UNIVERSITY POLITICS UNDER THE IMPACT OF SOCIETAL TRANSFORMATION AND GLOBAL PROCESSES – SOUTH AFRICA AND THE CASE OF STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY, 1990–2010

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Abstract

Worldwide, national higher education systems and universities are repeatedly confronted with global higher education trends and the challenge to handle them in specific national and institutional contexts. This observation relates to the broader question how processes of globalization affect university politics. The work at hand provides insights into how South Africa and the South African Stellenbosch University (SU) were facing recent processes of globalization in a situation of deep societal transformation after the end of apartheid.

The dissertation examines how university politics in South Africa were negotiated after 1990. It investigates which local and global actors were involved and with what kind of interests they influenced the process. For SU, it is analysed how the different levels making up the University understood current international trends in higher education and how this understanding brought about institutional change leading to inter- and transnationalization.

The thesis applies a qualitative multi-method approach drawing on document analysis and interviews. The research is grounded on major research reports and national policy documents on higher education, institutional documents of SU (e.g. the Senate and Council documentation, brochures and speeches) as well as on a total of 52 semi-structured interviews that were conducted with current and former representatives of SU as well as of the national South African higher education system between 2010 and 2012.

Theoretically, the study draws on debates from higher education research and transnational history concerning the internationalization and transnationalization of higher education. It follows an analytical perspective for exploring and understanding higher education developments that goes beyond the conventional state-centric nation-state model used to analysing social processes and interactions. Therefore, the dissertation traces the impact of the different spatial references of the local and the national level for university politics and looks at how the local relates to the national and both of them to the regional and the global.

By approaching the topic historically, the study challenges the often referred to hypotheses of academic isolationism and SU's increasing insularity due to the international academic boycott against South Africa during the apartheid era. It accentuates that prior to 1990 there were many international activities going on at SU. Furthermore, the findings show that SU has embarked comparatively early on a purposeful and strategic process of internationalization, which occurred prior to its national opening in the form of transformation and redress. Only by the turn of the century, processes of internationalization were paralleled by an open transformation attempt. This was quite in contrast to the post-1990 dealing with higher education on the national South African level and by many other South African universities. The study demonstrates that in approaching the challenges of societal transformation and global processes, SU's management initially favoured the "efficiency" discourse over the "redress" discourse in order to pave the way for becoming an internationally esteemed research university.

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Opsomming

Nasionale hoëronderwysstelsels en universiteite word wêreldwyd voortdurend gekonfronteer met globale hoëronderwystendense en die uitdaging om in spesifieke nasionale en institusionele kontekste daarop te reageer. Hierdie waarneming hou verband met die meer omvattende vraag hoe globaliseringsprosesse universiteitspolitiek beïnvloed. Hierdie studie gee insig in hoe Suid-Afrika op nasionale vlak en die Universiteit Stellenbosch (US) in Suid-Afrika die resente globaliseringsprosesse te midde van ’n situasie van ingrypende maatskaplike transformasie ná die einde van apartheid hanteer het.

Die tesis fokus op die universiteitspolitiek in Suid-Afrika na 1990. Die plaaslike en globale rolspelers wat betrokke was en die vraag na die soort belange wat die proses beïnvloed het, word ondersoek In die spesifieke geval van die US word ontleed hoe die huidige internasionale tendense in hoër onderwys op verskillende vlakke binne die Universiteit verstaan word en hoe hierdie begrip daarvan institusionele veranderinge teweeg gebring het wat tot inter- en transnasionalisering aanleiding gegee het.

In die tesis word ’n kwalitatiewe veelmetodebenadering toegepas wat gebruik maak van dokumentontleding en onderhoude. Die navorsing is gegrond op belangrike navorsingsverslae en nasionale beleidsdokumente oor hoër onderwys, institusionele dokumente van die US (bv. Senaats- en Raadsdokumente, brosjures en toesprake) sowel as op ’n totaal van 52 semigestruktureerde onderhoude wat tussen 2010 en 2012 gevoer is met huidige en voormalige personeellede van die US en met belangrike rolspelers in die nasionale Suid-Afrikaanse hoëronderwysstelsel.

Op teoretiese vlak steun die studie op debatte in hoëronderwysnavorsing en die geskiedenis van die internasionalisering en transnasionalisering van hoër onderwys. Die studie maak gebruik van ’n analitiese perspektief om hoëronderwysontwikkelings te ondersoek en te deurgrond. Dit strek verder as die konvensionele staatsentriese model wat gebruik word om maatskaplike prosesse en interaksies te ontleed. Die effek van die verskillende ruimtelike verwysings na die plaaslike en nasionale vlakke op universiteitspolitiek word ondersoek. Daar word gekyk na die verband tussen die plaaslike aspekte en nasionale aspekte, en hoe beide hierdie aspekte verband hou met regionale en globale aspekte.

Aangesien die onderwerp histories benader word, word die algemeen aanvaarde hipoteses ten opsigte van die akademiese isolasie in die algemeen en spesifiek die US se toenemende isolasie weens die internasionale akademiese boikot teen Suid-Afrika gedurende die apartheidsera, uitgedaag. Dit beklemtoon dat daar in die tydperk voor 1990 verskeie internasionaliseringsaktiwiteite by die US was. In vergelyking met ander instellings het die US reeds vroeg ’n doelgerigte en strategiese proses van internasionalisering aangepak. Dit het gebeur voor die tydperk waartydens die nasionale oopstelling plaasgevind het wat onder meer die vorm aangeneem het van transformasie en regstelling. Eers tydens die draai van die eeu aan die einde van die negentigerjare het prosesse van internasionalisering parallel geloop met ’n oop transformasiepoging. Dit was in redelike kontras met die tendense in hoër onderwys na 1990 op nasionale vlak in Suid-Afrika, en met die tendense by baie ander Suid-Afrikaanse universiteite. In die studie word aangetoon dat die US se bestuur in hul benadering tot die uitdagings van maatskaplike transformasie en globale prosesse aanvanklik die “doeltreffendheidsdiskoers” bo die "regstellingsdiskoers” verkies het om die weg voor te berei om ’n internasionaal erkende navorsingsuniversiteit te word.

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List of Acronyms

AAM	Anti-Apartheid Movement
AAU	Association of African Universities
ACP	Africa Caribbean Pacific
ACU	Association of Commonwealth Universities
ADA	African Doctoral Academy
ADK	Afrikaans-Deutsche Kulturgemeinschaft
AIFS	American Institute for Foreign Study
AIMS	African Institute for Mathematical Sciences
AIPP	Association for Intensive Plant Production
ALGANT	Algebra, Geometry and Number Theory (Erasmus Mundus)
AMBA	Association of Masters of Business Administration
ANC	African National Congress
APAIE	Asia-Pacific Association for International Education
APC	Academic Planning Committee
ASNAPP	Agribusiness in Sustainable African Plant Products
ASSAf	Academy of Science of South Africa
AUT	Advisory Council on Universities and Technikons
BA	Bachelor of Arts
BRIC(S)	Brazil, Russia, India, China, (South Africa)
BSc	Bachelor of Science
CATE	Colleges of Advanced Technical Education
CEPD	Centre for Education Policy Development
CHE	Council on Higher Education
CHEMS	Commonwealth Higher Education Management Services
CHEPS	Centre for Higher Education Policy Studies
CHET	Centre for Higher Education Transformation
CI	Community Interaction
CIEE	Council on International Educational Exchange
CODESA	Convention for a Democratic South Africa
CSIR	Council for Scientific and Industrial Research
DAAD	Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst
DHET	Department for Higher Education and Training
DLitt	Doctor of Letters
DoE	Department of Education
DRC	Dutch Reformed Church
DSc	Doctor of Science
DST	Department of Science and Technology
EAIE	European Association for International Education
EC	European Commission

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EDAMBA	European Doctoral Programmes Association in Management and Business Administration
EDF	European Development Fund
EFMD	European Foundation for Management Development
EMGS	Erasmus Mundus Global Studies
EPU	Education Policy Unit
EQUIS	European Quality Improvement System
EU	European Union
FDR	Foundation for the Development of Research
GATE	Global Alliance for Transnational Education
HAI	Historically Advantaged Institutions
HBI	Historically Black Institutions
HDI	Historically Disadvantaged Institution
HEI	Higher Education Institution
HEMIS	Higher Education Management Information System
HEQC	Higher Education Quality Committee
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus Infection/Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
HU	Humboldt Universität
HWI	Historically White Institutions
ICSU	International Council of Science
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IEASA	International Education Association South Africa
IO	International Office
IPET	Implementation Plan for Education and Training
IPF	Institutional Planning Forum
IPSU	International Programmes Stellenbosch University
IRF	International Registration Fee
ISEP	International Student Exchange Program
LittD	Doctor of Letters
LLB	Bachelors of Laws
LLD	Doctor of Laws
MA	Master of Arts
MBA	Master of Business Administration
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MDM	Mass Democratic Movement
MMoU	Multilateral Memorandum of Understanding
MSc	Master of Science
NCHE	National Commission on Higher Education
NECC	National Education Crisis (later Coordinating) Committee
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa’s Development

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NEPI	National Education Policy Investigation
NetACT	Network for African Congregational Theology
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NP	National Party
NPHE	National Plan for Higher Education
NQF	National Qualification Framework
NRF	National Research Foundation
NUSAS	National Union of South African Students
NZAV	Neederlands-Zuid Afrikaans Vereinigung
OBHE	Observatory of Borderless Higher Education
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OIR	Office for International Relations
OSP	Overarching Strategic Plan
PAC	Pan-African Congress
PANGeA	Partnership for Africa's Next Generation of Academics
PASO	Pan-Africanist Students' Organisation
PDM	Postgraduate Diploma in Management
PGIO	Postgraduate and International Office
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
PQM	Programme and Qualifications Mix
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SAC	South African College
SACHED	South African Council on Higher Education
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADF	South African Defence Force
SANSCO	South African National Students' Congress
SAPSE	South African Post-Secondary Education
SAQA	South African Qualifications Authority
SASCO	South African Students' Congress
SET	Science, Engineering and Technology
SMI	Strategic Management Indicator
SRC	Student Representative Council
STIAS	Stellenbosch Institute for Advanced Study
SU	Stellenbosch University
TBVC	Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and Ciskei
TSA	Technikon South Africa
UCGH	University of the Cape of Good Hope
UCT	University of Cape Town
UDF	United Democratic Front
UDUSA	Union of Democratic University Staff Associations
UDW	University of Durban Westville
UK	United Kingdom

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UN	United Nations
UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
UNESCO	United Nations' Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNISA	University of South Africa
US(A)	United States (of America)
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USB	Stellenbosch Business School
UWC	University of the Western Cape
VOC	Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie

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Chapter 1: Introduction

> "A top university is one that deals with knowledge professionally, in the global context, and in the local context. We know now that globally we are placed within the context of a knowledge economy. In the 21st century the economic growth of nations will depend on the professionalism with which they deal with knowledge. This gives to universities a new importance. […] [U]niversities are power sources for the knowledge economy. […] We want to be a top university. A university of excellence that is a national asset for this country, and an international role player in higher education." (Chris Brink, Rector of Stellenbosch University between 2002 and 2007, 30 January 2002, Academic Opening of Stellenbosch University, quoted in Botha 2007: 57, 62).

> "I always think in South Africa it's ironic that we have got the challenges of globalization on the one hand, […] and on the other we have these very particular challenges of South African society, which is a society of haves and have-nots and of diversity and multilingualism and all those things. […] I have often thought if one could have just put a border around South Africa for a while, for five or ten years, to just sort out our problems here first and then we will open up the borders again and become part of the global world. But we can't do that." (Interview 37, 2010)

These reflections by representatives of the management of a South African university reveal a situation that national higher education systems and higher education institutions (HEIs) worldwide are repeatedly confronted with, that is to say, the perception of global higher education trends in specific national and institutional contexts as well as a resulting search movement to adequately handle them. This observation relates to the broader questions of how globalization processes affect national higher education systems and HEIs and how they respond to them. This study will empirically shed light on how South Africa and one particular South African university faced recent processes of globalization, how they dealt with international trends in higher education and how that influenced national and local university politics.

The specific national context in South Africa is marked by a higher education sector that had been set up in the 19th century under colonial influence and that for large parts of the 20th century had been shaped by a racist Afrikaner-dominated regime. South Africa's political transition with the end of apartheid and its reintegration into the international community after decades of international boycotts against the country coincided with emerging debates on the development of a new global world order also characterized by intensifying and accelerating processes of globalization after the end of the Cold War. Given South Africa's apartheid history and what was perceived by many South African academics as a certain form of isolation from the international community and from global developments in higher education[1], South Africa's higher education sector is considered a "latecomer to international education" (Rouhani 2007: 475), most notably with respect to the number of international students in the South African higher education system as well as the non-existence of "well-established centres for international education" prior to 1994 (CHE 2004: 212).

With South Africa's opening in the aftermath of the first democratic elections in 1994, the impact of globalization processes was heightened. South African higher education increasingly became transnationally embedded and the internationalization of higher

[1] This aspect of South Africa's higher education history will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 5.2.4 on the patterns of internationalization during the apartheid era.

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education gained a new momentum. Yet, these processes build on earlier forms of international collaboration and exchange, which are easily ignored by those studying current developments in South African higher education. The discussions in preparation of the national policy making process in the field of higher education and the actual policy writing processes in the new dispensation are thus a fascinating arena in which discursive tensions among different kinds of local and global actors, who influenced policy options, and change can be studied.

The national needs and expectations regarding a fundamental change were high: South Africa had to overcome the legacy and injustices of its apartheid past by establishing a new social order and by reducing extreme social inequality. Simultaneously, it had to make sure that its economy would become globally competitive. These two overlapping and partly contradictory processes – expressed in terms of national transformation on the one hand and the challenges of globalization on the other – resulted in a certain form of disorientation and uncertainty with regards to the organization of and participation within the country's higher education, observable throughout the whole period under investigation (1990 to 2010)[2].

Against this background of South Africa's attempts to rebuild orientation and certainty as well as the national negotiation process in reconfiguring the higher education sector, this project will examine the perspective of an individual South African institution of higher education. As we lack a well-founded understanding of how individual HEIs deal with the challenge of globalization, a case study bears great potential for new avenues in higher education research. Approaching higher education landscapes from a local institutional perspective, as complementing and maybe contradicting the national developments, might bring about insights that help to understand historical and contemporary processes of globalization. HEIs have an individual institutional culture and history, and their institutional goals may partly differ from national ones. They may thus read and interpret processes of globalization and trends in higher education independently of the nation-state, they may attribute particular formulations and forms to it, and most importantly they may develop own strategies to deal with perceived international trends within the framework of national legislation. The overarching research question of this research project, therefore, is:

How did a particular South African university
deal with recent processes of globalization?

In particular: How did the different levels that make up this university utilize the recently emerging discourse on globalization and what role did the rhetoric about globalization play between 1990 and 2010? How did the institution (and its various levels) understand current international trends in higher education, and how did this understanding bring about change? In the context of the dual challenge of current globalization and national transformation, it will be examined, which arguments and references were used, how decisions between alternatives were taken and which strategies were adopted to initiate a change process. With that said, it shall be explored to what extent an individual South African HEI was able and capable of playing with the different spatial dimensions of the local, the national, the regional

[2] The rationale for the proposed periodization lies in the fact that it was in the year 1990 that Nelson Mandela was released from prison and that the liberation movements were unbanned, which laid the foundation for a process towards the abolition of apartheid.

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and the global, and how it brought together its mandate to contribute to nation-building with increasing opportunities of being involved in processes that go beyond the borders of the nation-state.

The case study for this project is Stellenbosch University (SU), one of the leading research universities in South Africa. Its active internationalization and global positioning since 1990 against a particular institutional history at the centre of the nationalist Afrikaner establishment have led to its selection as a case. It should, however, not be taken as being representative of the whole South African higher education sector or of a certain type of university. SU will be investigated as one example of how universities (as one expression of HEIs amongst others[3]) may deal with the global while being exposed to a context of deep societal transformation. It shall, therefore, be presented as a reconstructive individual case study (Yin 2009). Links with the developments of other (South African) HEIs will be made in order to contextualize the case within South Africa and the rest of the world. This is done in order to understand to what extent South Africa and SU follow traditional patterns in higher education. A systematic comparison between different HEIs and also between different national contexts would be a matter of further research.

SU originated from Victoria College and was founded in 1918, making it one of the oldest South African HEIs. It was one of the major educational institutions for the Afrikaner people. SU formed part of a group of well-equipped white and conservative Afrikaans-speaking institutions, which had been advanced and provided with advantages by the apartheid regime, which was in power between 1948 and 1994. As such, SU was one of the targets of the international academic boycott. During the apartheid era, the University had developed a specific institutional culture that was not favourable to immediate change after 1990 and 1994 respectively. At the time of writing (2013), the University was a medium sized multi-lingual (Afrikaans and English) public institution. The coming to terms with the role it played during the apartheid era has been a key concern for the institution as can be read in its "Strategic Framework for the Turn of the Century and Beyond" (SU 2000).

The University's strategies around its national and international opening shall be the focus of this thesis. It will be investigated how these strategies were perceived by institutional stakeholders (e.g. administrators, professors, students) and most importantly what role a process of internationalization – and transnationalization, as will be discussed below in further detail – played in the context of national transformation and globalization.

Based on its semantic property, the term "international" relates to phenomena and exchange relations between or among nation-states – the promotion of academic exchange and the international mobility of students and professors are the prime examples of the internationalization of higher education. In contrast, the prefix "trans" can be translated with "across or beyond". Transnationalization, therefore, describes transfer processes, cross-boundary ties, interdependencies, interconnections, and reciprocal linkages involving the circulation of human beings, institutions or objects and social relations that are not limited to

[3] Higher education, which can be defined in a number of ways, shall mean post-secondary degree-granting education institutions in the context of this research, thus excluding further education institutions. The focus will be on universities.

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exchange *between* national entities, but which transcend the national without abandoning it.[4] Processes of transnationalization may not only be a result of internationalization processes but also a feature of more recent developments, which go beyond the national framework in a different way. In higher education, according to the author's understanding, this would relate, for example, to new phenomena made possible through international mobility. They are exemplified in new arrangements of higher education provision and new forms of collaboration, e.g. through the joint offering of teaching programmes or the joint supervision of PhD students by two or more HEIs from different countries. Furthermore, they imply inter-institutional processes of learning and adoption. Transnationalization of HEIs means both, being influenced by a far-reaching and even worldwide trend in higher education, which affects educational cultures to a different degree, and a conscious activity "to transnationalize" (e.g. to partake in different formats of such trends); it, therefore, has a double meaning.

With these issues, the work at hand ties in with the growing body of research on the globalization of higher education and connects to the international history of science and universities in the 20th century. It is part of a larger research programme at Leipzig University about HEIs. In this research programme, HEIs, among other institutions, are understood as portals of globalization where global flows meet with national, regional, local but also trans- and international arrangements to control them. This happens either in old-fashioned but well-established ways or by developing new tools to negotiate the challenges set by global processes and the local needs.[5] This study furthermore extends the analysis of the national South African transformation process in higher education by linking it with developments in international higher education, and it contributes towards the writing of the institutional history of Stellenbosch University.

The following new and specific objectives are pursued: The study, firstly, aims to contribute to a systematization of knowledge about higher education and universities in the global context of the post-1989 era, focussing on how recent globalization influences educational systems and HEIs and how at the same time the university as an actor is shaping these processes. It, secondly, aims to develop a better understanding of developments in South African higher education since 1990, in particular how national university politics after the end of apartheid were shaped under the influence of processes of globalization. Thirdly, with the help of a single case study, it aims to investigate how the phenomenon of globalization was scanned, sensed and interpreted by an individual South African university and its members in a context of transformation, how and to what extent these perceptions were utilized to legitimize certain institutional strategies, and what role processes of inter- and transnationalization played in that regard. The case study offers an institutional perspective as a platform for researching and understanding the global. In historically approaching the

[4] The distinction between "inter" and "trans" is a development of the recent past, as will be shown in Chapters 2.3 and 2.4. The first evidence of the term "international" goes back to 1780. During the 19th century, according to the historian Klaus Kiran Patel (2004: 5), it had experienced a general triumphal procession. In the 19th and 20th century, many phenomena that had been described as "international" often included both relations and interconnections between nation-states as well as phenomena that should rather be subsumed under "transnational", e.g. activities involving non-state actors, such as the Red Cross (Patel 2004: 8f).

[5] See Middell and Naumann (2010); Baumann (2014) and Baumann et al. (2014, forthcoming).

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period under investigation (1990–2010), this research goes in some respects beyond the findings of recent research and bears potential for the reinterpretation of some well-established assumptions.

1.1 State of the Art and Research Gaps

The secondary literature used for this study can be clustered into three parts. There is, first of all, the growing body of literature on globalization and the inter- and transnationalization of higher education, secondly, the corpus on South African higher education after 1990 and its transformation in particular as well as, thirdly, a limited number of publications on Stellenbosch University.

In the last years, a number of books and articles that address the various facets of the most recent globalization of higher education have emerged. They include, for example, Robin Shields' book "Globalization and International Education" (2013), the "Handbook on Globalization and Higher Education", edited by King, Marginson and Naidoo (2013), "Globalization of Education: An Introduction" by Joel Spring (2008), a paper written by Marginson and van der Wende on "Globalisation and Higher Education" (2006), the monograph "Universities and Globalization: To Market, To Market" by Ravinder Sidhu (2006), furthermore Elizabeth George's "Positioning Higher Education for the Knowledge Based Economy" (2006), "Globalisation and the University: Myths and Realities in an Unequal World" (2004) by Philip G. Altbach, "The University in a Global Age" (2004) by Roger King, "Globalizing Practices and University Responses" (2003) edited by Jan Currie et al., Patricia Gumport's "Academic Restructuring: Organisational Change and Institutional Imperatives" (2000), Peter Scott's "The Globalization of Higher Education" (1998) or Jan Currie and Janice Newson's contribution "Universities and Globalization" (1998).

Scholars who study the most recent globalization of higher education attend to its reasons (e.g. Shields 2013: 16) and its nature (Maringe and Foskett 2010: 1ff), in particular the effects on national systems of higher education and individual HEIs as well as their relation to one another (see also Clark 1998; Burnett and Huisman 2010). They emphasize that the effects are not necessarily the same for different regions and different institutions in the world, and that there seem to be both a North/South and a West/East divide as to how higher education institutions react to processes of globalization (Yang 2003: 270f; Marginson and van der Wende 2006: 4; Maringe 2010: 17). Researchers look into adaptive behaviours by nation-states and individual HEIs towards a perceived globalized higher education sector (Slaughter and Leslie 1997; Clark 1998; Marginson and Considine 2000; Currie et al. 2003; Burnett and Huisman 2010; Foskett 2010; Taylor 2010b). They, furthermore, investigate different manifestations and phenomena resulting from the adaptation process, such as changing modes of knowledge production in a seemingly upcoming knowledge society (Gibbons et al. 1994) and increasing competition on a global scale. In their view, it is mostly national governments competing with one another, as they conceive higher education as a driver for national innovation, social welfare and economic growth (Foskett 2010: 35; Taylor 2010b: 85ff). But also research-intensive universities enter into competition with one another. They strive for global visibility and related benefits (Marginson 2007; Marginson and van der

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Wende 2007; Hazelkorn 2009). The publications also examine different conceptualizations of higher education in a context of globalization – e.g. higher education as a public good versus higher education as a commodity (Readings 1997; Clark 1998: 7; Gumport 2000: 70; Maringe and Foskett 2010: 1ff; Taylor 2010b: 85) – and the respective policy implications. What the literature reveals is that the notion of globalization of higher education is as contested as the interpretation of globalization in general; it poses opportunities as well as threats. It is readily used by policy makers to implant the idea of permanent competition into higher education as well as the benchmark of international excellence. It is equally referred to by university stakeholders to legitimize new forms of teaching, research and governance (Taylor 2010b: 83). At the same time, it goes along with restrictive measures, control and direction in order to protect the nation. National and institutional responses towards "globalization" are thus determined by a complex set of motivations, which centre on opportunities and threats, and may, as a result, be partly contradictory or inconsistent (ibid: 93f). Yet, what the authors also emphasize is an increasing convergence and homogenization of higher education practices and models, what came to be called "isomorphism" (e.g. Fuchs and Middell 2006: 7f; Maringe 2010: 21; Shields 2013: 16).

The recurrent theme about the university in crisis among scholars of higher education (Readings 1997: 3; Kwiek 2001: 30; Bundy 2005: 89; see also the ascriptions and discourses assembled in Maeße 2010: 9f), therefore, must be read as an expression of a search movement among university members how to respond to the ambiguous external demands being related to the discourse on globalization and to match them with internal capabilities and resources. The perception of crisis could thus be attributed to a high level of uncertainty within the institutions how to best read and national and global challenges as well as complexities, and with what set of instruments and tools (Ninnes and Hellstén 2005: 3).

Hans de Wit (2002: xvi), amongst others, has argued that, after the end of the Cold War, the internationalization of higher education on the national as well as on the institutional level was one of the responses resulting from the globalization of societies, the economy and labour markets. But it is evident from historical research that this is not only true for the period after 1989 but has deep historical roots reaching back at least to the late 19th century (e.g. Fuchs 2004a). Internationalization may be regarded as a tool for institutional or national demarcation in the context of increasing competition of higher education institutions and systems among one another and also as a strategy to overcome a certain form of marginality in the global higher education landscape. Internationalization covers a multitude of activities and phenomena aimed at providing an educational experience that integrates a global perspective into the three core functions of the university, namely research, teaching and service/knowledge transfer (ibid.; see also Knight 2004b: 11), e.g. through the increase in international students and staff, a process that has known its ups and downs during the 20th century. This promotion of the core functions through international academic liaison has resulted in new forms of interconnectivity of universities which go beyond pure academic mobility and exchange. This interconnectivity involves the observation of international standards and models, the transfer of ideas, international learning and adoption processes, and it has also resulted in new forms of international collaboration that contribute to an

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increasing convergence and homogenization of higher education standards. What has, however, remained largely untreated in the literature is how more recent phenomena of direct inter-institutional collaboration across national borders, that this thesis seeks to label "transnational", could be distinguished from older forms of internationalization processes. Based on the current literature on higher education, this study will demonstrate that there is a lack of a coherent language coupled with considerable confusion about what this means for national systems and individual institutions of higher education. Equally important, there is a lack in case studies about how "the transnational" has played out on the level of national systems and individual HEIs – especially case studies on higher education in the global South and in transforming societies. The project will thus analyse processes of internationalization and transnationalization, understood as widespread border crossing phenomena and activities, in South African higher education in the period from 1990 until 2010 on the national as well as on the different institutional levels of an individual university.

The second of cluster of publications addresses South African higher education. In their attempt to map the field of higher education research in South Africa and its thematic nature against international overviews, Bitzer and Wilkinson (2009) have shown that globalization and internationalization were not among the most researched topics in South Africa (see also Strydom and Fourie 2002).[6] This is interesting, though not surprising, in a national context that underwent a far reaching transformation process after the end of apartheid and the first democratic elections in 1994. They found that higher education scholars and managers paid most attention to the review of transforming and restructuring the sector. This included, for example, the development, writing and implementation of policies[7], curriculum change, the teaching and learning experience of students, quality assurance as well as institutional management. The scientific focus initially had a clear national scope, with national development and nation-building in the context of societal transformation as its underlying goals. After the end of the apartheid regime in South Africa, the process of transformation and the implementation of change have been discussed intensively in the higher education context.[8] In the framework of this work, transformation and its various facets, ranging from societal transformation to change management, will, however, not be developed any further on a theoretical level. Since "societal transformation" is considered to be an important underlying condition for analysing the South African higher education sector and Stellenbosch University in their dealing with global processes, it will be described in a number of chapters in this study how the transformation of the higher education sector and of

[6] Bitzer and Wilkinson (2009: 385ff) used the results of various analyses offering a thematic classification of articles published in the South African Journal of Higher Education between 1987 and 2008 as well as of postgraduate research topics registered with the National Research Foundation (NRF) that were carried out between 1993 and 1997 or completed between 2003 and 2008.

