market (ALM), the professions in general, or the skills pool?' See Figure 4.4, in Chapter 4 for a comparison. Furthermore, should these benchmarks be nationally or regionally determined?

These debates are already taking place and will surface more as more as HEIs approach parity and as debates between equity versus diversity become more commonplace. From the very pragmatic perspective of HEIs that have to account for their performance, progress, and plan

for future growth and development; these are very pertinent questions as the of indicator used clearly has a significant impact on how progress is gauged and on how well/not an HEI does. Recommendations from this research are included in section 8.6.

## 8.6. Directions for future research and recommendations

### *8.6.1. Areas for future research*

This study highly recommends further research on academic labour in South Africa. In particular, much of the research on the HEMIS database used in this study was limited by the exploratory and descriptive nature of this study. It would be both interesting and important to run more sophisticated statistical tests on the data to more definitively ascertain impact and/or correlation, as to the extent that specific interventions were responsible for change.

A major limitation of the accessibility provided to the HEMIS data was that it did not allow for intersectional comparisons between race and gender and/or demographic data and occupational rank. Therefore, having established an initial benchmark, a more rigorous, further follow-up study (perhaps using CHE data) would be essential to provide additional insights 'within race' and/or 'within gender' category similarities and differences, as well as to chart upward mobility and participation throughout occupation ranks. This would further allow for deeper and more extensive analyses of de-segmentation and would also assist with targeted interventions for HEIs themselves as well as for national programmes.

There is a lack of current research on mergers, it would be important for a range of research to be conducted in order to determine the effect of the merger on EE and/or on qualifications after a 10-year period. It would also be useful to compare different UoTs for example. As technology-educated academics were previously excluded from university employment, through closed shops, it would be interesting to track former UoT academics and see how vertically mobile they are now, or whether there is an emergent or continuing segmentation in operation there.

It would also be important to do a study of gender-based equity at some of the HBUs and UoTs with low proportions of women's representivity in order to explore the key concerns and barriers women face. It could be interesting to compare EE profiling within two academic disciplines that are distinctly masculinised and feminised, in order to see whether dominant gendering patterns influence de-racialization at all. A cohort study of participants in the accelerated development programme and/or next generation of academics' programme would also be important to track the long-term impact of these interventions on participant's careers. Research into temporary academic labour is sorely needed: research into the race, gender, qualification spread of such academics as well as their workplace conditions and experiences, and whether this type of work is a gateway into the permanent workforce, would all be important areas of research.

### *8.6.2. Recommendations*

This study recommends:

- Academic activism in which academics consolidate their academic identity and professional status either through unions and/or professional associations, disciplines and/or professional bodies. In particular, in which academics collectively conceive and plan the future of their professions and where possible plan for conversations around numeric and normative re/production and transformation.
- Where academics have strong relationships with professions, they engage in collaborations for mutual benefit and to find ways for the profession to support academia. For example, sponsoring academic posts for the numbers of professionals trained, sponsoring post-graduates with academic internships, contributing to subventions, salary top-ups, etc.
- HEIs need to work constructively and conscientiously to facilitate progressive, supportive, and collegial institutional cultures. Internal academic resources and/or sectoral resources on equity and diversity training should be pooled and shared.
- HEIs needs to work collectively through the DoHET and HESA to raise academic salaries, and should consider a sectoral memorandum of agreement regarding headhunting, poaching, and EE incentives, as well as ways of using temporary academics as a gateway to permanent academic work, and should consider post-graduate academic internships

within academic departments. There should also be a standardization of qualifications as entry into occupational ranks either across the sector, within set institutional types, or at minimum, within institutions themselves. These measures could potentially help solve a number of labour and equitability-related issues.

- Individual HEIs should ensure that when staff are eligible for sabbatical and/or promotion, these should not be stalled without reason. HEIs should ensure they have funds to realise their policies.