[7] Among the authors who have been critically accompanying the transformation process in South African higher education are, amongst many others, Saleem Badat, Ian Bunting, Nico Cloete, David Cooper, Paula Ensor, Richard Fehnel, Fred Hayward, Jonathan Jansen, André Kraak, Peter Maassen, Teboho Moja, Pundy Pillay, Chika Sehoole, Mala Singh, George Subotzky. One of the most comprehensive analyses is the compilation "Transformation in Higher Education – Global Pressures and Local Realities in South Africa" (Cloete et al. 2004a) edited by Nico Cloete, Peter Maassen, Richard Fehnel, Teboho Moja, Helene Perold and Trish Gibbon.

[8] See for example Wolpe 1995; Bitzer and Bezuidenhout (2000, 2001); Kraak (2004); Reddy (2004); van Wyk (2004); Cloete and Moja (2005); Hall (2008); Collins and Millard (2013).

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one university had been approached, how transformation had been defined and how change had been brought about. However, the main interest lies in the role that international trends and processes of inter- and transnationalization have played in transformation. Conceptually, it is sufficient to state that transformation largely relates to fixing the problems of the sector that were the legacy of the apartheid era. In a narrower sense, transformation in the context of higher education encompasses the change of the racial composition of the student and staff bodies. A more comprehensive approach towards transformation, however, would imply the elimination of any unfair discrimination, e.g. based on gender, creed, age, disability or social background. Transformation is not only about formal equity but also about values and attitudes, as is also expressed in South Africa's "Education White Paper 3: A Programme for the Transformation of Higher Education" (1997):

> "The transformation of higher education is part of the broader process of South Africa's political, social and economic transition, which includes political democratisation, economic reconstruction and development, and redistributive social policies aimed at equity. This national agenda is being pursued within a distinctive set of pressures and demands characteristic of the late twentieth century, often typified as globalisation." (RSA White Paper 3 1997: 10)

Coming back to the globalization and internationalization of higher education, we find that their different facets have only recently been addressed by South African authors.[9] Given this observation, it could be argued that internationalization, as understood by Knight (2004b) and de Wit (2002), is an add-on to the central functions of higher education once a higher education system has stabilized. It does not follow legal obligations or normative purposes; it is a cross-cutting issue. On the national South African level, it was initially neither regarded as a necessity nor as an alternative to tackle internal tensions. This could, however, be different at the level of individual HEIs.

Taking stock of the publications on Stellenbosch University, it is interesting to note, first of all, that at the time of writing (2013), there existed no institutional history at SU covering the period of apartheid.[10] Similar to the University of Cape Town (UCT), not much had been written in the period after 1994 about SU's institutional development between 1948 and

[9] The existing literature deals with the historicity of internationalization in South African higher education (Sehoole 2006), internationalization on the national level after 1990 (e.g. Kishun 1998, 2006, 2007; Rouhani and Kishun 2004; McLellan 2006; Moja 2006; Dunn and Nilan 2007; Rouhani 2007; Jansen et al. 2008) and the challenges for developing countries (Nthsoe 2002). It addresses the effects of internationalization and globalization on South African HEIs, e.g. through increasing the international competition of HEIs, the market ideology, the expansion of higher education, the technical revolution or the perceived knowledge society (e.g. Kishun 1998; Strydom 2002; Steynberg et al. 2006; Wolhuter 2010; Meyer et al. 2011), e.g. in the form of the trade in international services and GATS (e.g. Sehoole 2004; Pillay 2006). It discusses developments in internationalization on the institutional level (e.g. Mthembu 2004; Welch et al. 2004; Lutabingwa 2005; Kotecha 2006; McLellan 2008), also in respect to the internationalization of intellectual capital and international recruitment of academic staff and students (e.g. Bolsmann and Miller 2008; Maharaj 2011), furthermore international partnerships and mobility (e.g. Anderson and Maharasoa 2002; Jansen et al. 2008) and the relation between internationalization and Africanization (e.g. Moja 2006; Botha 2010).

[10] This is in contrast to some other South African universities, such as the apartheid opposing English-medium University of the Witwatersrand (see Murray 1982, 1997; Bozzoli 1995; Shear 1996) or Rhodes University's engagement with different presentations of its history "as a democratic model of social justice for South African society" on the one hand and its "institutional complicity in the South African racial order, rather than opposition to it" on the other in a master's thesis and beyond (Goga 2010: 290f). For Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education, which similar to SU was also closely related with apartheid, a detailed institutional history, published in 2003, covered only the period up until 1951 (van der Schyff 2003).

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1994[11] with only a few exceptions.[12] Also a comprehensive history of opposition and resistance at SU against the apartheid regime, which has been described as active and vivid, had not been written yet.[13] What was of importance for this project was the lack in research on SU's history of internationalization and transnationalization, especially on the internationalization journey SU has embarked on after the end of apartheid, but also on international cooperation, international professors and students at the University prior to 1990.

1.2 Methodological Approach, Research Design and Primary Sources

The first objective of the study, the contribution to a systematization of knowledge about higher education in a global context, was attended to by analysing the secondary literature. In order to realize the second and third objective, to study how South Africa and a particular South African university have reacted to the dual challenge of national transformation and their involvement in recent processes of globalization with regards to university politics, this dissertation mobilized different disciplinary traditions. It applied qualitative content analysis and hermeneutic approaches to investigate the source material. And it worked with qualitative interview techniques. The research is based on the following sources: six major research reports and national policy papers in the field of higher education[14], institutional documents of Stellenbosch University as the example case (most of all documentation from the Senate and the Council, but also brochures, flyers, yearbooks and speeches etc.) and transcriptions from a total of 52 semi-structured qualitative interviews that were conducted with current and former representatives of SU as well as of the national South African higher education system between August 2010 and May 2012. The material was approached with the question how its content related to recent processes of globalization and to what extent external references were used as strategies to initiate institutional change. Thus, a keyword and topic search was undertaken. The material was interpreted according to how the concept

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[11] For the period 1948 to 1990, publications on SU besides the official information published annually by the University in its yearbook were limited. They include, for example, the book on 100 years of higher learning in Stellenbosch (Thom 1966) and a book celebrating the 300th anniversary of the town of Stellenbosch (Walters 1979).

[12] Examples include the oral history "In Ons Bloed" (Biscombe 2006) of those who were taken away buildings, belongings and land by SU and who had been displaced from certain areas of the town of Stellenbosch in the aftermath of the Group Areas Act (1950) to the more disadvantaged parts called *Die Vlakte* or "Nog Altyd Hier Gewees: Die Storie Van 'n Stellenbosse Gemeenskap" (Giliomee 2007) on the history of slavery in Stellenbosch – both sponsored by the University. And there is the book about the language debate and the role of Afrikaans in the future of Stellenbosch University "No lesser place" that was published by then Rector Chris Brink (Brink 2006). In 2013 a number of SU academics from the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences under the leadership of Dean Johan Hattingh had initiated a major research project on the Faculty's history in the 20th century and the influence of academic thought about race on apartheid policies (Gosling, The Post, 25 April 2013).

13 Prior to 1994, several books and articles have addressed different parts of this resistance in more or less detail (e.g. Smith et al. 1981 "Storm-Kompas. Opstelle op soek na 'n suiwer koers in die Sudi-Afrikaanse Konteks van die jare tagtig"; Kinghorn et al. 1986 "Die NG Kerk en apartheid"; the essays in honour of Johannes Degenaar, published in 1986 at the height of apartheid, edited by du Toit). See also Chapter 5.2.2 of this project.

[14] They are the ANC "Policy Framework for Higher Education and Training" (published for public comment in 1994 prior to the first democratic elections in April 1994), the final report of the National Commission on Higher Education "A Framework for Transformation" (1996), the Green Paper on Higher Education Transformation (1996), the Education White Paper 3 "A Programme for Higher Education Transformation" (1997), the CHE document "Towards a New Higher Education Landscape" (2000) and the National Plan on Higher Education (2001). Since the release of the National Plan on Higher Education, the South African higher education sector has been most of all implementing the policies developed in the second half of the 1990s. That is the reason why the last of the documents to be analysed dates back to 2001.

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of globalization and international trends in higher education were referred to and when, how and why different spatial references to the global, the regional, the national and the local were made, how a process of internationalization had been initiated and to what extent elements that the author considers as transnational have entered the discussions.

1.3 Structure of the Dissertation and Chapter Outline

The dissertation consists of four major parts. The first deals with theoretical and methodological considerations (Part I). It starts by locating the project within current globalization research and the spatial turn debate and by reflecting the terms internationalization and transnationalization, as they are the central categories for this project. It will look into how "the transnational" has been approached in higher education research and conclude by proposing how "the transnational" could be studied within universities as a prerequisite for approaching the case study of this project (Chapter 2). The methodological approach, the methods and instruments used for studying university politics under the impact of societal transformation and global processes shall be displayed in more detail in Chapter 3. What will follow in Part II is a generic review of the history of the institution of the university with its rapid worldwide expansion, international developments in higher education in the 20th century, their dynamics in the 1990s and 2000s and how they were experienced on the African continent (Chapter 4). Such a historical approach towards higher education and the university in particular was deemed important to understand the specific characteristics and dynamics of the university system in South Africa in comparison to major trends in university history, in particular throughout the 20th century. Part III will be dedicated to higher education in South Africa. Chapter 5 will start by exploring its roots that go back to the middle of the 19th century and the developments of higher education in the early 20th century, including the establishment of apartheid and an institutionalized segregation of the population in higher education. This system had entailed international boycotts carried out against South Africa on various levels, among them a partial academic boycott that resulted in a certain form of isolation as well as in an increasing scientific nationalization. Stellenbosch University is said to have been considerably affected by the international isolation resulting from the apartheid policy, due to its closeness to the apartheid establishment (Bunting 2004b: 41). This assumption will be investigated in this chapter. To this end, the extent of SU's pre-1990 internationalization will be looked at. Chapter 6 will concentrate on the time after the demise of apartheid. The national transformation process of higher education in South Africa after the global changes of 1989, the release of Nelson Mandela in 1990 and the end of apartheid in 1994 shall be investigated on the basis of six major research reports and policy documents published between 1994 and 2001 together with secondary literature and expert interviews[15]. The general question is how South Africa reacted to processes of globalization and international trends in higher education. In particular, it will be explored how the phenomenon of globalization has been

[15] The author is relying on interviews with former stakeholders that were conducted in August and September 2011 as well as on interview transcriptions from the CHET publication "Transformation in Higher Education – Global Pressures and Local Realities in South Africa" (2004) (see References and Source Material).

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conceptualized with a view of higher education, if South Africa attempted to learn from worldwide higher education experiences and if so from which countries, and to what extent external references and references to the global were used as an argument in legitimizing change in higher education. The role of the involved national and international researchers, consultants, policy writers etc. in bringing foreign models into the debate is of special interest. Finally, it will be discussed to what extent the documents encouraged the internationalization of the teaching, research and service/knowledge transfer functions of higher education. This part of the study will also discuss the challenges still existing at the end of the period under investigation, in particular with a view to transformation. It will end by addressing international cooperation, international students and staff as well as internationally visible research in the South African higher education sector. How the South African transformation and the developments in higher education as well as "the transnational" were reflected within an individual South African HEI will be addressed in Part IV of the study. By analysing both the transformation of SU through the lenses of the terms in office of the different rectors of the University (Chapter 7) and SU's internationalization and beginning transnationalization processes (Chapter 8), it will describe which paths the University has traced in order to come to terms with its institutional history and to position itself globally. In doing so, adaptation processes to the international professionalization of universities will be shown. The empirical material shall also yield an assessment on how the reality of local institutions, their practices and responses to globalization differ from or are complimentary to the dealing with it at the level of the nation-state. This is one reason why this project starts from a macro perspective, then zooms in onto a specific country case and one particular institution before zooming out again to draw conclusions. Having set the stage in this way, the study will be discussing the South African case in a comparative perspective and summarize to what extent the developments in higher education and at an individual HEI are typical expressions of reactions towards globalization and to what extent they may be considered unique (Chapter 9).

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PART I: THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework and Conceptual Clarifications

This chapter outlines the theoretical basis of the thesis and the concepts on which it is based. It will start by briefly discussing the author's understanding of globalization as well as how this work and the research questions are embedded in the "spatial turn" debate. And it will introduce the two key concepts for this study – "internationalization" and "transnationalization"[16].

The chapter will discuss the usage of the terms transnational, transnationalism and transnationalization by different disciplines to introduce the terminology better. It will go on by presenting an overview on the existing discourses on the internationalization of higher education as well as its relation to processes of globalization. This will be followed by a description of phenomena with an international dimension that have entered the field of higher education in the last decades. By presenting studies and research that address "the transnational" in higher education in one way or another, the chapter will finally conclude why a transnational perspective on higher education might be fruitful and how "the transnational" can be made visible in higher education institutions (HEIs).

Even though the internationalization of higher education as a research topic has a rather short history, it has been extensively researched in the last two decades. The transnationalization of higher education, on the other hand, is not only a rather novel research perspective both for researchers studying current higher education processes (McBurnie and Ziguras 2007: 21ff) as well as for historians of education and those of the history of science (Möller and Wischmeyer 2013: 7). There are also new phenomena, which shall be labelled transnational, that have appeared only recently. This study argues that in addition to processes of internationalization in higher education, a process which could be conceptualized as the transnationalization of higher education has become more important in the recent past, resulting in the parallel existence of phenomena related to both processes. To what extent this change can also be observed in South African higher education and in particular within one South African HEI will be addressed in the empirical part of this study.

2.1 Globalization and the "Spatial Turn" Debate in the Social Sciences

There is quite some contention around the notion and the origin of globalization in academic debates. This work does not regard globalization as a new phenomenon (even though the term emerged as a catch-word and a perspective only around the 1990s [Bach 2013]), but rather emphasizes its historicity[17], its process character and its non-linearity (Hopkins 2002:

[16] For a brief semantic presentation of the syllables "inter" and "trans" see Chapter 1.

[17] For possible stadiums and various forms of globalization see, for example, Hopkins (2002: 11ff) or Osterhammel and Petersson (2005: 27ff).

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16; Conrad and Eckert 2007: 21)[18]. The following additional elements of a definition of globalization are usually shared by global and world historians: the quantitative significance and multidimensional character of globalization as well as its transformative nature on economic, political, social and cultural relations across national, regional and continental boundaries (Hopkins 2002: 16). Following the authors named hereinafter, the process of globalization shall be understood as "gradual expansion of the scope of social processes and social action from the local or the regional to the global level" (Bayly 2007: 84), as "increasing integration on a global scale" (Cooper 2007: 139), as "kontinuierliche Verdichtung von ökonomischen und migratorischen Weltzusammenhängen" (Osterhammel 2008: 19) or as "expansion, concentration, and acceleration of worldwide relations" (Osterhammel and Petersson 2005: 5).

The starting point of globalization processes, according to some scholars, dates back to the beginning of the 16th century and the time of early colonialism and capitalist trade relations (Hopkins 2002: 11ff). A "condition of globality", however, only took shape in the middle of the 19th century (Geyer and Bright 1995: 1046). Throughout the history of globalization, phases of strong interconnectedness were interrupted by periods of what some authors call "de-globalization", of distance, isolation and reversion to protectionism (Hopkins 2002: 11ff; Osterhammel and Petersson 2005: 26; Conrad and Eckert 2007: 21). Hence, globalization is always both: integration as well as differentiation and unity as well as fragmentation (Geyer and Bright 1995: 1044; Dirlik 2007: 166).

While the process of globalization is built upon long-existing processes of spatially expansive forms of interaction, the perspective of globalization is a rather new phenomenon (Conrad and Eckert 2007: 20). According to Osterhammel and Petersson (2005: 141), the most recent phase of globalization has started since the 1960s and "is widely believed to be the first real globalization and therefore receives the most attention from social scientists". Against the backdrop of intensified processes of globalization in recent decades triggered by massive changes in transport, electronic media and mass migration (Appadurai 1996), one of the major themes social scientists are interested in is the question, to what extent the global condition has affected the sovereignty of the nation-state. In a time which is increasingly characterized by the permeability of national borders and transnational developments the theoretical notion of the nation-state as a closed container with "decision space" and "identity space" being united in one politically defined territory cannot be maintained any more (Maier 2006: 35). The role of the nation-state is contested and experiences permanent renegotiation (Osterhammel and Petersson 2005: 6). Also, the traditional distinction between the internal and the external, between domestic and foreign policy is weakened and needs to be recontextualised. To "transcend state-centric epistemologies" is, according to Brenner (1999: 40), "the unifying theme of contemporary globalization research".

Therefore, the research questions to be answered in this dissertation tie in with debates to overcome "methodological nationalism" and to overcome the dominance of the state as central and often only analytical category to study social processes. According to Wimmer

[18] This is in contrast to authors, such as David Held, James Rosenau or Ian Clark, who conceive globalization as a development of recent history, yet as one which built upon long-established processes of interaction in the past (Osterhammel and Petersson 2005: 10).

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and Glick Schiller, amongst others, “methodological nationalism” follows the assumption “that the nation/state/society is the natural social and political form of the modern world” (2002: 302). The underlying critique is that social science thinking has been and is still to a considerable extent restricted to the theoretical notion of the nation-state understood as closed container, analysing social processes mainly within the territorial boundaries of nation-states – a phenomenon that has also been labelled “territorial trap” (Agnew 1994).

This work will look at the extent to which the assumption that traditional domestic policy fields, such as higher education, in the context of globalization processes are increasingly becoming transnationally embedded also applies to the South Africa. One goal of this research is to demonstrate the erosion of the national as *the only* appropriate frame of reference for the analysis of social processes. The approach followed here is informed by the “spatial turn” debate. This debate is nourished by the observation that the clarity of spatial frameworks for social action, which came along with the formation and later dominance of the nation-state understood as a static platform of social interaction, has been weakened and given way to a challenging plurality of forms of territorialization and dialectical processes of de- and reterritorialization reinforced by processes of globalization (Engel and Middell 2005; Middell and Naumann 2010: 152; see also Brenner 1999; Maier 2000, 2006).[19] How the category “space” was renegotiated in the context of South Africa’s deep societal transformation under global conditions is one underlying line of interest across this project. The work is interested to trace changing spatial references on the local and on the national level, how the local relates to the national and both of them to the regional and the global. While the dominant notion of higher education and universities in particular used to be that of national or sub-national entities (Robertson et al. 2012: 7) with clearly defined (local and national) boundaries, we increasingly observe new forms of cross-border institutional interconnectivity that higher education and universities are becoming involved in, which challenge its (sub-)national nature. Simultaneous spatial references to the local, the national, the regional as well as the global are proof of multiple and complex realities (Marginson and Rhoades 2002) and different strategic interests, which provoke ambivalent behaviours by all actors involved in negotiation processes around reconfiguring higher education. One expression of changing spatial references through the globalization of higher education relates to internationalization and transnationalization processes in higher education. Before these processes and how they are understood and described by different authors will be addressed, the section hereinafter will be devoted to the development of the term transnationalization in different disciplines in order to better grasp its meaning.

2.2 Reflections on the Term Transnationalization

The term of the transnational goes back to the American social critic Randolph Bourne, who in 1916 published an article with the title “Trans-National America.” The central topic of this article was the potential that the United States of America had thanks to a population of different national origin in contrast to the nationally shaped Europe. He argued that

[19] For an overview on the coming into existence of the debate and the different disciplinary positions regarding the “spatial turn” see Bachmann-Medick 2006 and Döring and Thielemann 2009.

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immigrants would never replace their ties and commitments to their country of origin even if they fully adapted to their new environment (Bourne 1916: 94). On the basis of this argumentation, Bourne conceptualized an ideal of a pluralist American social system as a trans-nationality, clearly demarcating his ideas from the prominent “melting pot” metaphor. With minor exceptions, the ideas of Bourne, however, were not further elaborated in the years to come. The transnational only became popular again after the Second World War, when certain forms of internationally active companies, mostly multinationals operating in settings transcending the nation-state, were analysed by economists (Patel 2004: 6). The development of “transnational law” goes back to Philipp Caryl Jessup, who in the USA of the 1950s summarized under the term all legal questions connected to activities exceeding the nation-state (ibid.). Another aspect of transnationalism was emphasized with the introduction of the transnational paradigm to political science debates at the end of the 1960s. As opposed to the traditional understanding of international relations theory that equated nation-states with billiard balls that can neither be penetrated nor challenged by non-state actors, Joseph S. Nye und Robert O. Keohane (1971), amongst others, extended the debate. They pointed out the existence of different forms of transnational entities (such as multinational companies, scientific networks, transnationally active labour unions or the different churches) and demonstrated how they influenced international policy. Nye and Keohane used “transnational interaction” “to describe the movement of tangible or intangible items across state boundaries when at least one actor is not an agent of a government or an inter-governmental organization” (Nye and Keohane 1971: 332). They argued that international relations and the power of nation-states can only be understood in view of international interdependencies, which are not only constructed by nation-states but also by non-state actors (Faist 2004: 337; Østergaard-Nielsen 2003: 779). Two decades later, the term transnationalism found entrance into international research on migration. It dates back to an approach of Sutton and Mackiesky-Barrow, who used the term for the first time in 1975 (Glick Schiller et al. 1992: 60; Pries 1996: 465). At the beginning of the 1990s, an attempt was made by social scientists to further conceptualize the term, founded on the increasing empirical observation of different kinds of border-crossing experiences and phenomena of migrant networks (Glick Schiller et al. 1992: ix). The commonalities of all existing empirical evidence were taken together and the following definition was brought to the table, which marked only the beginning of an enormously growing field of transnational migration research in the years to come:

> “We define “transnationalism” as the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement. We call these processes transnationalism to emphasize that many immigrants today build social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders.“ (Basch et al. 1994: 7)

As different as the disciplinary approaches to and their definitions of transnationalism may be, what they all have in common is that they are recognized as connected to general processes of globalization and that they may be subsumed under a social science discipline “transnational studies”.

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While a "transnational turn" was characteristic of various disciplines in the 1990s, it was rarely established among historians at the beginning of the 2000s (Osterhammel 2001: 471). Historians mostly refused to use the term due to its conceptual vagueness. Nonetheless, a transnational approach towards history opens up quite a few new opportunities. This is what the historian Klaus Kiran Patel in his 2004 inaugural lecture at the Humboldt University of Berlin sought to systematize. After the nation and the nation-state had been for a long time the central and only objects of analysis for historians, this dominance of the so-called "methodological nationalism" in the Social Sciences and Humanities was only slowly starting to be overcome with alternative approaches of analysing social phenomena. According to Patel (2004: 4), it is since the end of the 1980s that the previously almost exclusive nationalized accounts of history are increasingly questioned and that transnational history as a research perspective emerged. Transnational processes, to the contrary, can be observed from the 18th century onwards after the modern nation-state had come into existence and increasingly influenced the thinking and action of human beings as an important structural factor. These processes – even though they were not yet termed "transnational" – include a wide range of topics related to mobility patterns of individuals, groups, ideas and objects studied by various disciplines of the Social Sciences and Humanities. Transnational history, therefore, assumes that modern historical processes are constituted by interaction between different entities on various spatial levels and not primarily by developments remaining internal to a given society or to nation-states constructed as isolated containers (ibid: 5; see also Pernau 2011; Middell and Roura i Aulinas 2013 and Saunier 2013). As such, transnational history is a different way of looking at history. It is mostly comparisons and analyses of transfer processes that are being used as major methodological approaches to study the cross-boundary ties, interdependencies, interconnections, reciprocal linkages, circulations of human beings, institutions or objects of any kind in time and space that make up the field of interest of transnational history – above all on the basis of documentary material (Patel 2004: 14). The different methodological approaches developed to study processes transcending the national also promise a better understanding of national history.[20] Transnational history does not replace national history nor is it a substitute for international history or global history. As a research perspective or as a label for a project of new historical writing and research, it may, however, be a door-opener for new questions to the past (Middell 2006: 110). The nation-state remains to be understood as a constitutive element of transnational processes as it may facilitate and support but also complicate and hinder transnational processes through regulations and controls of flows.

In his attempt to proffer an acceptable definition of transnationalization Patel, therefore, highlights the role of the nation and the nation-state for transnational processes and the writing of transnational history. Transnationalization, according to him, comprises phenomena happening across or beyond the borders of the nation-state, in which the nation-state still plays an important delimitative role and constitutes the point of departure (Patel 2004: 11). This broad definition from transnational history shall be used for the analysis of

[20] For an overview on these approaches, such as Connected History, Histoire Croisée, Transfert Culturel, Entangled History and New Imperial History, World and Global History, see Pernau 2011: 36ff.

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higher education developments in South Africa after 1990 and the case study of this project, Stellenbosch University.

2.3 The Internationalization of Higher Education

Even though not a new phenomenon – as higher education and the university have since the beginning of their existence been border-transcending in nature (see also Chapter 4.2) – research into the internationalization of higher education is a rather recent development. Internationalization has become one of the key research approaches in higher education only since the mid-1990s. In their 2007 analysis of the main topics in internationalization research since the beginning of the 1990s, the two German professors Barbara Kehm and Ulrich Teichler from the International Centre for Higher Education Research (INCHER – Kassel), who extensively published on processes of internationalization in the last decade, found a number of research foci. They include mobility patterns of students and academic staff; institutional strategies of internationalization; cooperation and competition; internationalization of the substance of teaching, learning, and research; mutual influences of higher education systems on each other; knowledge transfer; and national and supra-national policies as regarding the international dimension of higher education (Kehm and Teichler 2007: 264). The field of internationalization in higher education is steadily growing and can be characterized by rapid changes in the research discourse and research focus (Fuchs 2006a,b). Against this background, Kehm and Teichler also observed an expansion of the geographical scope in analysing processes of internationalization as well as a growing interest in the history of internationalization (Kehm and Teichler 2007: 269ff; see also de Wit 2002 and 2010). More studies were being undertaken on the mobility of not only people but of programmes and ideas as well as on new actors that have entered the field, for example international consortia of universities and transnational research networks. What the latter indicates, for our purposes, is that the internationalization of higher education seems to have achieved a new level that goes beyond the traditional forms of international academic exchange – a development that will be conceptualized as the transnationalization of higher education.

Numerous authors have broached the issues of internationalization in higher education in the context of the recent period of globalization. They discussed in particular what is meant by the process (“definitions of internationalization”), why it is important (“rationales of internationalization”) and how it can be enhanced (“approaches to and instruments of internationalization”; “organizational adaptation”) (e.g. Kalvermark and van der Wende 1997; Altbach and Teichler 2001; Altbach and Knight 2007; Enders and Fulton 2002; van Vught, van der Wende and Westerheijden 2002; de Wit 2002, 2006, 2010; Bartell 2003; Beerkens 2003; Qiang 2003; Knight 2004a,b, 2006a,b, 2008; Teichler 2004; Ninnes and Hellstén 2005; Scott 2006; Stromquist 2007; Maringe and Foskett 2010; for an overview on the field by the mid-2010s see Kehm and Teichler 2007). Furthermore, they analysed different national and regional contexts (for Africa e.g. Teferra and Knight 2008; the special issue of the Journal Higher Education Policy on African Universities and Internationalization 2009 under the editorship of Jeroen Huisman and James Otieno Jowi; for America e.g. Brustein 2007;

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Edwards 2007; for the Asia-Pacific region e.g. Adams 2007; Huang 2007; Mok 2007; Gupte et al. 2011; the Special Issue of the Journal of Studies in International Education on Southeast Asia 2013; for Latin America e.g. de Wit et al. 2005; Gacel-Avila 2007).[21]

The link between globalization and the internationalization of higher education appears to be conceptualized in different, at times rather confusing and ambiguous ways. Some authors observed that internationalization is often used synonymously or confused with the term globalization (e.g. Scott 2000: 4; Altbach and Knight 2006: 1; de Wit 2010: 8) or that cooperative internationalization seems to have been substituted by the paradigm of competitive globalization (Teichler 2004: 23). Ulrich Teichler, for example, observed that globalization in the context of higher education was initially defined as the changes and challenges in higher education caused by an increasing interconnectedness of the world resulting in the blurring of national boundaries (Teichler 2004: 22f). This, according to him, had changed in the 1990s and early 2000s towards the replacement of globalization through internationalization, which was coupled with a change in the meaning of the term internationalization: “the term tends to be used for any supra-regional phenomenon related to higher education [...] and/or anything on a global scale related to higher education characterised by market and competition” (ibid). The increasing emphasis of the market and competitive aspects in higher education is certainly a valid observation. It should, however, not be the only interpretation of the process of internationalization. Internationalization continues to smooth the way for an increased awareness of the global, for tolerance, multicultural acceptance, mutual understanding and tacit knowledge, and not least for increased cooperation and cooperative resource management, which is for a number of different social benefits (see also Taylor 2010b: 87; Bode and Davidson 2011: 69). A substitution of internationalization through globalization, therefore, did not materialize (Kehm and Teichler 2007: 270).

In order to avoid confusion, many authors make a case for the distinctiveness of the concepts (e.g. Scott 2000: 4; Knight 2004a,b, 2006a,b; Teichler 2004: 23; Ninnes and Hellstén 2005: 4; Altbach and Knight 2006: 2; Kehm and Teichler 2007: 268; Maringe and Foskett 2010: 2). They highlight the strategic dimension of internationalization linked to adaptation pressures resulting from the globalization of societies, the economy and labour markets (van der Wende 1997: 18; Altbach and Teichler 2001: 6; de Wit 2002: 17; Knight 2004b: 10; Stromquist 2007: 100; Altbach et al. 2009: 7) and, therefore, the mutual interdependence of both processes. Internationalizing higher education is interpreted as a response to globalization in common with a stimulus for further globalization processes (de Wit 2002: 17; Scott 1998: 122; 2006: 13ff; Maringe and Foskett 2010: 2; Taylor 2010b: 84).[22] This understanding has also come to be shared by South African scholars and policy makers

[21] A look into the literature on higher education internationalization in French reveals that international considerations on the definition of internationalization processes seem to have hardly received a response from French speaking authors. Instead, their focus was limited to the effects and consequences of internationalization processes (e.g. Leresche et al. 2009; Elliot et al. 2011).

[22] This interpretation has been confirmed through a global survey on the impact of globalization and internationalization on universities, conducted by Maringe and colleagues among university staff in different parts of the world (Maringe 2010: 28ff).

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(CHE 2004: 212). It is this approach that is adopted by this research project, with globalization explicitly not limited to economic globalization.

Even if one concludes that globalization and internationalization are different from one another the attempt to define internationalization does not become easier, as it means different things to different people. According to Hans de Wit, Professor of the Internationalization of Higher Education at the Amsterdam University of Applied Science, internationalization covers a multitude of activities and phenomena aimed at providing an educational experience that integrate a global perspective (de Wit 2002: xvi). A more inclusive definition – widely accepted and extensively cited – was developed by Jane Knight, at the time of writing (2013) Adjunct Professor at the Department of Leadership, Higher and Adult Education, University of Toronto. She defined it as "the process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education" (Knight 2004b: 11). This integration process may occur on the national as well as on the institutional level (Knight 2005). Knight's definition is broadly used by scholars of higher education and university practitioners alike (e.g. Taylor 2010b: 86; International Office of Stellenbosch University 2004: 10) and will form the point of departure for this project. Yet, it also has its limitations as it is very general and does not say much neither about the phenomena lumped together under the label internationalization nor about the different experiences with and understandings of internationalization by different actors involved in higher education.[23] What becomes obvious from the definition and its wide acceptance is the fact that internationalization is, first of all, a process of bringing the global into the university (or into a national higher education system) and that it is, secondly, a purposeful integration process of an international dimension. Hence, it can be considered an active process intentionally driven by the people behind an institution, a sector or a nation-state for different kinds of reasons – be they political, economic, cultural and social, academic or a combination of them.[24]

According to Knight (2008: 3f), this purposeful process observable from the 1980s onwards is connected to "New Realities and Challenges of Today's Environment", such as "globalization, regionalization, information and communication technologies, [and] lifelong learning" (ibid: 4). And it continues to be of constant importance against the background of even newer developments in higher education, such as phenomena related to borderless education, new providers, the multiplication of actors involved and alternative funding sources (ibid.). Even though the intensity differs according to region or to institution, it is a matter of fact that the international in higher education has become as omnipresent in national and institutional policy development as never before (de Wit 2009: 29). Marijk van der Wende, Professor of Comparative Higher Education Policy Studies at the University of Twente, explained:

[23] Some scholars criticized that it does not include the export of education (Ninnes and Hellstén 2005: 3), that it is not clear about what an international, intercultural or global dimension would mean and that it is not critically dealing with routes of transmission of international phenomena from North/West to South/East (Sidhu 2006: 3).

[24] References to further nuances of and motivations for the internationalization in higher education on the different levels are explicated by Maringe (2010: 26), Foskett (2010: 38) as well as in particular by Taylor (2010b: 85ff).

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> "[I]nternationalisation is expected to become more important in higher education policy because the globalisation of the economy increases the demand for international competences of graduates; the level of specialisation and investment in advanced research requires more international cooperation; the recruitment of foreign students and scholars is becoming an increasingly important economic factor; and the use of information and communication technology in the delivery of education is blurring national borders and the role of national governments." (van der Wende 2001: 433)

Notwithstanding the growing research efforts, it was generally acknowledged that we still have a limited understanding of internationalization. De Wit's observation that

> "the internationalisation of higher education is still a phenomenon with many question marks: regarding its historical dimension; its meaning, concept and strategic aspects; its relationship to developments in society and higher education in general, in particular the movement to globalisation and regionalisation; and regarding its status as an area of study and analysis" (de Wit 2002: xv)

still held true at the time of writing, as with new developments in the higher education sector the meaning of internationalization may be changed and expanded (Knight 2008; see also Kehm and Teichler 2007). What becomes obvious from such quotes is that there is not very much communication between the historical analysis of educational processes and systems on the one hand and now well institutionalized studies of education, mainly located in the Social Sciences, on the other hand. The fact that the latter always emphasize a lack of historical knowledge while openly ignoring the results of exactly the research that provides this knowledge does not make the task easier to undertake a study at the cross-roads of both research fields.

It does not go without notice that there is a confusing plurality of terms somehow connected to the international or to the global while the term internationalization itself has degenerated into a mere catch-word. Some of the terms are used to refer to concrete international activities, others as synonyms for internationalization. The majority of expressions would either relate to the curriculum, such as international studies, global studies, transnational studies, multicultural education, intercultural education and peace education as well as transnational or global competence in order to prepare students for a globalized world (even without spatial mobility), which form part of the "internationalization at home" approach. Or the terms emphasize their connection to academic mobility and, therefore, to "internationalization abroad", such as study abroad or education abroad. From the middle of the 1990s a new group of terms has entered the debates. They refer to the mobility of programmes, projects and providers and thus to a new form of border-crossing phenomena (de Wit 2002: xvi, 109ff; Knight 2008: 19ff; de Wit 2010: 8f). There is talk of borderless or transnational education, education across borders, offshore education and international trade of educational services (de Wit 2010: 8) not to forget the already longer established distance education, to name but a few. Also their appearance (next to the expansion of research topics under the banner of "internationalization") indicates that processes of internationalization in academia have reached a new quality that goes beyond the traditional physical mobility of people between nation-states. They imply new modes of higher education provision as well as new forms of inter-institutional collaboration spurred by greater access to knowledge and research, an increasing awareness of international competitiveness and international standing.

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What these theoretical considerations proof is the emergence of an ever growing industry of research that is closely related to strategic planning both within universities and at ministries and think tanks. This industry has established its own forms of communication (congresses and journals alike) where analysis and consultancy go hand in hand. Therefore, a strong focus on definitions (indicating the struggle over interpretative power, which translates sometimes into market shares) is not always accompanied by the necessary empirical foundation. Some expressions of these developments and current research will be presented in the following.

2.4 Transnational Education and New Forms of Border-Transcending Arrangements in Higher Education

According to Philip G. Altbach, professor at Boston College (Educational Leadership and Higher Education Department), earlier forms of border-transcending higher education activities besides the movement of people are documented for some American HEIs, which from the 1950s began to service Americans abroad by offering their programmes outside the USA. They later also took advantage of the increasing international demand for higher education through the establishment of so-called branch, offshore or satellite campuses (Altbach 2004b: 23). The latter received additional impetus in the 2010s (McDougall 2011: 10).[25] Australian and UK universities joined the market of cross-border higher education provision in the mid-1980s, most of all in the form of distance learning, so-called "flying faculties" or international cooperative programmes (Altbach 2004b: 23f; Verbik 2007: 14; Doorbar and Bateman 2013: 60; Chapman and Pyvis 2013: xiv). Internationally, the number of mobile programmes as well as of students involved in border-transcending arrangements of higher education provision has since experienced tremendous growth (for the UK see Doorbar and Bateman 2013: 61; for Australia see Chapman and Pyvis 2013: xii).[26] The regional scope of partnering institutions, including non-Western alliances, has widened (Sakamoto and Chapman 2011: 5). "Transnational education" (TNE), as a consequence, has become "a new form of education" (Chapman and Pyvis 2013: xi).

Transnational education closely interlinks with the millennium round of the World Trade Organization's (WTO) negotiations on the multilateral General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) as a legal international treaty to exploit new markets. Amongst a number of internationally traded services, this agreement is designed to also regulate the import and export of educational services and to enable the liberalization and marketisation of higher

[25] Early examples are the Florida State University's operation in Panama City, which is older than 50 years, Webster University with its first campuses in Switzerland (1978), Austria (1981) and the Netherlands (1983) or the US Alliant International University with its Mexican campus (1970). During the decades of the 1970s and 1980s, a number of American colleges also opened campuses in Japan in expectation of benefits from the Japanese boom, e.g. the Tokyo campus of Temple University in 1982. Also Boston and Widener University had been operating branch campuses abroad for years (Altbach 2004b: 23). Examples from the 2000s include the University of New York's engagement in Abu Dhabi and Shanghai. A list with current branch campuses is provided by Global Higher Education (see http://www.globalhighered.org/branchcampuses.php [retrieved 6 November 2013]).

[26] Statistics on the involvement of students in border crossing arrangements, however, are difficult to provide as the developments in that part of higher education are often not even registered on the national level. Different definitions and formats, inconsistent and irregular data collections make the aggregation of the available data and their comparison additionally problematic (Doorbar and Bateman 2013: 61).

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education through, for example, the creation of for-profit institutions. Transnational education was the main component of such trade and received a major boost (McBurnie and Ziguras 2001: 87).[27] To date (2013), the process has not yet been completed, because each WTO member can decide the level of market access for the respective country in order to meet national policy objectives (Pillay 2006: 91), but the negotiations already paved the way for new modes of higher education delivery. New arrangements in higher education provision are likewise intertwined with the introduction of the Bologna Process in 1999 in Europe and its attempt to create an integrated European Higher Education Area through, amongst others, credit transfer and the comparability of degrees and thus the promotion of mobility. The Bologna Declaration also enhanced transnational study programmes with bi- or multilaterally shared responsibility for joint master's and doctoral programmes among European HEIs through the European Commission's Erasmus Mundus mobility and cooperation programme, which commenced in 2004.[28] Both GATS and the Bologna Declaration constitute agreements beyond the level of nation-states to manage global interactions in the field of higher education, with GATS, according to Scott (2006: 23), representing a market approach and the Bologna Process a public trajectory (see also van Vught et al. 2002: 117). Together with international organizations, such as the World Bank, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) or the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), they increasingly impact on how higher education is dealt with on the national as well as on the institutional level (Bassett 2010).

The expression "transnational education" was officially introduced into the higher education vocabulary in the middle of the 1990s by the Global Alliance for Transnational Education (GATE), an international quality assurance institution founded in 1995, which certified the quality of mobile education programmes (McBurnie and Ziguras 2007: 22). Towards the end of the 1990s the term experienced increased usage and was "adopted as the preferred term for internationally mobile programs" (ibid.). Globally, there is no consensus about the usage of the term transnational education. "Offshore programs", "borderless education", "collaborative international provision" and "cross-border education" are equally in use in

[27] Four modes of trade in education take place under GATS: 1) consumption abroad (the student travels crosses borders for reasons of study); 2) cross-border delivery (both the student and the education provider remain in their country of origin; the service is provided e.g. via e-learning and other distance education tools); 3) commercial presence (an education provider is exporting educational services to another country and establishes a local presence, e.g. in the form of a branch campus or only a foreign course that is taught at the campus of a foreign university or another local partner; which is subsumed under transnational education or offshore programme); 4) movement of individuals (e.g. to teach a course in the foreign setting on behalf of the home institution) (McBurnie and Ziguras 2001: 87).

[28] See http://ec.europa.eu/education/erasmus-mundus/overview_en.htm (retrieved: 9 February 2013). As a result, the growth of joint and double degree programmes could be observed most of all in the EU but increasingly also in the rest of the world (Obst et al. 2011: 6; see also Tarazona 2012); the USA only slowly embarked to exploit their potential (see New York Times, 28 March 2011). In their report on joint and double degrees in a global context, Obst et al. (2011: 7) state that "joint and double degree programs largely evolved in Europe". The majority of institutions that participated in their survey initiated joint and double degree programmes in the period between 2001 and 2009. Many respondents from France, Germany and Italy, however, had already developed these kinds of collaborative study programmes between 1991 and 2000. The UK and Australian HEIs only followed more recently (ibid: 6). The findings are based on a survey among 245 HEIs from around the globe, representing 28 countries (Obst et al. 2011: 9). For an overview on the institutionalization of those international study programmes and joint and double degree programmes in which German institutions participated see Tarazona (2012).

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different countries to refer to similar phenomena. They all share the allusion that territorial boundaries in higher education, which during the heydays of the nation-state explicitly characterized higher education, are increasingly blurred and of little consequence.[29]

The Council of Europe and UNESCO, in their Code of Practice in the Provision of Transnational Education (2000), understand transnational education as including

> "[a]ll types of higher education study programme, or sets of courses of study, or educational services (including those of distance education) in which the learners are located in a country different from the one where the awarding institution is based. Such programmes may belong to the educational system of a State different from the State in which it operates, or may operate independently of any national system." (quoted from Adam 2001: 13)

This definition formed the starting point for the "Transnational Education Project", commissioned by the European Union Rector's Conference and financially supported by the European Commission in preparation of the meeting of European Education Ministers in Prague 2001. Stephen Adam from the University of Westminster's Department of Social and Political Studies was one of the researchers and the main responsible for the final report (Adam 2001: 2). The definition includes both the collaborative delivery of education, in which parts of the curriculum are provided by a partner institution, e.g. through franchising, twinning or joint degrees, and non-collaborative arrangements through branch or offshore institutions as well as corporate universities (Adam 2001: 13). The definition, however, is not very precise. In a narrow sense of the term, certain phenomena that may be considered as transnational would be excluded. They concern, for example, joint degrees including mobility components, so that the learner may be located both in the home country and in the host country but also so-called education hubs, in which the learner and the awarding body are in the same country but are exposed to a transnational environment[30]. However, as integral

[29] The expression "borderless education", for example, came into being when Australian researchers at the end of the 1990s started to analyse the competitive impact of experimenting with new forms of learning over distance, made possible through the development of information and communication technologies (Middlehurst 2006: 3). The result of this analysis, published in 1998, was that corporate and virtual universities would most probably increasingly compete with traditional universities so that another study was undertaken to examine the new providers (ibid.). The term was taken up by a UK based initiative researching borderless developments in higher education in the UK, the USA, and continental Europe as well as in the Commonwealth (Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals 2000). However, according to Doorbar and Bateman (2013: 59), the term was not widely used in universities in the UK. They rather used the more general "collaborative international provision" or "franchised provision" and "distance learning" (ibid.). The term "offshore program" had generally been used in New Zealand and Australia, according to the Australian Learning and Teaching Council (2009: 1). It implied a formal agreement with a partner institution on the participation in educational delivery. As such, it was more concrete than the term transnational education (ibid: 3). UNESCO and OECD used to refer to "cross-border education" instead of transnational education (ibid.). So did the World Bank (2007). McBurnie and Ziguras (2007: 22) observed that in New Zealand and Australia the expression transnational had increasingly been in use to the detriment of "offshore".

[30] A prominent example for the latter would be Singapore's Global Schoolhouse Project. It is based on the political goal to create a knowledge and innovation centre through the promotion of networks and collaborations with foreign universities and was released in the early 2000s (Sidhu 2006: 230ff; Sidhu 2009; Sidhu et al. 2011). Within that project, one of the stated goals was the transformation of the National University of Singapore into a "Global Knowledge Enterprise" (Sidhu et al. 2011: 24), in other words into a transnational one. Transnational universities seek to pursue not only strategic transnational education but as a "relatively new development" (Sidhu 2009: 126) also transnational research. In the Singaporean case, the government provided generous financial support to select foreign universities, such as the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) and Johns Hopkins University, to establish themselves in the city-state and, therefore, drawing heavily from "external expertise and alliances with foreign universities to acquire leading edge innovative capacity and talent" (Sidhu et al. 2011: 24). This would be a matter of a government supporting the transnationalization of higher education by actively touting for highly renowned institutions of higher education in contrast to laissez-faire approaches or to interventionist

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compromise formula, this definition was supposed to include all kinds of education that is provided in collaborative as well as non-collaborative arrangements, be they imported or exported. The statement of "being located in a different country" was considered less absolute (Adam 2001: 13). What this indicates, is a large plurality of expressions of transnational education.

> "The bewildering number of different relationships between different types of transnational education providers, delivery mechanisms and programmes/awards creates a highly complicated situation. Charting these relationships and types is an almost impossible task. Certainly, there is a constantly evolving, highly complex situation that includes an array of partnerships, consortia, articulation agreements, modes of delivery, public, private, off-shore, for-profit and corporate elements. Furthermore, transnational education providers inhabit different national education systems whose idiosyncrasies dictate different sorts of arrangements." (Adam 2001: 13)

Hence, in order to describe different forms of transnational education provision more precisely three interrelated dimensions, according to Adam (2001: 13ff, drawing on Wilson and Vlãsceanu [2000]), need to be considered. They are, firstly, through which arrangements and mechanisms transnational education is delivered[31]; secondly, how transnational education is organizationally and institutionally realized and thirdly, what qualifications (e.g. degrees, certificates or credit points) are awarded through transnational education.

Transnational education may have different goals, which gather in the field of tension between trade and capacity building. From the perspective of transnational providers that "trade" higher education (and that well exploit power imbalances and wealth differentials between nation-states) the rationales are first and foremost revenue generation for the home institution (Altbach 2004b: 23; Verbik 2007: 14; Sakamoto and Chapman 2011: 5), but also international visibility, increasing institutional reputation, the generation of research capabilities as well as internationalization (Doorbar and Bateman 2013: 63). On top of that, transnational forms of higher education delivery contribute to national branding and may form part of growth strategies in the context of local space constraints (as for example in the case of Australia). And they constitute means to "internationalize" academic practices (Chapman and Pyvis 2013: xiv). From the perspective of those countries which host transnational

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behaviours (McBurnie and Ziguras 2001: 85). Similar examples can be found in the United Arab Emirates (e.g. Abu Dhabi, Dubai), Bahrain, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Qatar, Saudi-Arabia (Knight 2011: 226ff).

[31] Delivery mechanisms and arrangements of transnational education include collaborative forms, such as franchising or programme articulations (e.g. twinning degrees), whereby parts of the curriculum, whole study programmes or other educational services are supplied by a foreign partner institution. They also cover non-collaborative delivery forms, e.g. branch campuses, offshore institutions, international institutions, corporate universities. In these cases, the awarding body, based in one specific country, is providing the programmes and services directly to another country without an intermediary or a partner institution. The delivery mechanisms may differ with regards to whether learning takes place face to face or via distance education, whether the institutions offering transnational education belong to a national higher education system or not, whether they are private or public arrangements or combinations of both and whether they are non-profit or for profit providers (Middlehurst 2006: 7f). International institutions and corporate universities, for example, deliver their own programmes independent of a specific education sector. Definitions for the different delivery forms can be found in Mockiene (2001: 7ff) or Adam (2001: 14). Newer developments suggest that the distinctions made by Adam (2001) and Middlehurst (2006) between collaborative and non-collaborative have become blurred. Kritz (2006: 9), for example, argues that branch and offshore campuses also involve collaboration between institutions. Transnational education hubs, established in one country, in which a government intended to boost higher education, are another expression of the coming together of different providers from different countries as is the establishment of a new university, under which a number of institutions from a certain country are grouped together, as in the case of the British University of Dubai (ibid: 13). An overview on the evolution of terms in international education is provided by Knight (2006a: 42).

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providers, the objectives range from on site capacity building to the broadening of academic offerings in the context of wealth differentials and limited national resources and/or weak national systems of higher education. In the case of Malaysia, for example, the government actively decided at the beginning of the 1990s to enlarge its higher education sector through the incorporation of transnational offerings, thus aiming at becoming a so-called regional education hub. There is the assumption that transnational education brings international quality standards into the country and fosters international academic mobility (Chapman and Pyvis 2013: xiii). All of this interlinks with efforts to limit the outflow of brains through increasing student choice (even though it is debatable whether brain migration really implies an intellectual loss for the country of origin) as well as to enhance the innovative potential of nation-states (World Bank 2007). Besides economic motives and the imperatives of competition, income increase and demarcation, transnational education may also have another connotation. It may also speak the language of cooperation, of cooperative resource management, of intellectual stimulation, e.g. through multiperspectivity, and of hope that somehow the challenges and opportunities of the global market agenda are dealt with through a guided process of working together on an agenda that also considers higher education still as a public good. In collaborative settings with universities in developing countries, for example, capacity building components within local universities are to be mentioned, e.g. regarding staff development or the enhancement of research collaboration (Bateman and Doorbar 2013: 63). In other cases, transnational collaboration results in the heterogenization or complementarity of course offerings (Obst et al. 2011; Tarazona 2012). Transnationalization, therefore, should not be equated with neoliberalism.

In order to accompany the process of transnational or cross-border education and to understand its dynamics, numerous studies were realized recently. Scholars have published on the reasons, the consequences and implications of transnational education for students and lecturers as well as in specific country contexts (e.g. Fegan and Field 2009; Onsman 2010; Chapman and Pyvis 2013 and Dobos et al. 2012 for Australian offshore programmes; for the UK Wallace and Dunn 2013; Kleypas and McDougall 2011 for the USA; Coverdale-Jones 2012 for the Asian context). They have researched how transnational education is governed and regulated (McBurnie and Ziguras 2007) and how quality is assured (McBurnie and Ziguras 2007; Chapham and Pyvis 2012; Wallace and Dunn 2013). They addressed the questions how transnational partnerships work (O'Meara and Spittle 2011; Sakamoto and Chapman 2011) and why students opt for transnational forms of education (Chapman and Pyvis 2013). Additionally, they dealt with the potential of cross-border delivery to promote capacity building in different areas of the world (e.g. Altbach 2004b; World Bank 2007). At the time of writing (2013), a handbook on research in transnational higher education had been announced to be published in 2014, edited by Siran Mukerji and Purnendo Tripathi. This might be indicative for a canon of knowledge that is about to be developed on the term and the phenomenon. For the time being, however, no further information was available.

It was as early as 2002 that the Observatory of Borderless Higher Education (OBHE) was established in the UK as a global think tank to carry out systematic and strategic research on borderless higher education. Institutionally, it formed part of the International Graduate

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Insight Group since 2010. As such, it made money with research on transnational education and related developments. According to its online presentation, the OBHE regularly examined phenomena related to the different kinds of border-crossing aspects of higher education and consults on trends, best practices, policy frameworks and matters of quality assurance relating to transnational education.[32] Consequently, transnational education and the effects of it had obviously been identified by different parties as an important development in higher education, which were ready to pay for the information on trends in the field to not miss something. Reports published by the OBHE between 2007 and 2012 cover topics from international student mobility patterns, virtual and global universities, and distance learning to joint and double degree programmes addressing different regions of the world. Furthermore, the OBHE provided a regular survey on the state of international branch campuses.[33] Through its research and consultancies OBHE obviously had the power to influence the direction of higher education developments.

What this literature review has demonstrated is that there is quite some variety about the vocabulary used in the debates around internationalization and these newer forms of cross-border educational activity. Scholars sometimes use different terms to describe the same phenomena or the same expressions for different ones.[34] So, the relation between processes of internationalization and these newer forms of border-transcending interconnectivity is a close one. Transnational education, for example, is conceptualized both as an element of internationalization and as stimulant to further internationalization in higher education (Dobos et al. 2012: 4; see also Doorbar and Bateman 2013: 63; Chapman and Pyvis 2013: xiv).

Based on the earlier reflection of the term transnationalization, as used by different disciplines, and the review of the literature on transnational education, this study opts for an extension of the concept transnational and the process of transnationalization in higher education. It argues that the research on transnationalization of higher education should go further than just analysing the delivery of programmes elsewhere than where the “home university” is located. Research on transnationalization should additionally include and make explicit adoption processes provoked by the new interconnectedness of higher education and

[32] See http://www.obhe.ac.uk/who_we_are/about_the_observatory [retrieved 26 November 2012]).

[33] According to Verbik (2007: 14), the term branch campus is globally highly contested. The OBHE used the following working definition: “an off-shore operation of a higher education institution which is operated by the institution or through a joint-venture in which the institution is a partner and in the name of the foreign institution. Upon successful completion of the study programme, students are awarded a degree from the foreign institution”. By the end of 2011, there existed 200 degree-awarding branch campuses in the world (2006: 80 [Verbik 2007: 14]). This represents a significant increase over the first decade of the 2000s since the OBHE has started to monitor its development in 2002 (see http://www.obhe.ac.uk/documents/view_details?id=894 [retrieved 26 November 2012]). The 2006 OBHE report on models and trends for international branch campuses highlighted that American institutions were at the fore in the whole process while at the same time the regional scope of source and host countries has diversified (Verbik 2007: 14). For a list of current branch campuses worldwide see http://www.globalhighered.org/branchcampuses.php (retrieved 6 November 2013).

[34] The following quote is a good example for what the author would consider an intermingling of the meanings of inter- and transnationalization with regards to higher education: “Im Hinblick auf Transnationalisierungsprozesse in der Wissenschaft, die sich gegenwärtig als Folge der Internationalisierung der Hochschulen vollziehen und sich in der steigenden weltweiten Mobilität von Studierenden, Forschenden und Lehrenden dokumentieren, sind auch Perspektiven auf Meso-Ebenen der Transnationalisierung innerhalb der Wissenschaftsorganisation sowie für die veränderten transnationalen Bedingungen der Wissenschaftskommunikation zu berücksichtigen” (Bauschke-Urban 2009: 41). The author would interpret transnationalization as a consequence of the exchange between nations – in that case mobility; mobility would be the prerequisite for transnational processes whereas Bauschke-Urban in this quote comprises under the transnationalization of higher education also increasing mobility of students, researchers and teaching staff.

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universities in particular, resulting from different forms of activities that cross the borders of the nation-state and new forms of international collaboration against the framework of different national higher education settings. This is what this dissertation research attempts to do by studying the South African transformation process in the field of higher education as well as one particular South African university.

It is assumed that transnationalization processes in the form of actively transnationalizing a university or a national system of higher education may form part of the set of strategies to meet the challenges of national transformation and globalization. As stated in Chapter 1, transnationalization, therefore, has a double meaning. It can mean the involvement in a process of transnationalization (e.g. with a view to the presence of worldwide trends in higher education) as well as a conscious activity "to transnationalize" (e.g. to become part of worldwide higher education by learning from and adopting international trends). In other words, transnationalization goes along with the conversion or translation of external phenomena into internal ones. It can mean the import of external standards and measurements, followed by a process of adoption and resulting in their institutionalization (as it can mean the export of standards, which in this study, however, will not be explicitly addressed). The import can happen both on the national as well as on the institutional level. A prerequisite for these learning and adaptation processes are traditional forms of internationalization, academic mobility and exchange between nation-states.