The use of the skills pool indicator (proportion with masters and doctoral qualifications) to assess current EE performance within the sector is recommended as a fair indicator. However, SAHES and individual HEIs should consider 10 and 5 year EE target setting with both sector replenishment and growth projections factored in. It would be highly recommended that these discussions continue at a central level such as the DoHET or HESA, in order that the sectoral and systemic imbalances and inequities be more seriously addressed than they currently are. It would be useful for the services of an actuarial scientist to be employed to determine the needs of the sector, with regard to replenishing the loss of academic capital as increasing numbers of academics retire, plus the need for EE. This is both necessary in order to powerfully maintain the viability of *Transformation*, and address it, within the sector. With the sector becoming increasingly re-politicized, (for example, through the recent #FeesMustFall Campaign), this is also likely to be a central concern that cannot be relegated to the back burner for much longer.

In closing, the words of Gordon (2015: 177-178) are most apt:

> It requires admitting the onus of past victories is the next stage of struggle, a reality that, unfortunately never fails to arise, but whose battle must be waged, however weary our souls may be because, as many of us in higher education know and those who sacrificed their lives to make access to it possible knew, what is at stake is no less than humanity's most precious resource, in whose potential is, in the end, the future of all.

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# Appendices

## Appendix 1: Sample interview schedule[212]

### Appendix 1.1: Sample interview schedule for senior university officials

What is your position within the university?

What is your specific role within the university? What are your key responsibilities?

What is the university's official definition of transformation?

How easy or difficult has it been to implement this vision and why?

Who are the main drivers or champions of transformation at the university?

What are the greatest achievements the university has made in achieving transformation at the university?

What remain the most significant challenges that transformation poses to the university?

What does transformation of the academic sector entail?

How easy or difficult, would you say it is to achieve transformation within the academic sector?

What faculties have come closest to achieving this? Why do you think this is the case?

What faculties have the most to still achieve? Why do you think this is the case?

What role does the university play in the reproduction of the next generation of academics? How is this done? How effective do you think these initiatives/programmes have been?

Does the university prioritize any of the employment equity beneficiaries in seeking to implement employment equity within the academic sector?

Have you found any of the employment equity beneficiaries easier to target in hiring, promotion, etc?

Does the university adopt the same strategy to dealing with race-based and gender-based employment equity and transformation? Why or why not? Are either of these prioritised, how, why and to what effect?

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[212] Each interview schedule was tailored to the specific official's designation as well as the specific university structure. However, this is a generalized example of the schedule that was used.

How would you evaluate the implementation of employment equity within the university?

Does employment equity play a role in academic succession planning?

What challenges do you think impact on the implementation and efficacy of employment equity within the university?

Does institutional culture play a role in framing how transformation and employment equity are understood, operationalized and received by the academic community?

How does the university deal with cases of race or gender discrimination and harassment?

Have cases of race or gender discrimination and harassment been lodged between, by or against academic staff?

Does the university utilise internal or external strategies to deal with these? Do you find these are effective?

Without disclosing actual cases - how many of these complaints does the university receive per year? What key issues do they revolve around?

What initiatives does the university have to address issues of race and gender (transformation, employment equity, institutional culture, discrimination and harassment, etc.) within the institution? How effective are these?

Any further issues you would like to raise?

Appendix 1.2: Sample interview schedule for head of department/discipline

Broad contextual background to discipline:

Can you tell me a little about your discipline?

As a subject area, what broad areas does it cover?

Is it a well-established discipline within South Africa and internationally?

Is it primarily academic, professional or both?

What types of qualifications are common within the discipline: research or professional degrees, at M / D (PhD) level?

What is the profile of academics within the discipline at the national level: race, gender & rank

Institutional contextual background to discipline:

In your department, specifically:

How many academic staff are employed?