2.5 Approaching Processes of Transnationalization and "the Transnational" in Higher Education Research

Different disciplines have dealt with the transnationalization in higher education in one way or another. Subsequently, an overview of selected studies from different disciplinary backgrounds will be provided. They can be read as point of departure for the approach this research is going to develop in the final section of this chapter in order to deal with "the transnational" in individual higher education institutions as well as for analysing "the transnational" in South African university politics between 1990 and 2010.

The two historians Esther Möller and Johannes Wischmeyer from the Leibniz Institute of European History Mainz in their edited volume "Transnationale Bildungsräume: Wissenstransfers im Schnittfeld von Kultur, Politik und Religion" (2013) have, for example, united a number of contributions on transfer processes, contact, communication and mutual observation of education experts and institutions between nation-states in different parts of the world during the 19th century. In the introduction to the volume, they stated that the goal of this engagement with alternative educational concepts was usually the improvement of the domestic system. Of equal importance, however, was often an interest in the international presentation and promotion of own standards. This can be explained with national prestige orientation and with the consolidation of power and cultural interpretational sovereignty in the context of colonialism (Möller and Wischmeyer 2013: 7f). These objectives held equally true for the movement of ideas in higher education between different country contexts. They are exemplified in studies on the reference to what was perceived as the German university model (or rather elements of it, if at all) in the course of the 19th century (e.g. the

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contributions to the edited volume by Schwinges et al. “Humboldt international” [2001] or Marc Schalenberg’s “Humboldt auf Reisen? Die Rezeption des 'deutschen Universitätsmodells' in den französischen und britischen Reformdiskursen (1810–1870) [2002]), on the relation between the (higher) education systems in France and Germany in the second half of the 19th century (e.g. Middell 2000: 21f; Espagne 1993) as well as on the omnipresent reference to the American model in the 20th century (e.g. Paulus 2010), to name but some examples. These studies also draw on the concept of cultural transfer (also known as “transfert culturel” or “Kulturtransfer”).[35] Walter Höflechner (2001) and Mitchell Ash (2001), in the context of reflecting the adoption of what was perceived as the German university model during the 19th century, underlined that it is usually not an exhaustive transfer of whole models from a context of origin to a context of destination but rather an integration of single elements and ensembles of resources worthy of imitation.[36] Hence, not all similarities between systems are inevitably caused by a takeover. It is, furthermore, necessary to ask whether it is really about transfer and takeover or maybe rather about exchange and finally about change on both sides as a result of merging and amalgamation processes. It must be assessed whether the result is a copy, a synthesis, syncretism or a new creation (Ash 2001: 336; Paulus 2010: 28; see also Fuchs 2006a,b and 2012 on educational history as international and global history and transnational perspectives on educational research). Also the dimensions of transfers must be carefully looked at. Is it a takeover of structure or of content, or is it rather a transfer, based on evident example settings and ideals as well as the perception of deficits? This aspect had been addressed by Paulus (2010) in his research about the American influence on German science after the Second World War. Drawing on the above presented culture transfer concept, he highlights that in order for a transfer of culture or ideas to happen there must have existed a feeling of crisis on the side of the recipient as decisive trigger (Paulus 2010: 26ff) – or to speak with the political scientists a “dissatisfaction with the status quo” – as a catalyst to search for quick and cheap solutions to perceived policy failure and public policy problems (Dolowitz and Marsh 2000: 14).

Thus, it is not only historians and cultural scientists who study transfer processes between science systems. There has been a growing interest by political scientists and social

[35] This approach was initially developed by the French German studies as part of cultural studies during the 1980s (see Espagne and Werner [1985, 1987, 1988]), in order to present an alternative to the traditional comparative approaches, and received considerable attention and appreciation during the 1990s (Espagne 2000: 42; Middell 2000: 7). The cultural transfer has become an established research branch which seeks to describe cultural encounters between clearly demarcated cultures, resulting in interaction and cultural exchange as well as in the mixing of objects, ideas and concepts (Middell 2001: 17). The concept is based on the assumption that the way Western cultures import and adopt foreign approaches and texts as well as the forms, values and modes of thinking have not sufficiently been researched. Furthermore, it is assumed that these questions can neither be satisfactorily addressed by systematic comparisons nor by analysing the influences of one culture on the other alone and thus need an additional transfer approach (ibid.). Middell describes that the receiving culture initially emphasizes cultural foreignness. Over time this foreignness and the related heterogeneity are systematically hidden, thus resulting again in a homogenous imagination of the receiving culture (ibid: 22). The underlying process is a complex intellectual operation. It starts with the self-description of cultures as distinct entities, continues to explore similarities that were caused by empirically proven cultural interaction and seeks to reveal the hidden heterogeneity as part of the imagined homogeneity (ibid: 17). Michel Espagne thus formulated the idea that the transfer approach is a form of a backward-looking deconstruction of certain identity conceptions (Espagne 2000: 44).

[36] These reflections equally apply to university foundations in the context of colonialism, which will be discussed in Chapter 4.

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scientists in describing and analysing the influence of arrangements and ideas of one political setting on another one (Holzinger and Knill 2005) – differently labelled as lesson drawing, policy diffusion, borrowing or learning, policy emulation or transfer or even as policy convergence (Dolowitz and Marsh 2000: 5) – and for different policy fields.[37] What political scientists in this field usually have in common is an interest in processes of decision making that promote the mobility of ideas from one context to another. It is against the background that these processes are contended to have changed during the last decades of the recent phase of globalization towards new and more opportunities to transferring ideas more easily and quicker (Smith et al. 2002: 449). In order to study this kind of transfer processes in a certain policy field, it is necessary to make out why, by whom and how the learning or borrowing was induced and which elements moved from one context to another – if at all (ibid: 450). Especially the agents of the policy transfer are in the focus of analyses, as they play an important role in analysing a certain problem and in searching for solutions – if necessary by looking to other political systems (Dolowitz and Marsh 2000: 12; see also Stone 2004). However, empirical studies on policy convergence suggest that even though frequently observed the extent and the degree of convergence are rather disputed and that the translation of policy ideas and practices from one context into another is far from straightforward (Heichel et al. 2005: 834f). A vivid example for policy transfers in the field of higher education, made popular by Slaughter and Leslie (1997) with their book “Academic Capitalism”, would be the spread of market approaches into the universities, initially fostered by the restrictive public policies of Thatcher and Reagan in the 1980s resulting in financial cuts for universities. Market approaches towards governing universities were since increasingly used by some British, American and Australian universities to diversify their income. This is of course but one example for the area of higher education, which does not apply to all regions and all institutions in the world.

As similar as the terms used by political scientists and the ones used by the above described research concept cultural transfer may appear, the particular points of departure, methods and interpretations of the results would have to be unpacked. Not least the concept of policy diffusion and the spread of norms from one point of origin, largely promoted by the international relations literature, and thus related ideas of democracy export and underlying power imbalances are not compatible with the concept of culture transfer. This is in contrast to the public policy literature and its focus on the transfer of knowledge which is more interested on the underlying dynamics of adoption (Stone 2004: 546ff).

An example of approaching “the transnational” in national higher education quantitatively comes from Sociology. In their attempt to empirically measure the degree of transnationalization of the German society, Gerhards and Rössel (1999) have tried to determine the degree of the transnationalization of the science system in the 1990s. What they define as transnationalization is the relation between the internal and the external interaction of a societal subsystem (such as the science system). Communication processes and transactions that cross the boundaries of a nationally constituted society from the

[37] Educational policy borrowing has been addressed, for example, by Phillips (2000) and Phillips and Ochs (2003 and 2004) and in the study on Americanization and UK higher education by Smith et al. (2002).

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outside to the inside and vice versa play a particularly prominent role in that regard (ibid: 327). Their approach is based on two indicators: firstly, the frequency of co-authorship of scientific publications with authors from at least two different countries compared to the total amount of publications; and secondly, the relation of the foreign literature cited in a publication in comparison to the whole bibliographic information. Co-authorship, according to them, is the more demanding form of transnationalization as it is more difficult to organize. The data basis includes German journals for Sociology, Philosophy and Chemistry in the year 1996 and 1997 respectively (ibid: 328). Gerhards and Rössel found that, differentiated by subjects, the Natural Sciences disciplines displayed a larger degree of transnationalization than Sociology and Philosophy; co-publishing as well as the citation of foreign literature is far more common in the Natural Sciences than in the Social Sciences and Humanities. Even though the authors are aware of the different nature of the subjects they analysed, e.g. regarding different disciplinary paradigms, methods and the role of language, a quantitative approach of analysing transnationalization processes with a limited number of parameters and indicators bears the risk of reducing complexity by hiding important aspects. This example is thus representative of the difficulties in measuring degrees of transnationalization. On the societal level, Gerhards and Rössel explain different degrees of transnationalization by a varyingly strong infrastructure of communication, which results in different transaction costs. These transaction costs may be lowered but also heightened through (national or institutional) regulations as well as through incentives. The authors finally emphasize that it is the rational action of individuals influenced by their personal interests as well as the nature of their fields of study that foster the dynamic of transnationalization; individuals, therefore, are first and foremost the actors or drivers of transnationalization with institutions, however, being capable to either facilitate or exacerbate transnational activities (ibid: 328ff).

The same difficulty concerning measuring transnationalization goes for the idea of “A Transnationality Index for Higher Education Institutions” (Connelly et al. 2010)[38], which was developed in order to determine how transnational individual HEIs are. The three authors of this OBHE study, Stephen Connelly, Jim Garton and Alan Olsen have a background in higher education management of the big Australian universities active in the provision of transnational education as well as in consulting. Their index is based on approaches from Economics, especially from international trade and the measurement of “the share of an entity’s operations that are located outside its home country” (ibid.). A set of questions in different categories relating to an institution of higher education, e.g. strategy, intellectual capital, logistics and client experience, would have to be answered in order to empirically determine the transnationality of an institution. The index would then, according to the authors, allow for the establishment of profiles for individual institutions and inter-institutional comparisons, but it could as well be used as guide and planning tool for future institutional goals. Similar to the quantitative approach of Rössel and Gerhards, such a purely parameter-dominated approach to determine the degree of transnationalization would overshadow a number of non-measurable processes.

[38] See http://www.obhe.ac.uk/documents/view_details?id=851 [retrieved 26 November 2012].

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What this work will take from the presented studies is the approach to analyse processes of transformation in higher education on the national level with a view to how change is legitimized through external referencing of what are perceived as successful role models. For the national South African context, the author will be looking at which higher education systems have been referred to in policy documents designed after the political change to initiate reform and, therefore, how "the transnational" can be made visible in the policy papers and thus in university politics (Chapter 6). To *measure* the transnationality of a certain science system, as done by the mentioned sociologists or to generate a transnationality index of the case university, however, is not appropriate for answering the research questions. This work will explore the manifestation of the transnational, in particular of transnational learning and adoption processes resulting from the observation and perception of international trends in higher education, in a national as well as an institutional higher education setting. Co-authored publications, however, will play a role in that regard. So will the assumption that it is rational individuals contributing to the transnationalization of a society or an institution, whose behaviour can be influenced by incentives.

2.6 Dealing with "the Transnational" in Individual Higher Education Institutions

How this dissertation makes visible "the transnational" within a particular university will be detailed in this paragraph. It concerns the three core functions of the university: the research, the teaching and the service[39] function as well as management structures and approaches to governing a university.

For the area of research, different examples for its transnationalization are conceivable. They range from research of an international scope, the involvement of academics in transnational collaborative research consortia and networks and the joint supervision of PhD candidates to the publishing of articles in international journals and co-authorship with colleagues from other countries. They also include national and institutional measures to regulate and incentivize border-crossing activities, e.g. faculty reward systems for international publications, co-authorship, the participation in international consortia and networks or the organization of international workshops and conferences.

The offering of joint study programmes by two or more HEIs from different national contexts, as for example promoted by the European Commission's Erasmus Mundus programme, is particularly pertinent for what the author would call the transnationalization of the teaching function. To initiate, for example, a joint master's programme, an extensive negotiation process on all sides involved becomes indispensable. It necessitates the harmonization of, as the case may be, different (institutional and/or national) approaches towards the provision of higher education – of registration, curricula, assessments and degrees – and the bringing together of different measurements and standards. An important element in the preparation of such a joint undertaking is the development of the curriculum. The local curriculum in the field of the master's degree may be enriched through the incorporation of foreign modules, thus making the offering for students more heterogeneous (Obst et al. 2011; Tarazona

[39] Internationally, the service mission or the so-called third leg of universities is also referred to as the knowledge transfer function or, as is the case in South Africa, as community service or community engagement (see also the edited volume by Imman and Schuetze [2010]).

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2012). Joint teaching and the joint development and use of common course material may be part of the curriculum development. The introduction of common ritual practices in a joint study programme, such as joint opening or closing ceremonies and summer or winter schools, is another example of adoption processes as are the harmonization of the dealing with common problems, such as plagiarism, the harmonization of general requirements and assessments, or the recognition of achievements carried out abroad. Joint supervision of master's theses is another important aspect. At the strong end of the scale are joint degrees, where the student registers at all institutions involved so that the degree can in the end be jointly awarded. In between, there may be different forms of collaborative teaching processes, such as double degrees or joint certification. The joint issuing of degrees by different institutions involve adaptation and learning processes on all sides involved and, occasionally, translation processes between different systems of higher education and between the participating institutions. Hence, it implies much more than pure international mobility as, for example, represented in the occasional invitation of guest lecturers from abroad. It can, however, be seen as a continuation of internationalization processes, yet, containing an additional dimension, a new level of cooperation and partnerships.

For the service function, observable transnational influences include the extent to which a university openly addresses the needs not only of the local community but of a community that also crosses the borders of the nation-state. It implies consultant work on matters of international scope as well as discourses about redress for people outside the borders of the nation-state.

From the viewpoint of the individual university participating in such joint programmes and encouraging innovative forms of collaboration and higher education delivery, it equally means that the development of curricula, supervision and the conferring of degrees, research contents etc., no longer lies with any one institution. It is a joint responsibility and threatens to escape from the control of the individual institutions. This has implications for their management and administration, which may be disturbed through the apparent external pressure and which tend to increase measures of central oversight, control and regulation. In many universities, "internationalization" has become a management function, characterized by strong central leadership while it is inevitably carried out by academic staff (Taylor 2010a: 107). Universities develop, for example, formal institutional strategies of internationalization and different kinds of guidelines. They tend to prioritize certain activities and particular regions of collaboration. They adapt organizational structures and professionalize leadership in reaction to the opportunities and threats of internationalization, which is exemplified in the creation of central international offices, marketing and recruitment units, divisions for planning and quality control and fundraising offices as well as the extension of tasks of central leadership towards internationalization. They, furthermore, establish incentive and reward systems for individual academics to participate in pursuing the central strategy and in reaching the targets. All of this is in order to avoid being left behind internationally as well as in expectation of improving the international reputation of the institution (see also Taylor 2010a,b). The final consideration is thus the way in which the management of an institution is dealing with transnational influences. To what extent do the observation and adoption of

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international trends in higher education have an impact, both on management practices and the professionalization of HEIs as well as on the motivation and behaviour of individuals on different levels of an institution, e.g. leaders and senior managers, deans and faculty heads as well as individual academics?

The examples and possible manifestations of processes of transnationalization in the core functions of the university constitute new forms of dealing with the global in a situation in which borders have become less defining factors. Yet, they only replace older forms of handling the global when internationalization was done through agreements between nation-states and not on the level of institutions, programmes or individuals.

2.7 Conclusion: The Transnationalization of Higher Education

This chapter has located this research within discourses on globalization and the spatial turn debate. It has reflected on the term transnationalization and its usage in different disciplines. It has demonstrated that there are many approaches related to the global in higher education, which enter the field in quick succession. There are many concepts and terms in use that are rarely systematically developed nor consistently utilized. As a result, they are neither thoroughly handled nor understood. The chapter has sought to provide a state of the art on research and discourses about internationalization processes, including a description of newer forms of border-crossing collaborations and activities in higher education, such as transnational education, as well as the consequences they are producing.

Founded on this literature review, the starting point of this study was that in higher education, processes of transnationalization have gained in importance recently and that they exist side by side with internationalization processes and related phenomena. The term transnationalization of higher education, according to the author's understanding, should, however, cover more than transnational or offshore education, as explained above. It should encompass the new interconnectivity of universities and higher education systems resulting from the mobility of people, programmes and ideas. Research on the transnationalization of higher education, therefore, should also focus on transnational learning and adoption processes within institutional and national higher education settings that are enabled through various kinds of border-transcending activities and – particularly important – the actors participating in these processes. This is exactly the heart of dissertation research, to analyze these processes for the South African higher education context and one of South Africa's public universities.

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Chapter 3: Methodological Approach and the Realization of the Study

This chapter details how the mix of methods and instruments used for this study was deducted from the central research question, the subset of related questions as well as from the theoretical state of the art. It will give an insight into how central concepts for the project were translated into research techniques and how this resulted in a questionnaire that was used to conduct semi-structured qualitative interviews as well as in an approach to analysing documents. The chapter will reflect the realization of the research – doing an interdisciplinary study by analyzing documents and conducting interviews – as well as the evaluation of the source material and its analysis. It will address challenges and problems that arose during the acquisition of the material as well as during its interpretation.

3.1 The Need for an Interdisciplinary Approach to Study Universities in a Globalizing World – Research Design, Methods and Instruments

As we lack a well-founded understanding of how individual higher education institutions (HEIs) deal with the challenges of globalization and changing (national and global) environments, how they reflect these processes and what sort of reactions and strategies are being developed to control the situation, this thesis, on the basis of a reconstructive single case study design (Yin 2009), attempts to provide a process-accompanying analysis and critical reflection of how change has been brought about. The aim of this research is to deliver an empirically well-substantiated description of processes of change management occurring within an individual HEI in a context of transformation and globalization, in this case Stellenbosch University (SU) in South Africa. It has to be noted once again that SU should not be considered as representative of the whole South African higher education sector or of a certain type of university. It is one example of how universities may address global challenges and external pressures. In order to reach the aim of the study and to answer the set of research questions developed in the introduction, the study had to work interdisciplinarily and was, therefore, faced with the difficulty that no single coherent methodology for studying universities in a situation of transformation and in a globalizing world existed. As a consequence, different disciplinary traditions and conventions had to be mobilized for this project.

To begin with, the study adopted a more open-ended qualitative approach as a qualitative approach allows for both highly descriptive as well as exploratory material.[40] It bears in mind the social constructedness of institutions (and of this study) as well as the complexity of causal relationships (Hesse-Biber and Levy 2006).[41] As a consequence, a qualitative

[40] Some social scientists would refer to the material as data and speak of data collection (Lamnek 2005; Mayring 2010). However, this language invites an objectivist understanding of reality, which the author considers problematic, as it does not live up to the complexity of the research project.

[41] In contrast to quantitative designs, qualitative research aims at producing descriptive detail, focuses on contexts and processes and is, therefore, typically applied on the micro level and/or for case study designs. The chief object is to generate an in-depth contextual understanding of an issue (Bryman 2004: 281f) that aims at the reconstruction of processes and developments as well as at their interpretation. It is usually the actors that are in the centre of qualitative research – especially of qualitative interview techniques but also regarding context

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research and a flexible and exploratory approach, using a mix of methods, were deemed most appropriate. Such a triangulation of different methods and information enables a broader perspective on the research problem and complementary or even contradictory constructions of certain phenomena (Flick 2011).

Source material, such as different kinds of national and institutional documents and speeches, was essential for this research. Its investigation was guided by qualitative content analysis (Mayring 2000, 2010). In addition to the analysis of documents and speeches, semi-structured qualitative interviews were conducted. Qualitative interviews allow best for a process-accompanying analysis of current changes as the researcher, when working on contemporary history, cannot yet rely on well-ordered archives. Interviews were, therefore, used to fill information gaps but also to see how the interviewees would express their experiences linguistically. The problem-centred interview as part of a problem-related research technique (Witzel 1985; Witzel 2000; Lamnek 2005: 363ff) had been selected as point of departure. This is a theory generating approach, which – in contrast to other purely inductive interview techniques – implies that the researcher enters the research field with a theoretically inspired concept which is open for modification through the answers and views of the interviewees. A typical characteristic of this technique is the combination of a deductive and inductive approach (Lamnek 2005: 364). The problem-centred interview is a partly standardized and semi-structured questioning of individuals on the basis of an interview guide with a fully formulated introductory question and a prepared set of themes to be explored. The interviewer exclusively works with open-ended questions to stimulate a phase of narration on the side of the interviewee, similar to the proceedings of historians when using oral history (Hoopes 1979); s/he does not, however, lay open his/her theoretical assumptions. The narration of the interviewees may be interrupted in order to ask for clarification, further explanation, to offer interpretations or to test hypotheses (Lamnek 2005: 366). The order of topics may be changed during the interview and new questions are allowed to be brought up in the course of research. Part of the problem-centred interview is a short standardized questionnaire that allows for the systematic collection of biographical data before or after the narrative phase (Witzel 1985). By conducting interviews, the researcher thus generated an additional set of sources to be handled with qualitative content analysis.

3.2 Analysing the Transformation and Transnationalization of a University

In a first step, the negotiations around transforming the South African higher education sector were analysed on the basis of six major research reports and national policy papers in the field of higher education[42] as well as on expert interviews[43] in order to provide the national

information in qualitative document analysis. It is the actors' points of view and perspectives on an issue and what they consider important which form the interview and document material, usually comprehensive and rich in detail, and, therefore, the basis of the associated systematic text analysis (Lamnek 2005: 364; Mayring 2010). To speak with Flick et al. (2009: 14), a qualitative approach is a good exploratory strategy to enhance the understanding of social realities, of processes, structures as well as (subjective) perspectives by relying on lived realities "from the inside" which is from the perspective of the actors themselves.

[42] They are the ANC "Policy Framework for Higher Education and Training" (published for public comment in 1994 prior to the first democratic elections in April 1994), the final report of the National Commission on Higher Education "A Framework for Transformation" (1996), the Green Paper on Higher Education Transformation (1996), the Education White Paper 3 "A Programme for Higher Education Transformation" (1997), the CHE

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background against which to draw the case study. In a second step, Stellenbosch University's development between 1990 and 2010 was reconstructed with a view to national transformation and its international opening. This reconstruction relied on a variety of sources, mostly university documentation on decision making from the Senate and the Council meetings, including strategic plans, mission and vision statements and organigrams, but also rector's speeches, official University material (e.g. annual reports, yearbooks, official brochures, flyers, and newsletters as well as the advertisements for the positions of rectors and vice rectors) as well as media coverage from the period under investigation[44]. Therefore, the documents were searched through on the basis of topics as well as on the basis of key words. Topics included everything related to the foundation and development of SU's International Office and its strategic positioning within the University from 1990 to 2010 (including everything connected to what the institution defined as internationalization, e.g. international mobility and international partnership agreements as well as newer developments in the 2010s, such as joint programmes or joint degrees, international accreditation or the strategic management of internationalization at SU) and specific projects with an international dimension (such as the African Doctoral Academy or SU's Business School). Furthermore, they covered negotiations and decision making around the transformation and (international) repositioning of SU after 1990 as well as the elections of new rectors and vice rectors between 1990 and 2010. Key words looked for embraced global/-ization, international/-ization, transnational/-ization, knowledge society/economy, international trends in higher education. How the category "space" was negotiated at SU and how different spatial references to the global, the regional, the national or the local were utilized to legitimize change was of particular interest.

In addition, the study wanted to illustrate how different members of SU understood their environment with a view to the dual challenge of transformation and transnationalization. To this end, interviews with different stakeholders of the institution were conducted in August 2010 and May 2012. The qualitative interviews had several purposes: firstly, to reveal how the interviewees as representatives of SU would read and interpret processes of globalization, internationalization and transnationalization in a context of deep societal transformation and how they would express their perceptions; secondly, to fill information gaps by identifying strategic institutional approaches at different times and thirdly, to also get an idea of personal experiences of different faculty members with and perceptions of internationalization and transnationalization. The group of interviewees was composed of members of management and administration, lecturers, and students. They covered the then rector and vice chancellor, all three vice rectors, five out of nine senior directors, seven out of

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document "Towards a New Higher Education Landscape" (2000) and the National Plan on Higher Education (2001).

[43] The author is drawing on interview transcriptions from the CHET publication "Transformation in Higher Education – Global Pressures and Local Realities in South Africa" (2004) (see References and Source Material) as well as on interviews with former stakeholders that were conducted in August and September 2011.

[44] As has been explained, the focus of the study was on the period between 1990 and 2010. However, it was indispensable to also consult institutional documentation (e.g. the minutes from the Senate and Council meetings as well as Research Reports) on the period before 1990, especially with regard to SU's international relations, its international embeddedness and the role of international mobility, so as to better understand from where this University was departing regarding its journey of internationalization post-1990.

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ten deans and vice deans respectively and a number of professors from the faculties. Among the interviewees were also former members of the University, such as a previous vice chancellor and previous vice rectors as well as previous professors (some of them occupied positions in the national higher education or science system at the time of interviewing). And they included representatives of national higher education bodies for an outside perspective on the institution, who were interviewed in August and September 2011. Their selection was, therefore, not random but purposive.[45] In total, 42 out of the 52 interviews were conducted with current SU stakeholders and another five with former members. Seven out of the 52 formal interviewees were representing the national higher education system, such as the Council on Higher Education (CHE), its Higher Education Quality Committee (HEQC), the National Research Foundation (NRF), Higher Education South Africa (HESA) – the body of Higher Education Leadership, representing all the Vice Chancellors of South African Institutions of Higher Education, furthermore the Cape Higher Education Consortium (CHEC) and representatives of other South African universities. Among the interviewees were three who had participated in South Africa's National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE) in the 1990s.[46]

All potential interview partners were asked via e-mail for the opportunity of a talk of approximately an hour on SU and its internationalization. The interview situation usually started with a short explanation of the research project and the academic background of the researcher. All interviewees were asked permission to be recorded during the conversation, and they were given the assurance to be only quoted anonymously, if not otherwise agreed upon.[47] "What comes to your mind when you think of the joint training of students involving lecturers from institutions outside South Africa, joint teaching as well as joint research and joint publications?" This was the first question posed to all those interviewed from SU. It was designed for stimulating the narrative phase and for screening the field of international and transnational activities within the University and their interpretation from an individual perspective. It was deliberately posed in that broad form to open the field of internationalization and transnationalization from a wide angle, leaving space for every interviewee to emphasize the area he or she thinks to be most important, also in terms of challenges for daily work and of university structures. The interviews further addressed international mobility, international partnerships, consortia and research networks as well as experiences in joint teaching and research. They tried to answer the following questions: Who are the actors of internationalization/transnationalization? Where does internationalization/transnationalization take place? And: How is

[45] Participants were initially selected after consultation with representatives from the University's Division for Institutional Research and Planning in 2010. In the course of research, additional individuals were identified to whom it was worth to talk regarding the internationalization and transnationalization of the University and in order to get to better understand its development and transformation after 1990.

[46] A short description of the interviewees is provided in Appendix 3. Besides the formal interviews, discussions had taken place on various occasions during the different periods of field work with additional members of SU and of other South African HEIs.

[47] When citing the transcriptions of interviews in this thesis, the author will generally refer to the interview number only. Some interviewees, however, agreed to be quoted directly on certain interview passages, e.g. regarding the formation of SU's International Office and development of internationalization at SU. In these cases, the author will not provide the interview number to not allow drawing conclusions if the same interviewee is referred to elsewhere anonymously.

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internationalization/transnationalization practised? In the centre of the interviews lied the University's internationalization/transnationalization and the role internationalization/transnationalization play with regard to the core functions of a university, research, teaching, service/knowledge transfer as well as for the management and for the self-perception of the institution. While the interviews first and foremost focused on the re-opening of the institution after 1990 to the global university world, the respondents' appraisals considering the general development of the University during the 1990s and 2010s (and even in the period before 1990) and its adaptation strategies in dealing with national transformation form part of the material. After the interview, a printed standardized questionnaire (see Appendix 1) was left with those interviewees who were either deans or vice deans of a faculty or who were active professors. Respondents were invited to give information about their institutional environments as to which certain (international and transnational) activities in teaching, research, community interaction, with regard to recruiting international students and academic staff as well as to regulating and incentivizing internationalization were practiced in the different areas and since when (or not yet).[48] A total of 17 questionnaires were completed (eleven of them by deans or vice deans of the faculties).[49] On their basis, a more systematic overview of activities could be generated covering nine out of SU's ten faculties.[50] The information gathered allowed drawing conclusions on what activities took place in 2010, since when and to what extent, but also on which programmes or parts of the University were not (yet) subject of transnationalization (according to the definition developed in Chapter 2).

Experts of the South African higher education system were asked about their perception of SU's internationalization and transformation from an outside perspective, their individual role and involvement in the restructuring process of higher education as well as about decision making and context information in the field of higher education. The interview guideline was different in these cases; the standardized questionnaire (designed for SU's members only) was not used.

[48] Relating to what has been worked out in Chapter 2.6, the questionnaire covered 15 activities related to the transnationalization of teaching (e.g. joint degree programmes with universities outside South Africa, joint teaching, joint curriculum development or the harmonization of teaching contents, assessments or the delivery of education programs abroad), nine items in the field of research (e.g. third stream income from outside South Africa, international research collaboration, joint publishing with non-South African colleagues), five points related to community interaction (e.g. problem-solving in Africa, community interaction outside the borders of South Africa), questions on international recruitment and activities regarding the institutional dealing with internationalization and the existing infrastructures. Respondents were asked to tick either yes, no or not yet and, in the case of yes, to state since when the activity was taking place.

[49] Only professors and deans were asked to complete the questionnaire in order to explore differences in the different faculties. It was neither completed by the representatives of the Rector's management team nor by those interviewed from the Postgraduate and International Office, the Research Division, from Student Support or by students. Some of the interviewed professors were not able to complete the questionnaire for time reasons. One dean, the dean of the Faculty of Theology, was not interviewed but he was asked to complete the questionnaire anyway and send it back to the researcher via e-mail, which he did.

[50] During three research stays, it was not possible to get in touch with representatives of the Faculty of Military Sciences, as its campus is located at Saldanha Bay, two hours drive away from the main campus. The Faculty of Military Sciences, in addition, has a special status as it is most of all run by the South African Defence Force (SADF).

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The majority of interviews lasted for approximately an hour; the shortest was 30 minutes, the longest close to two hours. All interviews were recorded and later transcribed.[51] The transcriptions of the interviews were entered into the qualitative data analysis and research software Atlas.ti. In an open bottom-up coding process, based on Mayring's (2000) inductive category development, the text was allocated to one or more codes, most of all in reference to the semantic fields, keywords and concepts the interviewees had used. These categories were covering the wide range of topics brought up during the interviews and were clustered into the following themes: South African higher education issues, SU's core functions, its rectors, governing structures and ways of operation and – most importantly – everything relating in some way or another to the inter- and transnationalization of the University. These themes represented in large parts the different blocks of the interview guide that had been theoretically informed before going into the field. The coding process in itself can be considered a first analytical step in structuring and ordering the material. It contributed to identifying important themes and subthemes as well as tendencies, patterns and typologies that crystallized out of the material. After the coding process, a confident extraction of quotations from a certain category made a topic-oriented reading and interpretation of the transcripts possible.

3.3 Critical Reflection on the Research Process and the Researcher within the Process, on Methodological Limitations and Gaps in the Sources

The realization of the study has presented the researcher with several challenges. Initially, one of the major obstacles was that the majority of institutional documentation was only available in Afrikaans. During the course of the research, the researcher developed the capacity to read Afrikaans, made use of online translation tools for a better understanding of context and got the support from colleagues competent in Afrikaans. The closeness of Afrikaans to the author's mother tongue German finally ensured a good understanding of the documents' contents. Methodologically, the access to relevant decisions at the institutional level was difficult. Although the whole range of decisions on all aspects of SU had usually been recorded fairly comprehensively, there were two limitations: firstly, the minutes from the Senate and Council meetings were not available electronically – they had to be worked through page by page in hard copy in the relevant parts; and secondly, only final decisions were documented (plus in certain cases the decision submittals). To reconstruct discussions and debates around certain decisions was not possible on the basis of official institutional documents. This left a lot of space for different kinds of interpretation.

Conducting qualitative interviews was also challenging as the interviewer was continuously learning about the institution and its stakeholders and the individual environments of the interviewed persons. The fact that this research understood itself as a process-

[51] The interviewer gave particular emphasis to allowing the interviewees to also express their opinion off records. After every interview, the researcher took notes about the situation, the atmosphere, difficulties and about new topics that were brought to the table and that were considered significant enough to be included into the questionnaire. Especially at the beginning of conducting interviews it became obvious that some of the questions had to be reformulated or replaced within the interview guide. Taken together, these notes form some kind of a research diary and allow the reconstruction of the whole research process, the development of research as well as that of the researcher.

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accompanying analysis resulted in continuous confusion about terms and concepts. Especially at the beginning of the interview phase, when the field was just about to be explored, the interviewees often asked for clear(er) definitions of the concepts the author wanted to work with and what exactly the author wanted to know. As the study intended to get an understanding of phenomena in higher education related to the global the way the actors perceived and would term them, a continuous adaptation process of the interview guide, a more careful formulation of questions (such as the broadly put opening question) and the revision of topics in the course of the interview phase became necessary. A case in point for the latter, amongst others, was the Hope Project that SU had launched in summer 2010 shortly before the interview phase started. As this was obviously an important though ambiguous institutional project, different stakeholders shared their opinion about the campaign without the interviewer having asked for it.[52] Therefore, the Hope Project was formally covered by the interview guide with an additional question.[53] Furthermore, the transcultural setting and asymmetry in the interview situations must be addressed. The fact that the researcher, asking as a white female coming from Germany (and, therefore, from the global North that in the perception of some of the interviewees will never completely understand the local situation) may have created a certain form of distance and may also have provoked resistance by the respondents against their being reframed through this research. This might have influenced responses as well as the language used. In addition, the material collected from the conversations, and this is one of the confines of interview techniques, clearly demonstrates, that when actors are part of a change process they themselves maybe do not even realize, they quite understandably face difficulties in describing them. A final point to be noted was the difficulty to establish again a critical distance between the researcher on the one hand and the material from the interviewees on the other during the process of analysing and writing. Besides the subjectivity of the material, it was essential to continuously make oneself aware of the danger that what was said during the interviews only represented what was remembered and what interviewees were willing to share (see also the contributions to Obertreis 2011). Most of the quotations needed further contextualization and triangulation and a critical confrontation and cross-checking with the source material. To give meaning to the statements of the interviewees, to put them into perspective, to make interpretation offers and to reveal what may lay behind them was, therefore, the main objective and equally a challenging operation.

[52] For more details see Chapter 7.3.

[53] Other topics that were not originally present on the interview agenda but which became more important during the study were, first of all, the international academic boycott in the 1970s and 1980s, a perceived international isolation of South African academics and institutions as well as an increasing insularity of SU in particular and secondly SU's Afrikaans culture and the conflicts emanating the language issue. How the University nowadays contributes to nation-building and the repeatedly mentioned claim of being an excellent as well as a relevant university by all stakeholders of the institution and from outside also attracted additional attention.

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PART II: UNIVERSITIES AND HIGHER EDUCATION IN A GLOBALIZING WORLD

Chapter 4: Universities and Higher Education in a Globalizing World: Historical Dimensions and Recent Dynamics

This chapter sketches out a comparative background of university and higher education developments on the globe. This will allow an assessment of the extent to which the developments in South Africa follow particular characteristics of worldwide higher education development and to which they could be considered unique.

The first focus of this chapter will be the development of the university as an institution with its rapid worldwide proliferation and its border-transcending interconnectivity.[54] Such a brief overview will inevitably only work at a generic level and cannot point out all nuances and institutional variations with their specific regional and local characteristics. Hence, the purpose here is not to provide an exhaustive account of the history of the university but rather to identify the main traits of its development with regard to its worldwide interconnectedness. Of particular interest are, secondly, the international dimension, internationalization processes and especially the ups and downs in border-transcending and international academic mobility throughout history. This will be followed by a description of the dynamics in higher education during the recent phase of globalization and of how these dynamics were experienced in one specific region, namely in Africa.

Throughout this chapter the interplay between nation-building and the nationalization of the university and higher education on the one hand and processes of border-crossing connectedness on the other shall be particularly worked out.

4.1. Universities in a Globalizing World – Approaching the Development of the Institution Historically

The history of the university and the history of scholarship are embedded into a long-standing process of what is nowadays called globalization. Several authors have looked into its history (amongst others: Prahl 1978; Müller 1990; Rüegg et al. 1993, 1996, 2004, 2010; Hödl 1994; Schwinges 2001; Weber 2002; Koch 2008; Moraw 2008; Stichweh 2009). One of the most comprehensive approaches is the four part series “A History of the University in Europe” researching the development of the European university throughout eight centuries, written by a network of national correspondents under the general editorship of Walter Rüegg.[55] The second reference, on which this chapter heavily relies on, is Wolfgang Weber’s

[54] As explained in the introduction, this work focuses on universities as one expression of higher education institutions amongst others.

[55] The four volumes were a remittance work initiated in 1982 by the Confederation of the European Union Rectors' Conference in order to compile a summarizing history of the “European university”, based on the current state of research, addressing societal conditions and functions as well as structures and main problems comparatively. The volumes also include chapters on the spreading of higher education around the globe and the transfer of the idea of the institution to other continents through colonialism (Rüegg 1993: 14f).

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"Geschichte der europäischen Universität". These two publications present to date the most thorough overview of the history of the university. However, both of them are little connected to the current discourses on globalization. They only provide the broader framework for the research questions of this dissertation, which is why this chapter additionally relies on more extensive specialized literature.

The red thread of the presentation will be the different and competing university "models" in different times that were perceived as guiding or leading role models and points of orientation and that served as dominating reference for the creation of new universities as well as for reform and change. It will be argued that there seems to be a shift in the recent period of globalization from a uni-polar orientation to what could be called a multi-polar reference system.

Scholars of university history usually propose some form of periodization for the development of the institution. This work follows the breakdown proposed by Wolfgang Weber (2002). He comes up with four different phases: the Middle Ages (1180 to 1400) being the period of the first scholarly educational institutions in Christian Europe, followed by the territorial universities of the Early Modern Age (1400 to 1790) and the challenges faced through Humanism, Confessionalism and Enlightenment, succeeded by the Modern Age with the upcoming of the national university and the global expansion of the institution in the epoch of nation-building, state rivalries and the industrial society (1790 to 1990) and finally the present and current developments after the end of the Cold War.[56]

It is widely believed that Europe is the cradle of the university as a social organization. It is commonly recognized that the idea of the university as the oldest public place for the production, dissemination, procession, acquisition and cultivation of higher knowledge has its roots in medieval Europe with explicit reference to origins in Greek Antiquity (Rüegg 1993: 13; Hödl 1994: 14; Koch 2008: 7ff), but often ignoring other references. Interestingly enough, its basic structures and social roles have not only survived throughout the more than eight centuries of its existence, they have even been consolidated and extended, which is interpreted as a token of extreme adaptability to and its efficacy within new environments (Rüegg 1993: 13; Roberts et al. 1996: 232). Next to the Catholic Church, the university is regarded as the "least changed of institutions" (Kerr 2001: 115). It is described as the European institution "par excellence" (Rüegg 1993: 13) and as world historical accomplishment of European derivation (Weber 2002: 9). This is, however, only part of the story, as some would argue that the oldest university in the world is the Cairo-based Al-Azhar University, whose founding date as an Islamic learning centre goes back to 970 (Shils and Roberts 2004: 166), and that there are a couple of further and older examples of ancient

[56] The earlier mentioned compilation of Rüegg et al. proposes another division. Volume I is entitled "Universities in the Middle Ages" and covers the period from 1180 to 1500; the second volume examines the period between the reformation to the French Revolution, that is the time between 1500 and 1800, under the title "Universities in Early Modern Europe". Phase III is called "Universities in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century", and the final volume "Universities since 1945" analyses the post-war era. Peter Moraw (2008: 11ff) distinguishes only three phases of university history that are not so much to be understood chronologically but rather ideally: 1) the pre-classical phase dating from the origins of the institution until the second third of the 19th century; 2) the classical consolidated phase or golden age of the institution from around 1860/1870 to 1933; and 3) the post-classical phase starting with the coming into power of Hitler in Germany. What he proposes is to look at universities and their specific history horizontally, in other words at structures and processes of the institutions in specific times and spaces, and not necessarily from the viewpoint of a separated sector "university history" (ibid.).

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colleges and learning centres in Asia and Africa.[57] However, if one applies a definition of universities including the right to grant degrees (next to the dealing with complex higher knowledge within an association of lecturers and learners), which distinguishes the university from other knowledge generating institutions, the oldest universities are located in Europe.

The prototypes of the Middle Ages (1180 to 1400) were the universities of Bologna and Paris and later Oxford, founded in the 11th and 12th century. The universities of Bologna and Paris as communities of scholars and those eager for knowledge became prime examples for all other university foundations in the Medieval Age. Throughout the continent the university became a success story and expanded rapidly. The expansion of the institution resulted in Europeanization and Latinization, furthermore in the standardization of thought and communication on the basis of grammar and logic, and finally in rising intellectuality (Rüegg 1993: 23ff; Hödl 1994: 21ff; Weber 2002: 16ff).

The time between 1400 and 1790 is characterized by continued expansion – both in Europe as well as in the rest of the world. It was with the expansion of empires and European colonialism that the university left the European continent, and it was the European model that formed the prototype for many university creations outside Europe, where prior to European settlement, according to Roberts et al. (1996: 231), nothing similar to a university had existed. Hence, the institutions were no completely new creations but became offshoots of European university tradition and developed similarly to those in medieval Europe. However, they were faced by the challenge to adapt the European traditions to the new environments while at the same time the European prototypes themselves had become subject to change (ibid.). Latin American institutions are said to have been modelled after the oldest Spanish University Salamanca. The Sorbonne became the pattern for university creations in the francophone parts of North America. Institutions in early North America were based on Oxford and Cambridge, while the idea of British Civic Universities, in particular the University of London, was transferred to British colonies in Africa, Asia and Australia during the 19th century (ibid: 215f; de Wit 2002: 8; Shils and Roberts 2004: 145ff; Kim 2009: 389)[58]. In the framework of the colonization of the “new world”, the first universities were founded in Spanish America, such as the ones in Mexico and Lima (both 1551) (Roberts et al. 1996: 214). In the 19th and early 20th century, the idea of the university would travel around the rest of the world, including South Africa (Weber 2002: 82f; Shils and Roberts 2004: 145ff). Connected to what was perceived and transported by settlers as a European experience was the belief into the role of the university to bring welfare to society and that the university was part of a value system of a progressive culture and of modernity (Shils and Roberts 2004: 146; see also Goldschmidt 1987: 185ff). This is one reason why one after the other of the

[57] Examples of older centres of advanced learning would include, amongst others, the University of Al-Karaouine in Fes, Morocco, University of Nanjing, in China, founded around 258 B.C. (see http://collegestats.org/articles/2009/12/top-10-oldest-universities-in-the-world-ancient-colleges/; http://www.wisegeek.com/what-are-the-oldest-universities-in-the-world.htm [retrieved 23 July 2012]) or Nalanda University, established in the 7th century B.C. (see http://www.nalandaopenuniversity.com/about.html#history [retrieved 23 July 2012]). A history of African higher education with a focus on pre-colonial forms is provided by Ajayi et al. (1996), Lulat (2005) and Assié-Lumumba (2007).

[58] An overview of nine different types of universities as part of the British Empire and their linkages with one another is given by Newton (1924: 105f). He also provides a more detailed account of university creations and their background in the British Empire.

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majority of (independent) nation-states later initiated their own national projects of higher education with a primarily Euro-American orientation. In Japan, for example, Imperial Universities as well as private ones were established with reference to the German and the American models, in China also with reference to English ones. Institutions of higher learning in other countries became offshoots of other colonial powers (Rüegg 2010: 38).

Around 1600, more than 110 institutions had been founded in Europe, and its number augmented to 150 in 1700 (Weber 2002: 81). During the Early Modern Age, the university changed from a rather autonomous institution with its own goals to an institution responsive to societal needs and the market and, during the 18th century, to an institution of the pre-modern territorial state (see also Müller 1990: 45f). This process was paralleled by the growing importance of professional knowledge through studies as well as to the expansion of subjects to "useful disciplines" through state pressure (Weber 2002: 151). During the Early Modern Age, the institution slowly developed differently in different places, and it was increasingly integrated into the state apparatus (Frijhoff 1996: 80; Weber 2002: 72). According to Rüegg (2004: 18), it was, however, until the French revolution that the universities across Europe were largely congruent and similar to one another regarding structure and teaching contents. Until then, the university was a coherent European phenomenon with European elites communicating against the background of a common humanist knowledge base and a shared cultural background.

The Modern Age (1790 to 1990) was an epoch of accelerating change.[59] In the aftermath of the French revolution, the European university landscape experienced a far-reaching clearing-up and reorganization process insofar as higher education – quite under the sign of enlightenment – was expected to increasingly serve society directly, to impart practical knowledge and to offer more of a professional education. Whereas in 1789 there had been 143 universities in Europe, 25 years later this number had gone down to 83 due to this restructuring process (Rüegg 2004: 17). Rüegg (2010: 27) vindicates that this reformation was the major reason why the university did not disappear completely but instead would rapidly expand again and become the leading institution for the creation and delivery of knowledge. Rüegg (2004: 17f) suggested that it was the competition between the centralized Napoleonian model of state run special schools of higher education, such as the Grandes Ecoles, and the German university idea of the time, later connected to the name Wilhelm von Humboldt (based on solitude and freedom, on the unity of teaching and research as well as on the increasing importance of the creation of new knowledge as one of the university's core obligations), that smoothed the way from the pre-modern to the modern research university.[60] While at the beginning of the 19th century Paris had been the main centre for international scholars, it soon had been replaced by more liberal expressions of the

[59] Thus, Weber (2002) has proposed a division of this period into the following four phases: the phase of crisis and early reform (from the French Revolution to 1880); the phase of the national university (1880 to the 1918); the period from the end of the First World War to the end of the Second World War (1918 to 1945) and the Cold War period (1945 to 1990).

[60] As recent scholarship has convincingly shown, this story is a much too simplistic one, but it has led to a powerful mystification of the Humboldtian type of university, which has influenced developments outside Europe to a large extent (see Paletschek 2001, 2010; Jarausch 2008 and the contributions in vom Bruch 2010).

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university in Germany (Rüegg 2004: 19). The so-called modern university had already emerged in the second half of the 18th century with the German reform universities in Halle and Göttingen, based on different reform efforts in the individual German states and resulting competition between universities that were located in direct proximity to one another (Hardtwig 2001: 154f; Charle 2004: 55; Paletschek 2010: 30). It was less so stimulated by the ideas of Wilhelm von Humboldt and the so-called Humboldtian university model, which as the German historian Sylvia Paletschek (2001) has demonstrated has never existed as such during the 19th century and which was rather part of myth making after the turn of the century and an idealization of the German university around 1900 (see also Jarausch 2008: 35). However, the rise of the university in the 19th century continues to be retrospectively linked to the foundation of a modern university in Berlin in 1810 and to the name Wilhelm von Humboldt (Rüegg 2010: 28). In the course of the 19th century, the research component became more and more prevalent in the university, and it soon developed even into a priority next to the transfer of general knowledge and theoretical and academic vocational training. Alongside the expansion, differentiation and specialization of scientific disciplines, the imperative of research had developed particularly fast and intensively in Germany. According to Paletschek (2010: 32ff), this was due to a set of prerequisites. They included the beginning of nation-building processes, the federal system and situations of competition between universities, the mobility of students and professors that guaranteed a faster adoption of innovations and circumvented the traditional lethargy of the university system, but also increasing material welfare, bureaucratization and functionality of the society (see also Charle 2004: 56). All of this led to the German university model in the 19th century becoming the leading university model in Europe and the world. In the literature, the time between 1871 and 1914 and especially the 1880s are presented as the heyday of the "German university model" and German influence, which had become the dominating external reference point in different parts of the world and which also influenced the French and English models (Müller 1990: 86; Schwinges 2001: 9; Weber 2002: 156f; Charles 2004: 43; Rüegg 2004: 17f; see also the contributions in Schwinges 2001 and Schalenberg 2002). This went hand in hand with the triumphal procession of the *research university* in the late 19th century, following the successes in the Natural Sciences and Medicine, which resulted in a strong belief in progress (Weber 2002: 159).[61]

It was due to national rivalries of industrializing societies in the second half of the 19th century and increasing national prestige that the university became increasingly interwoven with the

[61] The international standing of German science, however, did not last, and discussions about crisis and reform of the university were on the table again at the turn of the century – most of all in the framework of threatening and strengthening foreign countries (vom Brocke 2001). Upcoming financial problems, the hierarchical structures, the male dominance and the exclusion of women from scholarship as well as the elitist and conservative character of the institution (versus the needs of an industrializing society) are part of the list of deficits (Paletschek 2010: 34ff). What Paletschek demonstrates is that the international standing of German science has been constructed at a later stage, namely after the First World War, when the treaties of Versailles referred to the loss of the international standing of German scholarship (ibid: 39ff). The former international standing continued to play a role during the time of the Weimar Republic and during National Socialism as a way to reactivate the national self-confidence but also as part of a crisis discourse to legitimate reform efforts. The arguments for the great German international renown were, however, not limited to fundamental research; they were also related to internationalization, expeditions, research of non-German regions and cultures as well as to the number of Nobel Prize winners (ibid.).

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nation-state, as object of national bureaucracy and national education policies and, in that context, as instrument for the production of industrial knowledge (Müller 1990: 82; Weber 2002: 157). Between the end of the French revolution and the end of the Second World War, almost all European universities increasingly lost their financial autonomy. Also universities who had been financially well off were increasingly financed and, therefore, controlled by national governments (Gerbod 2004: 83f). This process went hand in hand with the creation of national ministries of education. They developed curricula of national education, increasingly influenced the recruitment of professors, determined the number of professors and courses as well as exam and study regulations, and they even controlled research. Therefore, at the end of the 19th century, academic careers experienced a process of professionalization while scientific research increasingly became a professional and bureaucratically regulated, formalized and standardized activity. These processes were accompanied by the emergence and stabilization of university courses and the rise of the numbers of students and professors (Charle 2004: 76ff; Rüegg 2004: 20ff).[62] After the First World War, Oxford and Cambridge had remained the only partly autonomous universities in Europe (Gerbod 2004: 86). This was quite in contrast to institutions in the USA, where the Dartmouth College Case in the US Supreme Court (1819) had protected colleges and universities against government interference (Herbst 1983: 205).

The First World War had marked the end of European dominance in the world and paved the way for the rise of the United States of America (USA) to a world power (Osterhammel and Petersson 2005: 104; 107ff), also with respect to universities (Weber 2002: 160). The first higher education institution (HEI) in North America, the University of Harvard, had been established in the 17th century, based on the model of the University of Cambridge (Weber 2002: 82; Koch 2008: 110f)[63]. It was followed by a number of colleges after the USA had achieved independence from Great Britain in the 18th century. Through the land grant model and federal action in 1862, American universities received a major push and dedicated more and more efforts to their higher education and research.[64] Quite in line with what has been presented above, the period from 1810 to 1870 in the USA was characterized by an increasing attraction to the "German university model" (Kerr 2001: 164). During the 19th century, large numbers of Americans had visited schools and universities in Germany, where many of them had been trained as professors. They had brought back ideas to America and transformed them into something new. The foundation of Johns Hopkins University in 1876 and Clark University in 1878 are said to be a clear manifestation of the German influence on the American system and the introduction of the modern research university; they self-

[62] Student numbers at European universities in 1800 were at 80.000; in the 1930s they had increased to 800.000, including the Soviet Union (Charle 2004: 77).

[63] Its establishment goes back to the 1636 resolution by the Massachusetts General Court, the highest colonial authority, to found an institution of higher learning with the help of £400 endowment capital and on the basis of the British model; in 1639 it got the name Harvard College in honour of the clergyman John Harvard who himself had been educated at Emmanuel College in the University of Cambridge and who had been responsible for the donation (Roberts et al. 1996: 221).

[64] It was at first the existing private colleges, such as Columbia and Harvard, which experienced consistent further development so that they reached university status; the colleges of Yale and Princeton followed soon (Paulus 2010: 14). A number of other private universities were founded in the same period, such as Cornell and later Chicago and Stanford. Also a handful of state universities, Michigan, Wisconsin and California, came into being during the economic boom period of the 1890s (ibid.).

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portrayed themselves as “German-style” universities. Advanced study programmes with standards comparable to those in Germany were a major characteristic, and the first PhD conferred by Yale University in 1861 was deliberately imitating practices at German universities (Geiger 1993: 235; Turner 2001: 292).[65]

As a two-tiered vertical university, the American university had achieved its institutional form around 1910 (Geiger 1993: 238ff; Turner 2001: 290). Ten years later the USA had developed into the most dense, but also diverse and highly decentralized higher education system in the world (Geiger 1993: 245ff; Turner 2001: 291ff).[66] The Second World War further contributed to the USA’s transformation into an initiator of economic, political and cultural trends.[67] It constituted a global turning point, in which the USA as victors envisioned the creation of a new world order and a Pax Americana in a new age of enlightenment (Smith et al. 2002: 444; Osterhammel and Petersson 2005: 107ff). It was in that context that US universities accelerated their efforts to become world standard in higher education between 1940 and 1990 (Geiger 1993: 251; Kerr 2001: 165). This led to what many have termed the “Americanization” of higher education and the American model becoming the dominant reference point and source of legitimation in higher education reform discourses in the second part of the 20th century (e.g. Schalenberg 2001: 23; Altbach 2002: 5; de Wit 2002: 8; Smith et al. 2002: 443; Weber 2002: 164; Rüegg 2010: 38; 41ff).

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[65] The influence of the German model on the American system of higher education, however, is thoroughly contested. Historians, such as Marc Schalenberg (2001), declared the influence of the model as exaggerated or misunderstood, as leading to different local outcomes and manifestations and most of all as constructed in the recipient setting following a border-transcending search for options of improvement and thus a certain form of external ascription. Nonetheless, German universities strongly influenced American higher education up until the interwar period (Shils and Roberts 2004: 148; Paulus 2010: 15), especially resulting from the dismissals of Jewish scholars in Nazi Germany after 1933. Many of these academics chose to go into exile, mostly to overseas universities. America was one of the prime destinations and thus benefitted largely from the developments in Germany. The fact that the American system of higher education was chosen by many German academics also reflects its transition to a leading power in the world of scholarship (Paulus 2010: 15).

[66] In 1933 the number of academic staff had increased more than fivefold to over 22.000 academics in comparison to the 4.000 in 1903 (Joen 2002: 215).

[67] Internally, the Servicemen’s Readjustment Act (1944), which came to be known as the GI Bill of Rights, is worth to be mentioned in the context of this project. The Act was supposed to facilitate the reintegration of US American soldiers who had served during the Second World War into a post-war occupational life. Besides financial support and favourable credit conditions for housing and small businesses, the Act also ensured access to vocational and tertiary education, for which up to four years were funded by Congress, irrespective of the course or the place of study (Rose 2012: 26). Close to 8 million war veterans (51 percent) made use of the educational measures under the Act, of which 2.2 million went for college education or a graduate degree and the rest for vocational or on-the-job-trainings (Mettler 2005: 345). According to Mettler (2005: 351), 49 percent of all American college students were enrolled on the GI Bill (and almost 70 percent of all males). After the university had traditionally been reserved for the elites, it was now open to all those military veterans who fulfilled admission requirements, including those who would not have had any access to tertiary education as they belonged to ethnic or religious minorities or poorer parts of the American population. The Act, which constituted a continuation of public programmes for those who had fought in wars (Mettler 2005: 347ff), had provoked critical reactions from the universities, who feared the loss of standards through the acceptance of less-qualified and exotic applicants. Especially the presidents of Harvard and Chicago were in strong opposition to the Bill (Hymen 1986: 70; Mettler 2005: 353). This example of making university broadly accessible to previously less advantaged population groups should be kept in mind as the debates and some of the arguments against a widening access to the university would reappear in the post-apartheid South Africa. Overall, the US American Act is said to have had visible influences on the development of the American population structure, access to better education and consequently to better paid jobs as well as on the expansion of social citizenship and a democratic culture (Hymen 1986; Mettler 2005). In addition, some say the Act has been an inclusive policy contributing to redressing past inequalities (Suzanne Mettler) while others maintain, however, that it widened the income and wealth gaps between whites and blacks (Ira Katznelson) (Katznelson and Mettler 2008).