How many are permanent and on contract? & full time / part time?
In terms of academic rank – is the department staffed by mainly junior / senior staff?
What are the demographics of the department?
What are the minimum entry requirements for an academic career within the discipline?
And for promotion to a senior position?
What does being an academic within the discipline entail?
How much do research/teaching & learning/community outreach feature in the academic work of the discipline?
How many students do you have?
What proportion of these are post-graduate?
What proportion are doing research / professional degrees?
Do you think your students perceive of academia as a (viable/attractive) career option? Why?
Was the discipline affected by the institution's merger? In what ways? (For RBU)

Production and reproduction of academic labour:

What does transformation mean within the context of the discipline and in everyday practice?
What do you feel are the most important issues for the re/production of academic labour within the discipline?
Is it easy / difficult to attract potential candidates to a career in academia?
In general? And equity beneficiaries specifically?
Have you employed any specific strategies in order to attract, recruit, retain and promote equity beneficiaries?
Have you employed any forms of monetary accommodation or financial incentives to recruit or retain staff: salary packages, scarce skills allowance, % posts, etc.
Do you have any staff or PG students in the department assisted by programmes such as GooT, Thuthuka and/or Phulisa? [NVU: ADP / SA4W]
Have & what forms of accommodation have been made to retain and promote existing staff?

Individual career pathing
Accelerated capacity development
Incentives & rewards [rating]
What kinds of resources are required to do so and are these funds readily available?
Internally or externally? [professional bodies / funding agency]
How effective do you think these initiatives have been and why?
Have you found any equity beneficiaries easier to appoint and retain and why do you think this is?
Opportunities & challenges of specific discipline [Conscious efforts, nature of the discipline, luck, incentives etc?]

Appendix 1.3: Sample interview schedule for academic participants

Own experience:

How long have you been employed here?

What has your working experience been like to date?
What made you decide to become an academic?
What do you feel are the main roles and responsibilities of academics?
What have you felt have been the defining moments of your career as an academic at this university?
Do you feel that the university's expectations for academics are evident & realistic?
Do you feel that the university recognises your contribution to the university?

Own positionality and institutional experience:
Do you feel that your positionality (race, gender and/or occupational location) has:
Impacted on your experience of the university? In what ways?
Impacted on the recognition you are given within the university? In what ways?
Impacted on your progression through the university? In what ways?
Impacted on your interaction with colleagues in the university? In what ways?
Do you feel your colleagues and the institution in general is sensitive to or understanding of these dimensions? In what ways?

University response to transformation:

What is the university's understanding of transformation?
What is the university doing, in your opinion, to give effect to transformation?
In your opinion, what are the major transformation-related issues within the academic sector?
Do you feel the university is doing enough to further its transformatory mission? Why or why not?
How do you feel the university deals with issues of race and gender in the university? Are these pivotal concerns for the university? Why or why not?
What more do you think the university or individuals within the university need to do?

Discipline-specific questions:
In your particular discipline, what do you feel are the most pertinent issues for the reproduction of academic and professional labour?
Do you feel your discipline (nationally and institutionally) has a handle on this? Why or why not?
What opportunities and challenges exist in terms of attracting & retaining equity staff?
What does transformation specifically mean within the context of your discipline?
Are, and how are, transformatory imperatives taken cognisance of in the reproduction of academic labour within your discipline?
Are, and how are, transformatory imperatives taken cognisance of in the everyday work of academics within your discipline?
Do, and how do, members of your discipline contribute to the transformation of your discipline?
Is your discipline characterised by a particular institutional culture? Can you describe the institutional culture to me? How does this institutional culture interface with the university's transformatory imperatives? Is this something that you feel needs to be addressed? And is it something that is being addressed? [Probes to be asked where necessary]
How would you evaluate where the discipline is in terms of transformation?
[[Do you feel members of your discipline contribute to shaping the racialized and gendered nature of academia?]]

Other:
Is there anything else you would like to speak about?

Are there other colleagues in the university more generally as well as within your discipline that you think it would be important for me to speak to?

**Appendix 2: Sample of Participant Information Letters**

2.2: For academics

P.O. Box 685

Wits

2050

22 June 2010

Dear …

Participant Information Sheet preceding consent to participate in research

I am a PhD candidate and member of the academic staff at the University of the Witwatersrand. I am conducting research on the impact of transformation on the academic labour market within institutions of higher education. I am conducting research at both [Reconciliation Bay University] and [Nxele Valley University]. My research involves interviewing university officials and members of the academic staff about their perceptions and experiences of transformation, employment equity, institutional culture and their own experiences of the university.