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A different university model emerged in the Soviet Union after the Second World War. The "Soviet model" regarded the university as the place for the formation of the socialist human being and for the development of a homogeneous society (Neave 2010: 50ff). Universities, even though still committed to research, were no longer regarded as the centres for research. After old university structures had been destroyed in the Soviet-communist area of power during the interwar period, a new system was introduced, in which a renewed separation of research and teaching was carried out. Fundamental research took place at so-called academies (Weber 2002: 161). Access to the university was regulated by the need for qualified labourers. In principle, the system was open for all those who wanted to study, however, with a positive discrimination against children from workers' and peasants' backgrounds (Neave 2010: 53).[68] According to Sosunova et al. (2010: 285), the Soviet Union was a closed science system not integrated into world science, as it rejected Western dominance. Yet, the Soviet model of building socialism also had an effect, for example, on China and its educational and science system (He 2010; Bernstein and Li 2010: 273ff) as well as naturally on higher education in the different Soviet socialist republics (see for example Titarenko 2010 for Belarus and Yegorov 2010 for Ukraine). However, it is most probable that similar to the other "university models" also the so-called "Soviet model" could be deconstructed and demystified through further research.

From the 1960s onwards, many Western countries opened up their elite based university systems to mass student populations, including students from minority religious or ethnic groups and most of all from socially less privileged backgrounds, as a university degree was increasingly regarded as a guarantee of social mobility. The expansion in the 1970s, therefore, was no longer solely linked to the material reproduction process of industrial societies and the well-being of societies: the many foundations of new universities became necessary with the increasing student demand (Neave 2010: 58; Rüegg 2010: 31). Along with the expansion from elite to mass higher education, the bureaucratization within the institutions and administrations was growing, and a lot of new higher education acts were passed. These changes had financial implications for national budgets. The money had to be distributed among more universities so that universities were forced to do more with the same (or even with less) resources. First financial cuts from the 1980s onwards followed. The prominent example for the latter is the UK, where the national budget for universities was reduced in 1982 by twelve percent for the next three years (Rüegg 2010: 31). Similar trends could be observed in other parts of the world. As a result, these cuts were accompanied by calls for restructuring universities, adjustment policies and increased efficiency of resource utilisation through improved institutional governance and approaches of new public management and by increasingly concentrating state funding in fields that were expected to contribute to innovation and economic competitiveness (Slaughter and Leslie

[68] In addition to the American GI Act of 1944, this constitutes a second example of the counter-privileging of previously disadvantaged groups of the population and which can thus be taken as case against which to compare the South African experience.

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1997: 14).[69] Even though less supported publicly, many HEIs found themselves in a situation of "greater political interference and concern" (Stohl 2007: 366). At the end of the 1980s, performance controls and quality assurance mechanisms were introduced, which soon expanded over to continental Europe (Rüegg 2010: 31f). The administration of scarcity and the need to diversify institutional income in the aftermath of decreasing fiscal contributions around the end of the Cold War was the beginning of what Slaughter and Leslie (1997), Clark (1998, 2001) and Marginson and Considine (2000) have later united under the labels "academic capitalism", "the entrepreneurial university" or the "enterprise university" and which made many universities increasingly transcend the boundaries of the national territory and challenge their sub-national setting, initially most obvious in the USA, the UK and Australia (see also Barnett 2011). A changing environment, also marked by a changing role of the state, the influence of information technology and increased competition between HEIs have resulted in adaptive behaviours by many universities (Sporn 1999), e.g. through institutional changes, long-term planning and strategizing, through an increasing emphasis on internationalizing the university and an increased market orientation in order to survive in a global competitive higher education environment.[70]

After this historical approximation to the worldwide institutional development of the university, it could be concluded that the European university and especially the (often mythical) German university "model" had been for quite some time the internationally most influencing references used by various actors during processes of foundation and expansion of higher education systems. This is, however, no longer the case. European universities partly lost their worldwide attractiveness after the First World War while the American university experienced considerable growth and expansion during the 20th century. Weber (2002: 164) talked about a boost of Americanization in worldwide higher education in the 1960s, the time when in Europe an era of crisis had started. Walter Rüegg concluded in 2010 that Europe in the global university landscape had deteriorated into a province whose development in the context of the reunified Europe after the end of the Cold War is largely influenced by the global dominance of the US higher education system (for which, first of all, the British system and the German university model had served as ideal). Rüegg argued that the same is true for all former European colonies. Also their higher education systems and universities increasingly follow something they call an American model (Rüegg 2010: 38) though there is no uniform pattern to be found in the US. The restructuring of South African higher education, for example, is equally interpreted by some authors as having followed the American example with its distinctive capitalist features, the output orientation, the hierarchy of its HEIs and the concentration of sources on the best performers (Nash 2006: 5).

However, the reference to the takeover and continuing dominance of the American model nowadays is as problematic as the alleged adoption of the idea of the German university model during the 19th century. The end of the Cold War and the collapse of communism also

[69] It was against this framework that the UK introduced full fees for international students in 1979 and started twinning programmes overseas as a result of the decline in international student mobility due to rising fees (Daniel et al. 2009: 19; Doorbar and Bateman 2013: 60).

[70] The corpus of literature from the field of organization studies and institutional analysis provides further insights (e.g. Gumport 2000; Currie et al. 2003; Campbell 2004; Krücken and Meier 2006; Bertrams 2007; Jansen 2007; Krücken et al. 2007; Meier 2009; Wilkesmann and Schmid 2010; Kehm 2010).

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meant an end of the bi-polar international system, which resulted in multifaceted debates around a new emerging world order and its nature (Cooper 2004; Sørensen 2006). While some have argued that the USA has remained the only superpower (Osterhammel and Petersson 2005: 141), others discuss an age of non-polarity and increasingly decide to focus on a multi-polar world order (Haass 2008; Zakaria 2008). The latter is grounded, for example, in the rise of the newly advancing economies of the BRICS countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) and the growing importance of the global South in the international power structures (Goldstein et al. 2006; Broadman 2007; Khanna 2008). These considerations certainly influence developments in higher education and pave the way for a multi-polar orientation.

Therefore, the author will put the argument that the US system is the dominating reference into perspective and rather make a case for an increasingly transnational and multi-polar influence on reforms and change in different higher education systems. This study argues that higher education is rather characterized by permanent interaction, reciprocity and a multi-polar orientation instead of a one-way or unidirectional influence. Reforms in higher education are increasingly affected by different science systems from different regions and most important by transnational exchange processes, also depending on those people in charge of negotiating policies. Changes and reform processes are characterized, in other words, by a transnational modernity. The look to America might be valuable to increase an understanding of plurality, differentiation and autonomy. Yet, it is only one reference, amongst many others. These considerations should be kept in mind when later looking at the negotiations of change in the South Africa higher education sector in the post-1990 era.

4.2 Border-Transcending Mobility and Internationalization Processes in the History of Universities and Higher Education

Throughout its history the university experienced varying degrees of border-transcending interconnectedness as well as ups and downs of border-transcending mobility. Border-transcending and international linkages are generic characteristics of the institution as argued, for example, by the University of London's Professor of Higher Education Studies Peter Scott (2000: 5; see also King et al. 2011: 59). This sub-chapter seeks to give a brief summary on mobility patterns of students and academics across territorial boundaries.

Information on worldwide trends on border-transcending and with the formation of national states "inter"national academic mobility is limited. Statistics are scarce and are concentrated on a small number of mostly Western countries. In the absence of a comprehensive picture, it is difficult to make comparisons. The overview to be developed in this section, which relies on existing research and for the time after 1975 on UNESCO statistics on international student mobility, however, shall illustrate major trends during the different periods of university history. Such a historical approach towards the international dimension in higher education was deemed important in order to understand the specific characteristics and dynamics of the university system in South Africa and its internationalization in comparison to major trends in worldwide higher education, especially during the 20th century.

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With regard to mobility patterns and academic internationalism, the sequence of steps, presented by Hans de Wit (2002: xvi; 16f) for Europe and the USA, will be taken as a point of departure. De Wit (2002) argues that prior to the 20th century the international dimension in higher education was rather incidental than planned. “International education” as an organized activity is, according to him, characteristic only to the second half of the 20th century, mainly spurred by national governments, based on political rationales during the Cold War period; it followed a period of unstructured, individual and voluntarist internationalization in the first half of the 20th century. De Wit considers internationalization as a more systematic, strategically and intentionally driven process by higher education itself, a development that emerged around the end of the Cold War. Since then, he expounds, a period of what could be called an integrated internationalization of higher education endures. Internationalization, so de Wit’s argumentation, has moved from a peripheral position in higher education into the centre of strategic considerations.

Supra-regional recruitment of professors and supra-regional mobility of students had already been one of the main features of the university in the Medieval Age (Hödl 1994: 39; Kim 2009: 388). As early as at the end of the 14th century, however, mobility across territorial boundaries weakened, as some form of territorial protectionism began in certain territorial states through legal prohibitions against students visiting foreign universities (Ridder-Symoens 1993: 259). This was connected to the claim to educate citizens within the boundaries of own territories and thereby to exercise control over educational contents. At the end of the Middle Ages, according to Ridder-Symoens (1993: 261), 75 percent of European students went to the university in closest proximity and close to 25 percent of the remaining students still chose a university within the boundaries of the territorial state, which means that only a tiny percentage of students crossed territorial borders to study at renowned universities or in subjects that were not taught elsewhere. Every foundation of a university in the 14th and 15th century, therefore, added up to the regionalization of the recruitment of university members. Migration for educational matters thus could have stopped if the Humanism of the 15th century, and the idea of a universal character of scholarship and education, had not given it a new lease of life (ibid.). A common humanist education, based in the humanities and the classical dialogue, and the professionalization of humanist science and research was the contribution of the first and foremost Italian universities of the time, which appeared as bridgeheads to bringing elites from the whole of Europe together (Rüegg 2010: 25ff). Italian universities, in particular, were in strong competition amongst each other for the most famous scholars and teachers in the 15th century, with which they tried to attract as many of the mobile students as possible. In the course of the 16th century, however, supra-regional mobility decreased again, firstly regarding the group of scholars and later also comprising the group of students (Hödl 1994: 78f). Academic mobility in the Middle Ages, as Moraw (1994: 22) explains, was not an equally distributed movement of scholars and students across the whole of the European continent and in all directions. Processes of mobility were rather concentrated on a limited number of major knowledge centres while the travel to peripheral institutions was coupled with high individual risks. Frijhoff accentuates that student mobility did not necessarily occur

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voluntarily but was in many cases a consequence of absent local alternatives (Frijhoff 1995: 274).

With the formation of the nation-state in Europe after the Renaissance period, the university increasingly became an institution serving the administrative and economic needs of the nation in a static and closed territory, aimed at nation-building and the development of national identities, national integration and the use of vernacular languages. What de Wit (2002: 6) called a process of de-Europeanization was put in motion. However, universities maintained international relations even at the high point of the nation-state; students and scholars remained mobile – according to Rüegg (2010: 44) student mobility from the 18th century onwards usually comprised around ten percent of all students –, and in the context of the expansion of empires and colonialism, the export of national higher education systems was flanked by the academic mobility of individual scholars (ibid.; Kim 2009: 389ff). Especially the rise of the research university in Germany and the dissemination of research led to increasing internationalism of the university (Altbach and Teichler 2001: 6). In the late 19th and early 20th century, numerous students and academic staff from other European countries as well as from the USA or Japan came to Germany; they transferred parts of that experience back to their countries of origin (Geiger 1993: 235, 240). In the case of Japan, this was backed and controlled by a strong nationalist agenda. This is exemplified in the recruitment of international academics to staff Japanese universities, mainly from Germany and the USA, with the aim to transfer Western knowledge and to contribute to Japanese nation-building (de Wit 2002: 7; Kim 2009: 390).

Around the turn of the 19th century, a general urge for internationalization, international exchange and for cooperation across boundaries was noticeable. It was the period when the world began to experience global capitalism, a global economy and world politics as well as a general consciousness of globality. This was due to improvements in transport, communication and production, based on the achievements of the industrial revolution, such as the steam engine, the steam ship, possibilities of mass production as well as the invention of telegraphy but also through, for example, the introduction of a globally unified time system through several time zones or a “global climate”, based on a system of worldwide weather stations (Osterhammel and Petersson 2005: 82f). Yet, this increasing global interconnectedness, which occurred simultaneously to processes of nation-building, resulted in the evolution of the modern interventionist state and national protectionism in the form of policy frames and immigration regulations at the end of the 19th century (ibid: 89; Geyer and Bright 1995: 1051).[71]

The process of internationalization did not pass by scholarship (Charle 1994: 343ff; Charle 2004: 77). According to Schroeder-Gudehus (1999: 175), the number of international scientific associations had doubled every eight years since the middle of the 19th century and the number of international congresses every ten years. In 1913 239 international congresses had taken place, of which around 15 percent were scientific ones organized by international professional associations (ibid.). It was in the framework of improved travel opportunities, a greater outreach of publications and increasing interests of the media that all

[71] Japan, for example, stopped its international recruitment of professors in the 1890s again (Kim 2009: 391).

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major ventures had become international in nature. The same was true for scientific academies, which in 1899 had formed the International Association of Academies to foster international cooperation in the sciences, to coordinate research projects and to increase the influence on national governments (ibid.). The emergence of large universal bibliographies and documentations of scientific literature at the beginning of the 20th century bears witness to the scientific internationalism of the time (Rasmussen 1995; Fuchs 2004b).

Regarding academic mobility, a systematic exchange of professors between Germany and the USA, at first between German universities and Harvard, later with further US institutions such as Columbia University (Paulus 2010: 74f) – the first cultural exchange agreement between industrialized nations – had commenced in 1905 (Düwell 1976: 176; vom Brocke 1981; Charle 1994: 345). This was followed by a similar approach between France and the USA in 1909 and France and Latin America in 1908 (Charle 1994: 348). The fact that this exchange at the beginning of the 20th century is repeatedly highlighted in the literature suggests the assumption that prior to that nothing similar to a systematic and purposeful exchange had existed.

With a view to students, the establishment of the first international scholarship system, initiated by Cecil John Rhodes, promoting systematic international mobility for studies at Oxford from 1902 onwards is notable (Ziegler 2010). By that time, the general mobility of professors as well as that of students across national boundaries, according to Charle (2004: 77), had become an indicator for the intensity of scientific relations between different language areas and cultural spaces as well as for the scientific charisma across boundaries. In particular, the choice of students for certain university centres determined the competitive ability of those institutions and thus the innovative and successful work of the specific disciplines (ibid.). For the USA, we know, for example, that the amount of international students of 600 in 1905 had tripled by 1912 and went up to almost 10.000 in 1930 (Kramer 2009: 791).[72] Karady (2004: 368) states that the international students' share of the whole student body at Western European universities rose to eleven or twelve percent by 1890 and increased to 15 percent by 1910 (and declined again to nine to ten percent in 1930). Prior to the First World War, a growth in international student demand could be noted, which according to Karady, however, remained behind the upward movement of non-international students.[73] Students from Eastern European countries formed the largest part of international students in Western European countries (ibid.), and Germany was the most attractive destination for international students in absolute numbers.[74]

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[72] The flow of international students to the USA later thickened from 7.000 in 1945 to 30.000 in 1950 and 120.000 in 1969 (Bu 1999: 405; Kramer 2009: 792). Expressed as a percentage of the whole student population, there were less international students in the USA than in European countries (and also less than in Marocco and Tunesia). With 64.705 international students in 1962, the USA, however, ranged on top in absolute figures, followed by Germany and France with 24.000 and 23.000 international enrolments (Walton 2010: 145). In 2012/2013 the USA hosted more than 800.000 international students (see http://www.iie.org/Research-and-Publications/Open-Doors/Data/International-Students/Enrollment-Trends/1948-2012 [retrieved 19 November 2013]).

[73] An overview of international students for different European universities in Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy and Switzerland between 1860 and 1930 is displayed in Karady (2004: 369).

[74] While there were less than 500 international students registered at German universities in 1835/1836, the numbers had increased radically in the second half of the 19th century to 2.202 in 1900 (6.9 percent of total of 31.588 students), most obviously through American students (Drewek 2000: 40; Karady 2004: 369). In

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With the First World War, international exchange and international communication were severely harmed and in many cases stopped again (Düwell 1976: 28). German science, for example, was boycotted after 1918, which resulted in the exertion of pressure through international scientific organizations as well as through individual academics. It, furthermore, led to the exclusion of German scientists from international congresses (ibid: 154). What additionally contributed to a decrease in international exchange was the shrinking number of foreign students in Germany. This was not only the result of the First World War but also a home-made development by the German academic elite, which in 1918 had raised the eligibility criteria for foreign students to German universities and, therefore, enforced a bureaucratic regulation of admission standards. This was, according to Drewek (2000: 39), in order to protect the international reputation of German universities in a situation in which, since the mid-19th century, the international demand for German higher education had increased and become uncontrollably high after the war.[75] This restrictive acceptance policy in the context of an upcoming active recruitment process of foreign students in other parts of the world, mostly in the USA and the Soviet Union, thus had consequences for the number of foreign students at German universities (ibid.).

On the national level, Germany continued seeking to foster the international exchange of professors in the framework of the national foreign cultural policy ("Staatliche Außenkulturpolitik") in spite of the boycott. After Germany had joined the League of Nations in 1926, the international exchange of scholars and also the inner-European student exchanges increased again (Düwell 1976: 176). This was facilitated by the Foreign Ministry with the foundation of the Academic Exchange Service in Germany (DAAD) in 1925 as a non-university institution (which became the German Academic Exchange Service in 1931 as result of a merging process fostered by the Foreign Ministry of the aforementioned Exchange Service, the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation and another institution) (ibid.).[76] Similar institutions to facilitate international cooperation and the exchange of people and ideas, such as the American Institute for International Education, established in 1919, the Commonwealth Fund in 1924 or the British Council in 1934, are a distinct expression of an increasing awareness for the international in the interwar period (de Wit 2002: 10; Smith et al. 2002: 454). The same goes for the universities and the fact that, for example, some of the predecessors of international offices were already established prior to the First World War, such as the ones of the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität in Berlin (1905) and of the university in Leipzig (1910) (Middell 2005: 229f; Blecher 2010).

In the context of the mass expulsion of Jewish and dissident scholars after the coming to power of the National Socialists in Germany in 1933, of which close to 45 percent of all teaching personal was affected, many highly skilled academics from Germany had to flee and chose to go into exile to the UK and the USA. Approximately 1.700 academics from

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neighbouring countries, especially Austria and Switzerland, the share of international students from the smaller student bodies was above 40 percent (Karady 2004: 369).

[75] According to Peter Drewek (2000: 40), the figures had increased from around 7.000 to 8.000 in the pre-war period to over 15.000 after the First World War (Drewek 2000: 40). Karady's figures differ from that. He lists 3.975 international students for 1910, 7.098 for 1925 and 6.298 for 1930 (Karady 2004: 369).

[76] The resumption of academic exchange between the USA and Germany in the interwar years is, for example, portrayed in Joen (2002: 211f).

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Germany went to the USA as refugees (Kim 2009: 393). American universities largely benefitted from this forced form of scientific mobility and the relocation of some well-established scholars and their contribution to the advancement of knowledge at American universities (Paulus 2010: 15).

The period after the Second World War was marked by the end of the British Empire, the rise of the USA as a superpower and an increasing rivalry between the USA and the Soviet Union. These historical and political settings influenced academic mobility and the dealing with it on different levels. The USA established themselves as the prime destination for academic talent from all around the world. It was in this context, that the USA developed a federal policy of internationalization and established the Fulbright Program in 1946, with the promotion of peace and mutual understanding through educational and cultural exchange at the heart of the idea.[77] During the Cold War period and in the framework of the economic and military struggle with the Soviet Union, the international dimension in higher education in the USA mainly had a defence and security related connotation, and the Area Studies awakened increased attention. Internationalization was grounded in the belief that knowledge about other world regions would bring international peace. After the Cold War economic security and competitive components would enter the set of rationales of internationalizing higher education in the USA (de Wit 2002: 28ff; Stohl 2007: 363; Edwards 2007: 376). On the other side of the Atlantic, academic mobility had also become an element of national foreign policies between the 1950s and 1970s.[78] In Western Europe, this was largely connected to historical ties with former colonies, contact with future political elites, the presence of political refugees, the migration of guest-workers as well as economic considerations (Baron 1993: 50). During the 1980s, the promotion of academic rationales for internationalization became more important in Western Europe. They were increasingly linked with economic and competitive considerations (van der Wende 2001: 432; de Wit 2002: 13). The Soviet Union, according to de Wit (2002: 11), brought “academic freedom and autonomous cooperation and exchange almost to an end”. The priority for cooperation was on other socialist countries. Many students came to study in the Soviet Union on state scholarships. Besides, Central and Eastern European countries maintained development activities in countries of the so-called “Third World” (ibid.).

According to de Wit (2002: 10ff), the character of the internationalization of higher education manifested itself as an *organized* activity in the 1960s and 1970s. Its initiators were most of all national governments through bilateral agreements, e.g. on cultural exchange,

[77] According to Kramer (2009: 796), close to 50 countries were involved in the Fulbright Program by 1964. At that point in time, 21.000 Americans and 30.000 non-Americans had become beneficiaries.

[78] The foundation and re-foundation of a number of institutions by the German state to promote scientific exchanges of individuals are a case in point. They include the establishment of German Academic Exchange Service (1959), the German Research Foundation (1951) – that had come into being as a merger of the Deutsche Forschungsrat and the Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft (both 1949), which started to maintain a guest lecturer programme from 1956, the Max-Planck-Gesellschaft (1951) as successor of the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft, the Goethe-Institut (1952) and Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung (1953). As part of the German-American cultural agreement of 1952, Germany had become part of the Fulbright programme, within which students, lecturers and professors participated in an exchange programme from 1953 onwards (Joen 2002: 218). Between 1954 and 2000, more than 500 institutional partnerships between German and US American universities were established (ibid.).

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development cooperation and technical assistance in "Third World" countries or military arrangements (de Wit 2002: 41ff).[79]

Baron (1993: 50), drawing on UNESCO statistics, maintained that academic mobility underwent rapid growth between the end of the Second World War and the 1970s – in Europe as well as in the rest of the world. International student mobility, according to the same source, doubled each decade after the war. The number of countries receiving international students, however, was limited to a few major ones, such as the USA, France, Soviet Union, the Federal Republic of Germany, the UK, Canada and Italy. During the decade of the 1970s, however, the expansion of foreign students was stopped. Baron explains this observation with the fact that many national systems of higher education had been set up by then in the countries of origin, especially in the former colonies, which decreased their pressure to send their future elites abroad for educational matters (ibid.). In addition, Baron continued, many receiving countries, such as France and Germany, set up increasing barriers for foreign students, such as fixed quota systems, higher entry requirements (as in Germany after the First World War) or stricter visa regulations or the earlier mentioned increase in international student fees, introduced in the UK in 1979. This was the end of the so-called "open doors" policy, however, not the end of academic exchange in general. To the contrary, academic mobility of students and academics was increasingly considered as part of cultural foreign policy, over which governments wanted to exert more influence and control (ibid.). What increased from the end of the 1970s, according to Baron (1993), was short-term intra-European mobility, which largely replaced the one-way migration for study purposes to a limited number of countries with highly developed academic systems. The associated objective was the promotion of scholarly experience for the domestic student population through "study abroad" periods, influenced by experiences from American universities, which had introduced study periods in Europe for undergraduates by 1920 (Haug 1996: 182).

Academic staff mobility, on the other hand, had become a major development in Europe only during the last two decades of the 20th century. While the USA had already attracted large numbers of foreign academics in the 1960s and 1970s, this occurred in Europe with a delay of two decades. In Europe, the recruitment of professors in that period was most of all a local matter, merely happening on the national level (Enders 1998: 46).

It was in the 1980s around the end of the Cold War that many European governments began to explicitly address the internationalization of higher education on the national level, mainly for academic matters. It was intended to move beyond the traditional form of cross-border academic mobility and to pave the way for the internationalization of the core functions of the university on the level of HEIs so as to turn internationalization into a long-term strategy that affects higher education systems and institutions and to move beyond its "add-on" and "short-term" character (van der Wende 2001: 432). Yet, during the 1990s, no link between general higher education policies and internationalization, as developed by government, could be identified.

[79] A non-Western example for the decade of the 1970s would be China's government-sponsored study abroad programme, which had started in 1978 (Xinyu 2011: 26).

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> "It was found that internationalisation was mainly shaped as an add on, marginal and short-term policy based on temporary funding mechanisms (project-based or pump-priming). It was usually not integrated in regular planning and evaluation, and there was hardly any regulation or legislation." (van der Wende 2001: 432)

During the 1970s and 1980s, it was mainly the supra-regional dimension that had gained in importance with a view to the promotion of internationalization. The European Commission's mobility programmes (such as study abroad elements as part of the home degree developed in the 1970s or exchange programmes, which received top priority in the 1980s and 1990s, from 1987 under the banner of the Erasmus programme) as well as its framework programmes for research and innovation (the first one started in 1984) deserve special mention. By integrating a whole region in order to create a European higher education area, the stimulation of academic mobility and collaborative research initiatives served an additional purpose besides economic competitiveness, namely to contribute to European unification (Baron 1993: 52; Haug 1996: 181; Taylor 2010b: 87). The mobility schemes and the introduction of a European research and development strategy marked an important step in the attempt to harmonize and integrate European higher education and research (van der Wende 2001: 433; de Wit 2002: 48ff). With the introduction of the Bologna Process in 1999 and the implementation of its objectives and goals – to enhance an integrated higher education architecture (the "European Higher Education Area") through the introduction of credit transfer systems, comparable degrees as well as quality assurance, to increase quality and international competitiveness of European higher education and finally to increase mobility – the development reached another peak (de Wit 2002: 62ff; Scott 2006: 25; Maeße 2010: 12; Bode and Davidson 2011: 70ff).[80] The Bologna Declaration allowed the creation of the first truly transnational study programmes with bi- or multilaterally shared responsibility for the learning outcomes of the joint programme. This process had its forerunners in some capitalist American universities, which started even earlier with the creation of branch campuses and the outsourcing of study elements, in order to delineate themselves from competitors in their own countries as well as in the UK and Australia, which during the 1980s shifted the rationales from aid to trade (de Wit 2002: 16; Altbach 2004b: 23f; see also Chapter 2.4).

It is only recently, with newly emerging economies and intensifying processes of globalization after the fall of the Iron Curtain, that international student numbers worldwide seem to be steadily rising in absolute terms. The UNESCO reports that in 2010 there were 3.6 million students worldwide enrolled in higher education programmes abroad (2007: 2.8 million; 2000: 2 million; 1980: 1.1 million; 1975: 0.8 million)[81] and that the figure is expected to rise to 8 million by 2020 (UNESCO 2012: 1). Major host countries include the USA, UK, France,

[80] Interestingly enough, the Bologna Process is no longer limited to Europe. Parts of its goals and objectives are shared by other countries and regions as well. They have aligned or are increasingly seeking to align their systems of higher education with the European process. For example, Australia has responded to the Bologna Process by establishing a Ministerial Advisory Group on Bologna (see https://www.aei.gov.au/About-AEI/Government-Relations/Pages/TheBolognaProcess.aspx [retrieved 12 November 2012]). Some Francophone or Anglophone countries in Africa are doing similarly due to their historical ties with Europe. Even the establishment of an African Credit Accumulation and Transfer System is discussed (Scott 2006: 25ff; Adamu 2011: 5ff; see also Charlier and Croché 2009; Khelfaoui 2009).