I would like to request permission to conduct an in-depth interview with you. You have been selected for participation in the study based on the recommendation of a colleague who believed your input would be crucial to the study. Nonetheless, participation in the study is completely voluntary. There is no reward for participating or penalty for not participating.

You will not be obliged to answer any questions with which you are uncomfortable and therefore have the option to decline to respond to any questions asked. You also have the option of terminating the interview at any point should you not wish to continue participating in the

study. I envisage that the interview will take between one and two hours and can be scheduled at a time and place most convenient to you.

All data collected during the duration of the research will be treated with the strictest of confidence. Participants in the research have the option of remaining anonymous in which case all transcripts and reports will be appropriately coded to ensure that your request is fully respected.

It is my understanding that the study will not pose any risks or result in any benefits for you as an individual participant. However, if you have concerns regarding the study or if you require any additional information, please contact me or one of my supervisors to discuss these further.

Kind regards,

Kezia Lewins

Candidates contact details:

Kezia.Lewins@wits.ac.za

011 717 4457

079 352 8989

Supervisors' contact details:

Professor Roger Southall

Roger.Southall@wits.ac.za

011 717 4451

Professor David Dickinson

David.Dickinson@wits.ac.za

011 717 4438

2.2: For university officials

P.O. Box 685

Wits

2050

22 June 2010

Dear …

Participant Information Sheet preceding consent to participate in research

I am a PhD candidate and member of the academic staff at the University of the Witwatersrand. I am conducting research on the impact of transformation on the academic labour market within institutions of higher education. I am conducting research at both Rhodes University and Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University. My research involves interviewing university officials and members of the academic staff about their perceptions and experiences of transformation, employment equity, institutional culture and their own experiences of the university.

I would like to request permission to conduct a semi-structured interview with you. You have been selected for inclusion in the study based on your official position and thus would be regarded as a key informant. Nonetheless, participation in the study is completely voluntary. There is no reward for participating or penalty for not participating.

You will not be obliged to answer any questions with which you are uncomfortable and therefore have the option to decline to respond to any questions asked. You also have the option of terminating the interview at any point should you not wish to continue participating in the study. I envisage that the interview will take between one and two hours and can be scheduled at a time and place most convenient to you.

All data collected during the duration of the research will be treated with the strictest of confidence. Participants in the research have the option of remaining anonymous in which case all transcripts and reports will be appropriately coded to ensure that your request is fully respected.

It is my understanding that the study will not pose any risks or result in any benefits for you as an individual participant. However, if you have concerns regarding the study or if you require any additional information, please contact me or one of my supervisors to discuss these further.

Kind regards,

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Kezia.Lewins@wits.ac.za

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Supervisors' contact details:

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011 717 4451

Professor David Dickinson

David.Dickinson@wits.ac.za

011 717 4438

**Appendix 3: University of the Witwatersrand Ethics Clearance**

This was inserted for the examination phase. It has, however, been removed from the public copy of the thesis as it contains the non-anonymised names of the cases study institutions. The protocol number for this research is H 100 704.

**Appendix 4: Sample of General Permission request to universities**

**P.O. Box 685**

Wits

2050

22 June 2010

Dear …

Re: General permission to conduct research at [Reconciliation Bay] University

I am a PhD candidate and member of the academic staff at the University of the Witwatersrand. I am conducting research on the impact of transformation on the academic labour market within institutions of higher education.

I would like to request permission to conduct research at [Reconciliation Bay University] (RBU). The university has been selected as a case study institution based on my focus on *** higher education institutions and on comparing the experience of historically diverse institutions. [Nxele Valley University] is my other case study institution.

I have also previously conducted research at RBU (in 2008) for a Department of Labour commissioned project entitled 'Tracking the progress on the implementation and impact of the employment equity act since its inception (co-authored with Andries Bezuidenhout, Christine Bischoff and Sakhela Buhlungu).

For this, my doctoral research, I request generalised permission for the following:

to conduct fieldwork on site (at the various campuses of the university),
to interview key university officials such as employment equity/ transformation directors, members of the senior executive, members of the institutional forum and members of staff

responsible for implementing employment equity and or transformation projects (to be interviewed in their official capacity),
to interview members of the academic staff (in their personal capacity) about their perceptions and experiences within and of the university,
to access the university's archives, libraries and university documents such as university policies and plans, staffing profiles, and annual employment equity submissions.