[81] See ibid. and UNESCO 2009: 36.

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Australia, Germany, Japan, Canada, South Africa, the Russian Federation and Italy, which in 2007 hosted more than 70 percent of all internationally mobile students. Among the major sending countries were China, India, the Republic of Korea, Germany, Japan, France, the USA, Malaysia, Canada and the Russian Federation, which in 2007 accounted for 37.5 percent of the internationally mobile student population (ibid: 36). Globally, almost two out of 100 tertiary education students per country seek tertiary education outside of their home country. However, this figure did not change much over the first decade of the 2000s, which indicates that student mobility grows as fast as general enrolments in higher education.[82] Broken down into regions, the largest share of internationally mobile students is from Africa (UNESCO 2009: 36ff).[83]

What can be learned from this historical approach towards higher education and its international dimension is that the development of internationalization processes was intertwined with historical circumstances and geopolitical developments. The degree of internationalization was determined, for example, by increasing nationalism, the World Wars, the Cold War, Colonialism and Decolonization as well as later by 9/11 and the economic crises. As a consequence, it followed different rationales at different times and in different parts of the world. International academic mobility and the exchange between national entities were thus no linear development and followed different patterns in different national contexts. This is one reason why this research later investigates the South African case more closely.

The sequence of steps in internationalizing higher education and their characterization, as proposed by Hans de Wit (2002) and based on the European and US experiences, with which the presentation of this chapter started, should, therefore, be supplemented with the following conclusions. According to the presentation in this chapter, internationalization received much attention in Europe between 1900 and 1930 (e.g. first international offices, systematic exchange of professors and scholarship systems), before internationalization and the attention paid to it migrated to the USA (e.g. Fulbright), which benefitted from an emigration wave from Central Europe. During the period of the Cold War, particular block-internal features of internationalization emerged, which were followed by the described boom in the 1980s. In addition, de Wit's overview must be finally complemented with a characterization of the decade of the 2010s. In this decade, the attempt to integrate the different rather disconnected international activities in the core functions of universities into overall strategies of HEIs could be observed. At the same time, the 2010s were marked "by an increasing concern for the security of borders and concern with movement of people across them" by national governments (Stahl 2007: 360), which had implications for directions of academic mobility. When the USA after September 11, for example, restricted

[82] Peter Scott (2006: 13), however, points out that the worldwide growth in domestic students had been greater due to the expansion of higher education than the growth rate of international students. Consequently, "international students are a smaller proportion of all students today than they were in 1960".

[83] According to UNESCO and its Institute for Statistics, "[m]obile students are defined as those who study in foreign countries where they are not permanent residents" (see http://www.uis.unesco.org/Education/Pages/tertiary-education.aspx [retrieved 18 November 2013]). Included are only those students seeking full degrees at institutions outside of their country of origin. The figures thus would explode if they also represented short-term periods of international study mobility.

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entrance for international students to its territory, in order to avoid that terrorists in the guise of academics enter the country, international student flows were redirected to the benefit of other countries and regions (McDougall 2011: 11)[84]. Transnational education, as particularized earlier, played an important role in that regard. The global economic crisis in the second half of the 2010s also affected university systems, especially in financial terms (de Wit 2010: 5). As a consequence of shrinking resources, it could finally be argued that it prompted increasing transnationalization again and that we move into the next cycle of international cooperation in the field of higher education.

4.3 The Dynamics in the Recent Past

Higher education, even though border-transcending in nature, had for quite some time been shaped predominantly by a national imperative. The raison d'être of the university was its service for the economic, socio-political and labour market needs of the nation-state. "Inter"nationalization happened between these clearly demarcated territorial entities and between universities as national or sub-national units. In recent decades, the exclusive focus on the national has been challenged and given way to a plurality of spatial orientations. The global orientation is one of them, and the globalization of higher education has many implications for universities. They concern the relation between the nation-state and universities, the self-conception of universities as well as their radius of activity in the context of transnational education, as outlined in Chapter 2.4. On top of that, the global has come to form the basis of inter-institutional comparisons.

Even though the global has become more influential, higher education policies, nevertheless, continue to be primarily determined by national governments. Science and higher education are regarded as strategic opportunity, as important elements of national innovation and as drivers for a competitive economy through the production of skilled workers (Clark 1998: 7; Gumport 2000: 70; van der Wende 2001: 431; Marginson and van der Wende 2006: 7; Stohl 2007: 366). This observation, together with the nation-building argument, according to Sidhu (2009: 128), is especially true in post-colonial contexts. Universities are thus to a greater or lesser extent publicly financed by national governments. Notwithstanding, the self-understanding of nation-states vis-à-vis their national higher education systems as part of domestic politics has been partly replaced by a transnational approach to the field. Policies cannot only take into account national conditions. They are formulated in the context of international observation, and they are influenced by policies elsewhere, often under an economic imperative. They are shaped in a transnational setting.[85]

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[84] As a result of stricter visa regulations and admissions criteria, a decline in absolute international student numbers could be observed in subsequent years, thus interrupting the growth scenario of the last decades (see http://www.iie.org/Research-and-Publications/Open-Doors/Data/International-Students/Enrollment-Trends/1948-2012 [retrieved 19 November 2013]).

[85] Massive enrolment increases, shrinking public resources, the introduction of new management practices, the imperative of performativity and systems of quality assurance to increase efficiency as well as the changing relationship between the state and HEIs are some elements of such a transnational setting and of the international trends in higher education. Everywhere higher education seems to be under the pressure to demonstrate value for money in the form of innovations and contributions to national economic welfare and growth (Slaughter and Leslie 1997; Scott 1998; Sporn 1999; Kwiek 2001; de Wit 2002; Enders and Fulton 2002; Meek 2002; Altbach 2004a; Slaughter and Rhoades 2004; Marginson and van der Wende 2007; Hazelkorn 2009; Barnett 2011; Wildavsky 2010; Collini 2012).

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The state is not any longer the only powerful actor influencing higher education policy. Supra-national bodies and international organizations also play an important role. Van Vught et al. (2002: 106) have argued that higher education in many countries experiences a greater degree of deregulation as a consequence of decreasing government support for public higher education (see also Clark 1998: 7; Teichler 2004: 23) – which, however and rather counterintuitive, receives in sum more public money than ever before (Collini 2012). In many places, authority is ever more transferred to the HEIs themselves as potential global actors of knowledge production (Scott 2006: 16). There is substantial consensus in the literature that the role and the self-conception of universities have changed during the last decades (Enders and Fulton 2002), not least also because the relation between the nation-state and its universities is not as exclusive any more as in times when the university was considered to be part of the national culture (Readings 1997: 14).

Especially the research-intensive universities – depending on their financial resources, their human capacities as well as the awareness of these processes and a strategic ascription of opportunities to them – have embarked on a global and commercial competition around research capacity, students, staff and additional sources of income. They adapted their institutional strategies and, according to Clark (1998: 7), became more business-like. This had initially been pushed by a number of US American research universities and was followed by universities in the UK and Australia (Leslie and Slaughter 1997; Clark 1998; Marginson and Considine 2000). The Bologna Process in Europe and the launch of the Erasmus Mundus programmes with the aim to foster academic internationalization can be considered a response on the supra-national level to the increasing competition in higher education, next to the political goals of the Bologna Process outlined earlier. The conscious promotion of internationalization processes in national higher education systems and at many individual universities is a manifestation of the sensed pressure of globalization processes on higher education. This is not to say that all HEIs are involved to the same extent in processes of globalization and international competition. Their involvement differs depending on location, type of institution as well as national particularities in higher education, but also on perceived opportunities attributed to the processes as well as resulting institutional strategies. Marginson and van der Wende (2006: 4) have argued that research-driven and business-like vocational universities were most impacted and most active in processes of globalization. Community colleges, teachers colleges and vocational schools without an international focus, to the contrary, were less impacted and less active. Thus, research-based universities with an international presence are more likely to benefit from processes of globalization in higher education, while for many universities a global positioning is just not possible. This increases the imbalances and inequalities among HEIs. John Taylor (2010b: 93) writes: “Within the competitive world of international higher education, some universities will inevitably be more successful than others; the rewards of success are high, but so are the costs of failure.”

The competition among universities around their international standing was heated up with the publication of the first global university rankings. There are the Academic Ranking of World Universities of the Shanghai Jiao Tong University, first published in 2003, and the

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Times Higher Education Ranking of world universities, which constituted a European response in the subsequent year, and which was followed by a number of other rankings. These rankings promise guidance in an elusive field through the identification of best performers and international competitiveness, based on a set of criteria against which individual universities are measured (Hazelkorn 2009: 8). They provide a global framework for inter-institutional comparisons and the productivity, in particular, of the comprehensive and research-intensive universities, against the background of different national funding frameworks for higher education and weakening competitive systems on the national level (Marginson 2007; Marginson and van der Wende 2007; Hazelkorn 2009). According to the first ranking makers, Nian Cia Liu and Ying Cheng (2005: 135), the emergence of the "Shanghai Ranking" was a personal but academic interest in how Chinese universities compared with other universities in the world. Its appearance, however, must also be seen in the light of the Chinese government's attempt during the 1990s to establish "world class" universities (Boshoff 2009: 636). Marginson (2007: 139) thus concluded that the Academic Ranking of World Universities constituted a means to create norms for Chinese universities on the basis of "a particular kind of science-strong university in the Anglo-American tradition". Ambitious HEIs tend to react to the incentives set by the methodological approaches of the ranking-makers and try to improve those aspects of the institution that serve as indicators for the positioning in the rankings, such as their third-stream income. In anticipation of prestige, attention and future output, based on a globally noticeable position among the top universities in the world, some of them desperately strive for greater visibility. As a consequence, we witness a new dimension of competitive rivalries among universities for the best academics, the brightest students and the highest income (Marginson and van der Wende 2007: 309). This goes along with the modernization and professionalization of academic services. According to Hazelkorn (2009: 10), many HEIs have professionalized with a view to management, strategic planning and decision making as well as regarding the management of human resources, including recruitment. Coupled with this development have been the introduction of new public management approaches, which first emerged in the 1980s, and the focus on performance and measuring (individual and institutional) outcomes so that productivity rates can be sanctioned positively or negatively. A more market-oriented behaviour and the diversification of income sources are another expression. As Hazelkorn (2009: 7) has put it: "Rankings provide the evidence or rationale for making significant change, speeding up reform or pursuing a particular agenda. It "allows management to be more business-like", for evidence-based decision making and offers "a rod for management's back"." As a consequence, we see an increase in institutional differentiation on the national level with regards to their institutional missions as well as a convergence of practices by those institutions aiming for a position at the top of international rankings. Critics note that there is a risk in too much convergence through conforming to measurements that have been designed for other purposes, so that in the process social responsiveness and accountability sometimes degenerate into a farce and are reduced to market responsiveness (Bundy 2005: 86; Hazelkorn 2009: 20).

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Resulting from the competitive setting and from the rankings, more and more universities tend to recruit on a global scale, and they foster the continuous movement of students and faculty within exchange programmes and collaborative research networks. As explained in the literature review on internationalization processes in higher education, on top of the classical instruments of international academic exchange they become involved in even new forms of border-crossing activities that go far beyond the traditional forms of international academic exchange and beyond the borders of a territorialized institution. Higher education provision has diversified (including online or distance education as well as private providers), and numerous transnational examples can be observed in the fields of teaching, research and service/knowledge transfer as well as in governing universities.

After this generic overview on the worldwide development of higher education, the following section will zoom into one specific region, namely Africa, as the case study for this project is the South African higher education sector and in particular one of the public South African universities. Therefore, some reflection on the dynamics in higher education in the recent past on the African continent seems appropriate.

4.4 The African Experience

Even though Africa can claim to have an ancient educational tradition, its recent history of higher education and universities has been largely determined by European colonialism, European university models, European languages and, as a consequence, by the marginalization of indigenous knowledge. Most of the educated elite had received their education at overseas institutions. After the former colonies had achieved their independence from the colonizers, higher education in Africa experienced a process of Africanization and a slight boom. Many new universities were founded. Higher education was regarded as motor of nation-building and crucial for national development and growth. Limited financial resources, however, posed a serious problem; public universities became largely dependent on foreign money and the support of the former colonial powers through aid programmes. In that context the production of knowledge was restricted. The crisis of the 1970s, the deterioration of the world economy and scenarios of state failure and state decay in many African countries led to the decline of higher education and academia. The neo-liberal market agenda and the so-called Structural Adjustment Programs imposed by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund on developing countries during the 1980s, in order for them to receive new loans, further contributed to the setback of higher education, as it meant the general cutting of public expenditures. The policies additionally advocated reducing the government's spending on tertiary education to the benefit of primary levels. National elites, so it was argued, could also receive their education abroad (Ajayi et al. 1996: 1ff; Teferra and Altbach 2004: 23ff; Assié-Lumumba 2007: 24ff; Teferra 2008: 44ff). In the meantime, the World Bank has recognized that its recommendations were not to the benefit of African states, by stating that a higher education sector is indispensible for national welfare (see World Bank Study Higher Education in Developing Countries: Perils and Promise 2000), which is widely recognized and shared (e.g. Teferra and Altbach 2004: 22).

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In comparison to other regions, the public higher education sector in Africa has limited capacity, and its expansion does not keep up with the growing demand for higher education (Jowi 2009: 275). As only six percent of the 20 to 24 years old age cohort participates in tertiary education (UNESCO 2010: 1), which forms the lowest ratio in the world, there is still much space for growth. This is why Doorbar and Bateman (2013: 61) declare Africa the largest market for transnational forms of higher education provision and why, according to the UNESCO's Institute for Statistics, students from Sub-Saharan Africa were the most mobile in the world (UNESCO 2010: 4)[86]. A matter of continued concern in that regard is the fear of permanently loosing intellectual and academic potential for the continent, also known as "brain drain". Yet, the potential of the African academic diaspora for their countries of origin, e.g. by enhancing international collaboration and exchange or by acting as advisers, consultants, visiting professors or lecturers, is increasingly also interpreted as an opportunity (Altbach 2002: 8; Assié-Lumumba 2007: 127f, 145f; Jowi 2009: 275) and discussed under the label "brain circulation" (Teferra 2004).

The past decades on the African continent have witnessed increasing efforts towards internationalizing, transnationalizing and regionalizing higher education and the knowledge production.[87] Africa has experienced an opening of national higher education markets and thus an increasing diversification of higher education providers, new forms of provision as well as a "renewed interest in African higher education from the international community" (Jowi 2009: 266). Also efforts by the African Union to harmonize the different national educational systems on the African continent, with a view to certification and the mutual recognition and comparability of qualifications and curricula in order to enhance continent-wide mobility and exchange, need to be highlighted (African Union 2008; Adamu 2011). In addition to the opportunities accompanying processes of inter- and transnationalization, both governments and HEIs on the African continent faced a number of challenges and risks. For African governments, they include, for example, the quality of programmes, difficulties in coordinating regional or continent-wide frameworks and limited strategies and policies towards inter- and transnationalization, furthermore limited research productivity as well as limited (public) funding and resources. On the institutional level, they additionally comprise

[86] The single largest host country was South Africa, which received 21 percent of all mobile students from the continent, followed by France and the USA. Two thirds of mobile African students studied at HEIs in North America and Western Europe (UNESCO 2010: 4).

[87] The growing body of literature on the internationalization of African higher education includes, for example, Teferra and Knight's jointly edited volume "Higher Education in Africa: The International Dimension" (2008) with records on a number of African countries, furthermore Roshen (2008) on Inbound and Outbound student mobility; Charlier and Croché (2009) on Africa's role in an international space of higher education; the influence of the European Bologna Process on Africa (Adamu 2011) as well as that of the WTO negotiations around GATS and transnational education (Sehoole 2004; Zeleza 2005; Pillay 2006) reflections on the impact of globalization and internationalization on higher education in less industrialized countries (Ntshoe 2002), or the emergence of the South African Development Community (SADC) as a regional education hub (Marko 2009) as well as on the impact the global university rankings have on African higher education (Badat 2010), to name but a few. Regarding the rationales of higher education internationalization, Teferra and Knight (2008) found that in contrast to the dominant economic rationales in Europe and North America, Africa's main rationale for internationalizing higher education was the academic one, a finding which reconfirmed the results of the 2005 study on internationalization, commissioned by the International Association of Universities (Knight 2006b). To enhance local research capacity as well as institutional academic capacities were ranked first, which is institutional and academic strengthening. The promotion of the national human resource capacities was the top priority given by national African representatives.

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poor institutional structures and strategies (ibid: 272ff). And not least the renegotiation of the role of higher education in a globalizing world, its exclusive national focus and parochialism against its contribution to solving the problems of humankind, constitutes an ongoing challenge.

Thus, the degree and the extent to which HEIs and nation-states participate in becoming part of the process of globalization in higher education differ largely, reflecting not only the countries' history but also socio-economic circumstances and related priorities and needs. The global survey on the impact of globalization and internationalization on universities, conducted by Maringe and colleagues, aimed at identifying how university staff in different parts of the world interpreted and defined internationalization and globalization, different strategic choices vis-à-vis internationalization as well as the extent of internationalization as strategic objective and an area of practice (Maringe 2010: 28ff). The results, based on 49 completed questionnaires from universities around the world[88], revealed many commonalities and some differences regarding the understandings of globalization and internationalization between the three categories they had constructed: Western universities, non-western universities and North Africa and the Middle East. The survey yielded a relatively lower status of internationalization in non-Western universities and universities in North Africa and the Middle East. The authors of the study claimed representativity but argued at the same time that further research into the micro-level processes would be necessary (ibid.).

This is where this research comes in with its intention to describe more densely the processes that happen on the national level of a particular country as well as those within an individual institution of higher education.

4.5 Conclusion: The Necessity of Case Studies to Investigate the Transnationalization of Higher Education

In the first instance, this section discussed the emergence and development of the university as well as changing university models as dominant points of orientation in the world. From the historical approximation to the international dimension in the universities and in academia, we can recapitulate that from the Medieval Age until the present it has always been a border-transcending institution to a certain extent, and that there were more intensive and less intensive periods with a view to mobility patterns and the transnationality of HEIs. European universities in the Medieval Age, for example, were far more transnational than the modern national universities of the 19th and especially the 20th century, e.g. with regards to the use of a common language, the uniformity of curricula, examination regulations and institutional structures and not least the supra-regional validity of diplomas that allowed for a convenient continuation of studies at different universities and as such for an unrestricted mobility (Ridder-Symoens 1993: 274; Frijhoff 1995: 264; de Wit 2002: 3; Karady 2004: 362; Zeleza 2005: 3; Kim 2009: 388).

Internationalization in higher education had developed from an incidental to an organized phenomenon, which since the 1990s entailed a strong strategic component. It had gained in

[88] They included institutions from the USA, Canada, the UK, Australia, Africa South of the Sahara, South America, China, North Africa and the Middle East, Japan and the Koreas, and Continental Europe (Maringe 2010: 29).

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importance around the turn from the 19th to the 20th century. Since then, internationalization had become an essential aspect on the higher education agenda, which in the course of the 20th century had even gained in significance. Spurred by transnational policy developments, e.g. on the level of the European Union, the internationalization of higher education experienced a period of increasing dynamic after the end of the Cold War.

Both on the national as well as on the level of individual HEIs, the awareness of the importance of internationalization processes had risen. Internationalization had become more integrated into higher education and had increasingly been based on concrete rationales (de Wit 2002: 12; 2010: 5). As a result, there was, for example, a growing presence of the international dimension in mission statements, institutional policy documents and strategic plans and, beginning in the middle of the 1980s, of international strategies at the level of HEIs. This process had given birth to new forms and ways of dealing with the global in higher education regarding transnational education and innovative modes of collaboration in higher education (see Chapter 2.4).

Whereas clear territorial boundaries of sovereign states used to be the reference point for academic exchange between national entities during the heyday of the nation-state, at the beginning of the 2000s, many phenomena in higher education operated again beyond the borders of a territorialized state, and territorialized institutions respectively. One could, therefore, argue that a new transnational period had gained momentum, in which higher education was once again connected to the universality of knowledge (see also Kerr 1990: 6).

Against the backdrop of the establishment of national higher education systems everywhere in the world and these newer developments in higher education, a global knowledge space had emerged. Higher education qualifications could be obtained at different places in the world, and they were usually also recognized everywhere. Resulting from mutual observation and the perception of international trends in higher education, the whole world started to follow similar standards and experienced the convergence and homogenization of higher education norms and practices. This upcoming change in ideology strongly interlinked with the Humanism of the 16th century and an earlier transnational period. During the more isolationist national period, in which the nation-states started to develop differently shaped higher education systems, this was less marked. Yet, around 1900 and after 1945, people were sent abroad to learn from other systems and thus to reform their home systems.

However, nation-states usually do not enter these processes simultaneously and equally, but at different moments in time and to different extents. A successful and sustainable entry depends on historical and socio-economic circumstances, a certain form of stability within the national system of higher education and not least on available resources and human capacities to be able to partake in the process. In some cases, the political situation and ideological colouring of science systems, e.g. that of the Soviet Union, had contributed to a conscious and deliberate seclusion and disintegration from world science. In other cases, such as South Africa, whole science systems were isolated by the international community due to the political situation. For South Africa, for example, we can read in the literature that “well-established centres of international education did not exist in South Africa [prior to

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1994, SB] although internationalisation became a feature of higher education systems in many other parts of the world following the Second World War" (CHE 2004: 212). For some nation-states or governments, the entry into internationalization and transnationalization processes in higher education constituted an opportunity, for others it was sensed as a threat, as endangering the nation and the status quo. Many developing countries, for example, attempted to protect their national higher education systems from international competition, e.g. in the form of external education providers mainly coming from the global North, as this was perceived to contradict the national interest and as possibly detrimental to quality (Pillay 2006: 94; Taylor 2010b: 91). These concerns had resulted in strict entry requirements and tight controls for international providers of higher education, as, for example, the case in South Africa[89] or in Jordan (Al Husban and Na'Amneh 2010: 196). Many developed countries similarly felt challenged by globalization processes in higher education. It was the increasing disembeddedness of HEIs from their national contexts and from national needs and thus from the control of the state that national governments feared (Beerkens 2003: 146). The different funding base of universities, which had led to less dependence on the national fiscus, however, allowed (and forced) universities to engage in activities of international scope (in order to increase their income) and to concentrate less so on national priorities. The same goes for international accreditation, which in many cases had replaced national ones. All of this increasingly resulted in protectionist measures, be it the extension of national quality agencies as observed in the UK or Australia, tighter regulations for foreign providers, restrictions to movement or entry of mobile students and lecturers or other forms of safeguarding traditional forms of public higher education provision. The asynchronous entry of different countries into these processes makes case studies particularly relevant.

This dissertation, therefore, looks at the extent to which these observations in university history and the patterns in border-transcending academic mobility and internationalization applied to the South African context. It asks when and to what extent South Africa had started to enter the process and what external reference points it had used to initiate change in the field of higher education. All of this is done by considering the worldwide dynamics of higher education during the decades of the 1990s and the 2010s and the convergence and homogenization of standards as a result of intensified transnational exchanges.

[89] South Africa was, for example, opposing the inclusion of higher education into GATS. This position was defended insofar as South Africa regarded higher education a public good and not a commodity to be traded on the market (Salem Badat quoted in Times Higher Education, 11 November 2005) and "that [South African] higher education's engagement with the world must be guided by national objectives or […] we run the risk of further entrenching the unequal power relations between the developed and developing worlds" (Kader Asmal quoted in ibid.). To not endanger the South African transformation process after apartheid was one of the major rationales for not committing South Africa's higher education sector to GATS (Pillay 2006: 101). Scott (2006: 24), by way of discussing GATS, concluded that the South African approach towards the agreement was difficult, as there was "a bad fit between GATS terminology and traditional higher education practice, money for research which in many countries has been regarded as one element within a block grant to universities, is likely to be redefined in GATS-speak as an unfair subsidy".

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PART III: HIGHER EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA: FROM ITS ORIGINS TO THE DUAL CHALLENGE OF TRANSFORMATION AND TRANSNATIONALIZATION BETWEEN 1990 AND 2010

Chapter 5: Higher Education in South Africa before 1990: From its Beginnings to the Developments under the Apartheid System

Founded on the historical approach towards the border-transcending and international dimensions of the university and higher education, as presented in Chapter 4, the developments in South African higher education will now be delineated in view of how they differ from or are similar to worldwide patterns.

Chapter 5 addresses the expansion of higher education in South Africa from the origins in the 19th century, its consolidation in the early 20th century and the developments in higher education during the apartheid era, with special emphasis on international influences in higher education and their interaction with processes of nationalizing science. The chapter will primarily paint the broad picture of higher education in South Africa prior to 1990, yet with a particular look on the developments at Stellenbosch University (SU), which is the example case for this study. Most notably, Chapter 5.2.4 will explore expressions and experiences of internationalization at SU prior to 1990. The findings of this study will put some of the well-established assumptions around South Africa's insularity and its academic isolation during that period into perspective.

5.1 The Origins of Higher Education in South Africa

The following demonstrations shall at first clarify how the South African higher education sector emerged and became professionalized as a distinct entity from primary and secondary education as well as from vocational training. The relations between the state and higher education institutions (HEIs) and the financial situation of the first universities in the early 20th century will be briefly examined. One line of argumentation will be that higher education in South Africa had from its early beginnings an international component, as it was largely based on European models. Between the two world wars a growing awareness of South Africa's place in the world partly led to an increasing internationalization of South African higher education and science, also spurred by individuals with international study experiences.

The literature available and used to reconstruct parts of this early history of higher education in South Africa is not only fragmentary but also stems from different periods in time.[90] This has implications for the way this chapter is presented. The chapter, therefore, does not aim

[90] This chapter is mainly based on the following references: Newton (1924), Malherbe (1925), Metrowich (1928), Cilliers (1944), Boucher (1973), Behr (1988), Moodie (1994), Ajayi et al. (1996), Dubow (2006).

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at providing a full account of the early history of higher education in South Africa.[91] It will present key developments in the period with a focus on the international dimension.

5.1.1 The Set-Up under Colonialism and South African Particularities

Dating back to the origins of white settlers at the Cape, formal education has a long history in what would later become South Africa. According to Malherbe (1925: 18), the first school was opened in 1658 with the intention to educate African slaves; a school for white children followed in 1663. In Stellenbosch, for example, regular school instruction was started following the constitution of the second parish of the Dutch Reformed Church in 1685 – six years after Stellenbosch had been founded as a Dutch settlement in 1679.[92] The role of the church in providing decentralized basic education was central as efforts to develop an elaborate school system during the 150 years of rule of the Dutch East India Company (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, or VOC) at the Cape were rather limited. The latter can be explained with the fact that it was initially not intended to establish a colony at the southern tip of Africa – neither by the Dutch nor later by the British; the major interest in the Cape was the erection of a strategic service point for passing ships towards the East (Beck 2000: 27). Only after the Cape had been annexed by England in 1806 and after it had been considered a "proper" colony some time later, a public school system was established. By 1840 a centrally controlled system was in place, run by a State Department of Education (Malherbe 1925: 71ff).[93] An institution for the pursuit of formalized *higher* knowledge, however, did not exist at the beginning of the 19th century.