Please note that my proposal and ethics clearance *(when received)* can be sent to you for your perusal. Participation in the study, by the university and all targeted individuals is voluntary. There is no reward for participating or penalty for not participating. Individual participants will not be obliged to answer any questions with which they are uncomfortable and therefore have the option to decline to respond to any questions asked.

All data collected during the duration of the research will be treated with the strictest of confidence. The university as well as participants in the research have the option of remaining anonymous in which case all transcripts and reports will be appropriately coded to ensure that your request is fully respected. You will also be provided with a copy of the final thesis if requested.

It is my understanding that the study will not pose any risks or result in any benefits for the university or individual participants. However, if you have concerns regarding the study or if you require any additional information, please contact me or one of my supervisors to discuss these further.

Kind regards,

Kezia Lewins

Candidates contact details:

Kezia.Lewins@wits.ac.za; 011 717 4457; 079 352 8989

Supervisors' contact details:

Professor Roger Southall

Roger.Southall@wits.ac.za

011 717 4451

Professor David Dickinson

David.Dickinson@wits.ac.za

011 717 4438

**Appendix 5: Informed consent forms**

1 June 2011

I hereby confirm that:

I have been briefed on the research that Kezia Lewins is conducting on the impact of transformation on the academic labour market within institutions of higher education.

I understand that I am participating in this research in order to share my perceptions and experiences of working in the institution and of transformation in the academic sector. I understand that I will participate in an interview lasting approximately one hour. I understand that my participation is voluntary.

I understand that I have the right not to answer any questions that I do not feel comfortable with. I understand that I have the right to withdraw my participation in the research, at any time, I so choose. I understand that any information I share will be held in the strictest confidence by the researcher. I understand that unless I request for my name to be used I will automatically be guaranteed anonymity.

I understand that the interview will be audio recorded for transcription purposes and that information extracted from transcripts will only be utilised, in written form, within the thesis and resultant publications and that such extracts will be referenced anonymously so as to protect my identity.

I confirm that any questions I have about participating in the research have been asked and answered to my satisfaction. I confirm I have been given a copy of this consent form for my own information and/or records.

Signed on…….....……at…….....

Participant's signature……..

Researcher's signature……..

**Appendix 6: Sample of participant demographic detail sheet:**

The following demographic information is required of all participants.

The data will only be used for statistical analysis, for reporting on the methodology used, and for holding the researcher accountable for having conducted the research in the most ethical and professional manner.

Please be assured that the reporting of the data will be done in such a way to ensure your rights to confidentiality and anonymity are fully respected.

**1.Interview#**

_____

2. Racial category (as per the EEA):

□ African

□ Coloured

□ Indian

□ Chinese

□ White

□ Other

□ Prefer not to answer

3. Sex

□ Male

□ Female

□ Other

4. Occupational location

□ Management

□ Administration

□ Academic

□ Other

5. Faculty location

□ Not located in a faculty

□ Humanities

□ Science

□ Engineering

□ Health Science

**6. Academic grade** (where relevant)

□ Professor

□ Associate Professor

□ Senior Lecturer

□ Lecturer

□ Associate lecturer

□ Other, please explain……

7. Employment status

□ Permanent

□ Contract

□ Other, please explain ……..

8. Length of employment at the university

□ Less than 1 year (less than 12 months)

□ 1 year – 3 years (12 – 35 months)

□ 3 – 5 years (36 – 59 months)

□ 5 – 10 years (60 – 119 months)

□ More than 10 years (120 months or more)

9. Age range

□ Less than 25

□ 25 – 29

□ 30 – 39

□ 40 – 49

□ 50 – 59

□ 60 +

10. Country of origin

□ South Africa

□ Country in the Southern African Development Community (SADC)

□ Other African country

□ Country in Europe

□Country in Middle East or Asia

□ Country in North America

□ Country in South America

□ Country in Oceania

□ Other, please specify……