About three decades after the incorporation of the Cape Colony into the British Empire, the once agrarian-based Dutch colonial society had been transformed into an extensive and expanding English colony with commerce and trade playing an increasing role (Dubow 2006: 24). To facilitate the exploitation of colonial economies and to meet the needs of the colonizers in the colonies, some form of higher education was regarded crucial. In 1829 the first college was opened in Cape Town (Ritchie and Kent 1918; Walker 1929). Although initially a private initiative that did not enjoy government assistance and that only came under public management in 1837 (Newton 1924: 26; Behr 1988: 183), the main purpose of the South African College (SAC) was to add to the formation of the Anglo-Dutch colonial male elite and thereby to the strengthening of colonial nationalism. The majority of its alumni took up posts in the colonial machinery – especially after in 1853 the Cape Colony had achieved self-government (Dubow 2006: 39). Soon after its foundation, the SAC became the leading teaching institution in southern Africa. It prepared students for matriculation and university examinations of the University of London (which had been established in 1836) until the Cape Colony established its own examining body in 1873. The Cape Town-based University

[91] Sources that could be used to further reconstruct the early history are the debates from the National Assembly on universities as well as the yearbooks of UCGH, UCT and SU as well as their predecessors. Yet, a systematic analysis of these documents would be a matter of further research.

[92] See http://www.sun.ac.za/university/history/history.htm [retrieved 27 May 2011].

[93] Malherbe (1925: 71ff), in his detailed descriptions of educational developments, includes several reference points of other colonial and national experiences and their influences on the organization of a centrally controlled education system in the Cape Colony. For figures and numbers about the development of the public and private primary and secondary education system in the different provinces of South Africa throughout the 19th century see also Newton (1924: 224ff).

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of the Cape of Good Hope (UCGH) was founded on the model of the University of London and became the first university in Southern Africa (Newton 124: 38; Boucher 1973: 26; Behr 1988: 183). Its creation was considered a major achievement for white identity and colonial development (Dubow 2006: 77). A Royal Charter had authorized the institution to grant qualifications. Among these qualifications were examinations for matriculation, a bachelor's in the Arts and Sciences, a master's, and degrees for Law, Mining Engineering, Divinity, Agriculture, Music and Teaching etc. (Behr 1988: 183; Cooper and Subotzky 2001: 5).[94] The UCGH did no teaching. It determined syllabuses and controlled examinations (that were conducted in English only). The UCGH was the only degree awarding body for the courses taught at the colleges established by then in the Cape Colony (and soon also for colleges outside the Cape Colony), among them the Gymnasium in the town of Stellenbosch.[95]

The history of Stellenbosch Gymnasium goes back to a public school that was reorganized as an Undenominational Public School, including elementary *and* secondary teaching, resulting from a new Education Act of 1866. Some years earlier, in 1859, the first Theological Seminary of the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) in Stellenbosch had come into existence, and the establishment of a Gymnasium had been decided upon by members of the DRC, who were committed to collecting the necessary funds. As the origin of the current Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences of Stellenbosch University (SU), the Gymnasium gave birth to the Arts Department in 1873 (Boucher 1973: 62). 120 students attended the Gymnasium in 1874. It was staffed by a Principal, Charles Anderson, one professor, Archibald Macdonald, for Classics and English Literature, one professor, Thomas Walker, for English and Philosophy and one professor, George Gordon, for Mathematics and Physical Sciences. The latter three had originally come from Scotland. Nicolaas Mansvelt from the Netherlands became Professor for Modern Languages (ibid.; de Bruyn 1989: 2). Therefore, SU was largely built on international teachers and international influences.[96] In 1881 the Gymnasium received the charter as Stellenbosch College. In honour of Queen Victoria and the 50th anniversary of her reign in 1887 it was renamed Victoria College (Boucher 1973: 62). The language of teaching was English. In 1891 Cecil John Rhodes already had come up with plans to amalgamate two institutions by establishing one English-medium teaching university at Groote Schuur in Cape Town, where Dutch and English speakers could intermingle. These plans were revived after the political unification of the four South African colonies in 1910, with the aim of English-Afrikaner reconciliation. These ideas, however, were strongly resisted by the Dutch speaking community in Stellenbosch, who fought for the continued existence of their college as an independent institution that would also allow the continuity of

[94] Up until 1870, scientific knowledge had been rather unspecialized in terms of the disciplines. Only the creation of the South African Fine Arts Association (1871) and more importantly the formation of the South African Philosophical Association (1876) are said to have induced the beginning of scientific specialization and professionalization (Dubow 2006: 119).

[95] Besides the SAC and Stellenbosch Gymnasium, these colleges were Diocesan College, Rondebosch (founded in 1848) and St Andrews College, Grahamstown (1855), which in 1904 became the Rhodes University College (Behr 1988: 183).

[96] International influence was visible in various foundations of SU's Faculties and Departments. The Music Department, for example, goes back to the establishment of the South African Conservatorium of Music in 1905. The German LW Jannasch and the Austrian Hans Endler, amongst others, were members of its governing board. At first, the Conservatorium was a privately run institution. In 1934 it was sold to the University (Annas 2012; http://academic.sun.ac.za/music/ [retrieved 22 May 2012]).

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Dutch as an official language in the Cape Colony (Metrowich 1928: 24f). “Afrikaans-Dutch” as medium of instruction was actively promoted in 1913 with a memorandum sent to the government by the Council of Victoria College stating “[Stellenbosch is the place from which] ... the Afrikaner volk can best realise its ideals and exercise the largest influence. It is the best realisation the volk has yet found of a deeply-felt need. Stellenbosch stands for an idea” (Council of Victoria College, quoted from Brink 2006: 20).[97]

South African higher education had expanded at the end of the 19th century, mainly set in motion by the discovery of gold and diamonds and related social, political and demographic changes. This prompted the majority of South African colleges to acquire university status. How this so-called “University Question” should be dealt with, and how the sector should develop, was anything but easy to be answered. To resolve this problem became quite urgent after the South African Union had been established in 1910 and after post-matriculation university education had been declared as a government responsibility (in contrast to secondary education, which remained with some exceptions the responsibility of the provinces). Yet, it took several years and commissions to preliminarily complete the process (Metrowich 1928: 65ff; see also Boucher 1973: 110f; Behr 1988: 184).

It was with the University Acts of 1916 that the South African Union established the first universities (Newton 1924: 72). The South African College received its charter as the English-medium University of Cape Town (UCT), and the Afrikaans-medium Stellenbosch University (SU) originated of Victoria College. Both universities came into existence on 2 April 1918 (Boucher 1973: 140). The decisive moment in not merging the SAC with the Victoria College had been a generous donation of £100.000 by Mr. Jannie Marais of Coetzenburg to a higher education institution in Stellenbosch after his death. According to his will, the sum was attached to the condition “that the Dutch language in both of its forms [that is Afrikaans and Dutch, SB] [...] will occupy no lesser place than the other official language” (quoted from Brink 2006: 20; see also Boucher 1973: 134). It was thanks to this requirement coupled with the idea of Afrikanerdom, as outlined in the 1913 Council memorandum to government, that SU received its purpose as an institution of higher education.[98] The six remaining colleges in South Africa were grouped together and formed the federal examining

[97] The slogan that SU stands for an idea comes from that memorandum and, according to Brink (2006: 20), became the mantra of generations of SU students. With the fall of apartheid, it was not so much clear what “the idea” was. The narration that SU is special, however, persisted.

[98] After its coming into existence, SU consisted of four faculties: The Faculty of Literature and Philosophy, the Faculty for Mathematics and Natural Sciences, the Faculty of Education and the Faculty of Agriculture (SU Jaarboek 1919). According to SU’s yearbook of 1919, the faculties were subdivided into departments, which conferred bachelor’s, master’s and doctoral degrees, the Faculty of Law the degrees LLB and LLD. At the Faculty of Literature and Philosophy there existed a Classics, Dutch and Afrikaans, English, French and German, Hebrew History, Philosophy and Economics Department. BA, MA, LittD and PhD degrees were awarded by the Faculty. The Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Sciences consisted of the following departments: Mathematics, Applied Mathematics, Geology, Physics, Chemistry, Botany and Zoology. The Faculty conferred BSc, MSc and DSc degrees. The Faculty of Education did not confer degrees in Education in 1919 but rather trained enrolled students as teachers and prepared them for examinations by the Union Education Department and Education Department of the Cape Province. Oenology and Viticulture, Agriculture, Botany and Horticulture were the departments of the Faculty of Agriculture, in which BSc (Agriculture), MSc (Agriculture) and DSc (Agriculture) were conferred (SU Jaarboek 1919: 134). Additional faculties were opened in the decades to come: The Faculty of Law opened in 1921, and the Faculty of Commerce and Administration followed in 1925. In the 1940s and 1950s, the Faculty of Engineering, the Faculty of Military Sciences and the Faculty of Health Sciences were added. In 1963 the Theological Seminary turned into the Faculty of Theology.

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University of South Africa (UNISA)[99] in 1916, succeeding the aforementioned University of the Cape of Good Hope (UCGH) (Ajayi et al. 1996: 33; see also Boucher 1973: 135 and Behr 1988: 184). Almost 30 years later, in 1946, after the federal college structure had come to an end, UNISA turned into the distance learning institution of South Africa. As of 1916, the South African Native College Fort Hare became the first institution serving black South African students controlled by the Department of Education, Arts and Science (Behr 1988: 184; Ajayi et al. 1996: 34); in 1951 the then University College of Fort Hare affiliated to Rhodes University.[100] Within a short period of time, higher education in the South African Union experienced enormous growth, and the existing institutions expanded continuously. Soon after the University Acts had been approved, the South African School of Mines and Technology was conferred university status as the English-medium University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg in 1922. The South African School of Mines and Technology had emerged in 1910 from the School of Mines in Kimberley (1896), which was located in close proximity to the largest gold mines in the world (Boucher 1973: 42, 100). The institution's rapid development in terms of resources, student numbers, equipment and range of work had justified the creation of another university (Metrowich 1928: 75f). Alongside the university colleges and newly-created universities, technical classes or technical institutes formed another subsection of educational institutes. It was in the technical institutes that the urgently needed technicians for the upcoming industries in an industrializing society, e.g. mining and railways, were trained.[101] The system of technical colleges expanded rapidly during the 1930s and again after the Second World War and covered the whole of South Africa (Cooper and Subotzky 2001: 9; Behr 1988: 139ff; Pittendrigh 1988).

[99] The University of South Africa was comprised of the Huguenot University College, Wellington; the Rhodes University College, Grahamstown; the Grey University College, Bloemfontein; the Transvaal University College, Pretoria; the Potchefstroom University College, Potchefstroom; and the Natal University College, Pietermaritzburg (Metrowich 1928: 106ff). Except for the Huguenot University College, all remaining Colleges later achieved university status: Rhodes University in 1947, the University of Natal in 1949, the University of the Free State in 1950, the University of the Witwatersrand in 1922, Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education in 1951, and Transvaal University College became the University of Pretoria in 1930.

[100] The coming into existence of the South African Native College at Fort Hare in 1916, of course, did not happen overnight. Its foundation goes back to the Lovedale Seminary for Education, as such maintained by the Glasgow Missionary Society as of the 1840s. It can be said to be the first institution in the Cape Colony that offered organized secondary education to Africans and prepared them for the matriculation exams at the UCGH (Burchell 1976: 60). One of the school's principles advocated the idea of a Native University already in 1878. However, it took almost 40 years to its realization. The process, including hindrances and difficulties, is presented in more detail by Burchell (1976). On standards and qualifications in the early years see Behr (1988: 184f).

[101] After the formation of the South African Union in 1910, the advanced technical education of the institutes was included into the engineering faculties of the university colleges, whilst the lower levels of the training up to matriculation were continued at non-university level, from 1923 onwards at so-called technical colleges (as some were renamed after the new Higher Education Act of 1923). These technical colleges – offering secondary rather than higher education – were controlled by the national Department of Education in contrast to the aforementioned division of responsibilities between national and provincial levels. As the training at the technical colleges could not be classified as higher education, the Van der Horst Commission of 1928 recommended that they should rather be classified as technical secondary schools without the right to prepare their students for post-matriculation examinations (Cooper and Subotzky 2001: 9). This led to their exclusion from UNISA and the university college system.

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5.1.2 University-State Relations – Between Steering and Granting Autonomy

All universities in South Africa were founded through a formal Act of Parliament, as higher education under the Act of Union from 1910 had become the responsibility of the central government. Financial matters and other relationships between universities and the state were regulated by additional acts (Moodie 1994: 2). The power to appoint affiliates of the university councils was held by the governor-general or the appropriate Minister. The legal dependence of South African universities on the state and the legislative intervention by the state, therefore, has a long tradition. Universities had to seek government approval for annual budgets as well as for new university statutes, for the establishment of faculties, departments or new courses. Respect for higher education as well as autonomy for universities, however, are said to have always been the principles that informed and guided the involvement of the state; decisions were often only taken after extensive consultation or upon expert advice (ibid.). Especially the decision whether to allow the enrolment of black students to universities was transferred to the universities themselves in the late 1920s and 1930s. In 1936, after the Universities of the Witwatersrand and Cape Town had admitted black students and had declared themselves "open universities", the then Minister of Education, JH Hofmeyr, stated that it was "part of the policy of the universities whether they want to register non-European students or not" (Murray 1982: 313). The white Afrikaans institutions, including SU, had limited admission to Whites (Behr 1988: 191).

All HEIs in the South African Union – university colleges and later the newly created universities – received state subsidies on the basis of ad hoc grants and loans (Walker 1929: 123). The Financial Relations Act from 1922 introduced the General Purposes Grant (so-called block grants), including "salaries, maintenance and general expenses, and special grants, [which] shall be applicable by the Council at its discretion to the general expenditure of the institution" (Cilliers 1945: 11, quoting the new regulation). The block grant scheme allowed universities greater responsibility, financial autonomy as well as long-term planning by determining own budgetary priorities. However, the same regulation explicitly referred additionally to "fee income and other revenue received" (ibid.) that universities and colleges were expected to charge. In the aftermath of the great depression, government control of financial matters at universities increased. The Minister himself was empowered to determine the subsidies paid to each HEI (ibid.). As Cilliers (1945: 14) showed, all subsidies were considerably cut in the years from 1930 to 1933. In 1932 the Minister of Education, DF Malan, stipulated the reduction of wages as well as of running costs (Murray 1982: 213ff).[102]

To increase the financial predictability for universities and colleges in the future, the Union Government appointed another committee[103] to do research into the funding of public higher education. The report of the Adamson Committee introduced a formula-based funding system. Formula-based funding means that the amount paid by the government to the universities is dependent on certain variables, such as student enrolments, fee income and

[102] SU, to give an illustration, received £51.961 in 1930, the amount being considerably reduced in the following years (1931: £48.000; 1932: £42.095; 1933: £40.926).

[103] In the period between 1910 and 1948, the government had appointed several commissions and committees to inquire different aspects of higher education in South Africa: the Thomson Commission (1910), the Laurence Commission (1914), the Hofmeyr Commission (1924), the Van der Horst Commission (1928), the Adamson Commission (1933), the Du Toit Committee (1944) (Cilliers 1945: 10).

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other revenue, which the government used to calculate its subsidies. Even though the government did not accept all the details proposed by the Adamson Committee, the concept of formula-funding was implemented (Cilliers 1945: 13ff) and has since remained the principle of subsidizing higher education in South Africa.

5.1.3 International Influences – Colonial Context, International Study Experiences and an Increasing Awareness of the Global

In a colonial context, such as the South African one, shaped by the Dutch and English, it must be reemphasized that the links to higher education experiences from other parts of the world is as old as the emergence of (higher) education itself. Already the beginning of an education system in the Cape was, according to Malherbe (1925: 25), merely a "transplanting" of institutions and traditions from the Netherlands with little modification. Also HEIs mirrored their European counterparts.[104] Apart from the federal purely examining non-residential University of South Africa (an institution following the model of the University of London similar to those established in Canada and New Zealand around this time [Newton 1924: 106; Boucher 1973: 23]), all South African universities, according to Newton (1924: 119ff), were build on the model of the modern English provincial university, such as the University of Manchester, founded in 1851. Besides the chancellor and the vice chancellor (or principal), governing authority in that model was shared between the Court of Governors as supreme governing body, the lay-dominated Council as executive body responsible for finance and property and related policies and the academic Senate (ibid: 120f). Arthur Newton (1924: 2), in the book "The Universities and Educational Systems of the British Empire" even stated "that there is now a general similarity of university organisation and curriculum throughout the Empire". The curriculum hugely reflected the Scottish system with a three year bachelor's degree and an additional one year honours degree for a selected number of students.

Among senior faculty, a majority had graduated from European universities, most of all from British universities. For the University of Witwatersrand, for example, it was calculated that of the 47 Senate professors in 1948 28 professors held a degree from overseas, 19 from South Africa (Moodie 1994: 2). For Stellenbosch University (SU), the figures were only slightly different. Taking into account all professors in the first half of the year 1948, out of a total of 60 professors, with information on degrees available for 56 of them, the following became clear: 23 held degrees from South African universities (among them 16 with degrees solely from SU), 26 had received their first degree(s) in South Africa and on top of that one from a foreign university (most of whom did their PhD in either the Netherlands or Germany). One professor held a first degree from outside and another degree from a university in South Africa and six professors held degrees solely from outside South Africa (own calculation, based on de Bruyn 1989). What these figures show is that, just prior to the National Party's electoral victory in 1948, the percentage among the professoriate with international experience (at least one degree from a non-South African university) was remarkably high

[104] See also Chapter 4.1 on the history of the university, its worldwide expansion and the critical reflections on the transfer and takeover of external university models, their construction by individuals and their adaptation to local conditions.

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with close to 60 percent in both cases. In comparison with the beginning of the year 1918, however, when more than 90 percent of the 21 professors working at SU had an international degree experience, the percentage had shrunk (own calculation, based on de Bruyn 1989). This is not surprising given the fact that with the development of a South African higher education sector more people took the opportunity to finish their degree(s) in South Africa and to pursue an academic career in the country. However, this is also an indicator for the increasing localization of higher education at the end of the 1940s. The percentage of professors with a purely local South African academic background had steadily increased over the years, from less than 10 percent to more than 40 percent by 1948. The same pattern can be observed throughout the world with the consolidation of national higher education systems.[105] It is to be assumed that this applies also to countries like England, France or Germany for the Early Modern Age.

With regards to international students at Stellenbosch University (SU), the situation was quite to the opposite. According to the figures provided by SU, no degree-seeking international students were enrolled at SU prior to 1948, neither on the undergraduate nor on the postgraduate level.[106] However, quite a number of South Africans received their entire or parts of their higher education outside South Africa. Around the turn of the 19th century, for example, the demand for higher education by African students who had obtained their secondary education at some of the missionary schools, became so pressing that the non-existence of an institution for higher learning open to African students led to the migration of about 200 African students – partly facilitated by the church – to overseas for educational matters, mostly to the United States of America and England (Burchell 1976: 67). The fear among South African Whites that those Africans with a study experience at Negro colleges in the Southern States of America would bring back hostile sentiments towards Europeans was one rationale for the continued effort to establish an institution of higher learning for Africans in South Africa. This, however, only turned into reality with the creation of the South African Native College at Fort Hare in 1916 (ibid.). Also many white South Africans went to study at universities overseas, e.g. for courses that South African universities initially did not offer (such as Medicine) or to continue higher education and especially scientific research after they had earned a first degree from South Africa (Boucher 1973: 63).[107]

In the 1930s, the first officially organized student exchanges between South Africa and Germany were taking place. One of its initiators was the *Deutsch-Afrikaanse Kulturgemeinschaft*, established in 1932. The exchange of students and lecturers formed part of its statute. The German Academic Exchange Service (Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst [DAAD]) as well as the German Alexander von Humboldt Foundation

[105] See also Chapter 4.2 on the mobility of international students and staff as well as the contributions from Asia, Latin America, the Middle East, South Africa and Eurasia in Kuhn and Weidemann (2010), e.g. Vessuri (2010: 150) on the nationalization of academic staff in Latin America.

[106] In the statistics, as provided by SU's Division for Institutional Planning and Research in December 2012, there are a few students with an unknown nationality. Yet, whether they were of non-South African origin cannot be reconstructed.

[107] Notably, students from the Cape went to overseas institutions for advanced studies already as early as during Dutch rule at the Cape. Between 1652 and 1794, for example, 31 students from the Cape read Law at the University of Leiden; the relation to Leiden was revived in the 19th century and extended to other fields of scholarship besides Legal Studies (van Wyk, 9 June 1995).

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supported the idea financially. Their activities in support of South African students in Germany and Germans in South Africa must be seen in the light of the German cultural policy of the German Reich and its attempt to facilitate bilateral cultural exchanges between different nations, mutual understanding and respect among different peoples as well as external representation of the German *volk* in a time of increasing isolation of the German National Socialism (Laitenberger 1976: 144f; Alter 2000: 43f; see also Siebe 2009; Impekoven 2012). At the beginning of 1936, the first German students arrived in South Africa and studied in Pretoria and Potchefstroom. The University of Pretoria, from that year onwards, had been offering one place, and soon after two places, to German students; the DAAD reacted in return by offering one study place in Germany to a South African student. Also SU was offering two scholarships for German students (van der Merwe 1982: 121f). In the period from 1935/1936 to 1937/1938, nine scholarships were offered in total to German students in South Africa (Laitenberger 1976: 176) and six scholarships in the same period to South Africans for studies in Germany from the DAAD (ibid: 280). The Alexander von Humboldt Foundation provided fifteen scholarships to South Africans between 1925 and 1939 (ibid: 281ff). About five scholarships per year were made available to South Africans during the 1930s and early 1940s through the German Economic Commission (Impekoven 2012: 286).

Students from Stellenbosch University most of all chose the Netherlands or Germany as their major study destination due to the assumed cultural proximity. One of those students was Werner Eiselen, who later chaired the Commission on Bantu Education and became one of the architects of the apartheid ideology. In the 1920s, Eiselen went to Germany to do his PhD at the University of Hamburg under the supervision of Carl Meinhof and Diedrich Westermann. In 1926 he became Professor for “Bantuology” at SU. On the website of the current Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology, the history reads as follows:

> “He and his later colleagues developed an approach to the subject, known as "volkekunde", that actively supported Afrikaner nationalism as well as the policies of apartheid. Dr. Eiselen himself became a senior state official and advocate of Separate Development policies (as apartheid was referred to). He became the Secretary of Native Affairs under Hendrik Verwoerd, who had also been an academic in the social sciences at SU.”[108]

“Volkekunde” was developed at SU from the 1930s as a version of cultural Anthropology. As such, it must be seen as an Afrikaner home-grown intellectual tradition. The underlying assumptions of “volkekunde” offer a disturbing look into how a solution of the “Native Question in South Africa” was to be found and how Afrikaner nationalism was to be promoted. Each population group, the postulation went, has a distinct ethnos that must be preserved and cultivated to ensure diversity (Dubow 2006: 266). It was exactly on that basis that the policies of separate development received legitimation and were later implemented by the apartheid regime. There are historians (e.g. Kros 1996) who claim that the exposure of some South African students to the proto-fascist ideas coming up in the Weimar Republic of the 1920s and to the ideas of Nazism in the pre-World War II period influenced their later

[108] See http://sun025.sun.ac.za/portal/page/portal/Arts/Departments/sociology/teaching/Social%20Anthropology [retrieved 17 August 2011].

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thinking in racial categories and ethnic differences and the emergence of the concept of separate development (see also Pugach 2004: 836; Malherbe 1975: 27).

> "[T]here were a number of leading Afrikaners [who] had become impressed by Hitler's success in propagating the doctrines of National Socialism in Germany. […] Hitler's regimentation of the German youth and particularly his use of symbol-slogans and national rallies to create a feeling of national consciousness were soon copied in building up an exclusive Afrikaner nationalism." (Malherbe 1975: 27)

The sympathy with these ideas may have resulted in a spill over of attitudes in the White and non-White relations. One of the major ideological originators and architects of apartheid, the already mentioned HF Verwoerd, Stellenbosch graduate, Professor of Applied Psychology at SU and Prime Minister of South Africa from 1961 to 1966, also spent the years between 1924 and 1928 at the universities in Hamburg, Leipzig and Berlin. Yet, according to Hermann Giliomee (2003: 377), South African historian and political scientist, the later introduction of apartheid legislation, rather referred to the segregationist policies of the American South. Key politicians of the time, among them Verwoerd himself, as well as the church had unambiguously rejected the linkage between German and South African nationalism (ibid.).[109] This is, however, but one view on the matter. And more research would be needed.

Another important Stellenbosch graduate with study experiences overseas was EG Malherbe. His legacy in South Africa gives valuable insights into the design of the South African nation-state in the period between the first and second World Wars, especially regarding the development of South African research under the increasing awareness of South Africa's position in the world in the late 1920s and 1930s. Malherbe featured prominently in linking social science research and policy making and as leading South African educationalist. After his master's degree in Philosophy from SU in 1918, Malherbe went to earn a second master's degree in Education at Colombia University and a PhD degree of its Teachers College in 1924. Back in South Africa, Malherbe became the key figure in establishing a National Bureau of Educational Research in 1929 as information gathering and research division within the Union Department of Education, and in fostering the social research capacity of South Africa and the development of the university sector (Dubow 2001: 106). The National Bureau resembled in many ways the American Social Sciences Research Council – as the idea for its creation was developed during Malherbe's stay in America[110] – as well as the Councils of Educational Research in New Zealand and Australia. The latter two were set up with significant financial support from the Carnegie Corporation (ibid: 109). The Corporation's grants were also crucial for the foundation of national research institutions in South Africa, such as the Institute for Race Relations (1929), and for the National Bureau of Educational Research and its social and educational research projects, a library as well as printing and publication expenses. Until its incorporation into the

[109] For a more sophisticated analysis of the emergence of the apartheid ideology, the origination of the term, the role of Afrikaner intellectuals, the newspaper *Die Burger* and the role of the Dutch Reformed Church see Giliomee (2003). Kinghorn et al. (1986) provide an account on apartheid after four decades, the juridical profile and social consequences of apartheid and most of all the Theology of Apartheid.

[110] Further information on Malherbe's life, his involvement with South African research as well as the National Bureau of Educational Research can be read in Fleisch (1995), Bell (2000) and Dubow (2001). Malherbe's research projects included, for example, a study on "Poor Whitism", Bilingual Schooling, Educational Measurement, Efficiency Surveys on African Education, and Intelligence Testings.

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Human Sciences Research Council in 1969, the National Bureau was considerably influential on policy making (Fleisch 1995: 350). To strengthen the research capacity of the South African nation-state as an industrializing society and to develop a permanent research infrastructure had become a major concern for the South African government after the experiences of the First World War. It had been considered necessary to develop a skilled human resource base and technical expertise related to wartime concerns of industrial self-reliance. Further reasons for the growing attention of the increasingly centralizing state to scientific planning and management were, according to Dubow (2006: 236f, 241, 245), material advancement, national progress and efficiency as well as international recognition for national achievements and international cooperation. The interest in state planning and the attempt to establish a professional civil service were rooted in domestic South African ideas. Reference points to and similar thinking in the United Kingdom and the United States of America, however, were obvious (Jeeves 2004: 1). All of this led at first to the advancement of applied research, especially in the Natural Sciences, e.g. through the Research Grants Board. This was the first grant-giving body, established in 1918, which was located within the Department of Mines and Industry. Organized academic research, therefore, had not originated in the universities – as they were at first primarily concerned with teaching and the reproduction of knowledge – but was rather organized through government departments and laboratories (Mouton 2010: 239). In parallel, also the educational and social science research base was broadened nationally, with Malherbe and his National Bureau later playing a crucial role. His and the Bureau's engagement in the organization of the 1934 New Education Fellowship conference with 4.000 international delegates coming to South Africa deserve special mention. The topic of the conference was "educational adaptations in a changing society" (Dubow 2001: 120; see also Dubow 2006: 228ff). It was here that the awareness of an increasing integration and competition in a global environment received further input.

> "Considered as public spectacle, the conference's overriding significance lay in the manner in which South African educational and social debates were projected in a national as well as an international context. Also significant was the impulse to express South Africanism in the language of world citizenship and to situate it beyond as well as within the established boundaries of the Empire-Commonwealth." (Dubow 2001: 121)

With its heart increasingly in the universities, knowledge production in the 1920s and 1930s was strongly influenced by the state. Research and its funding were coordinated by ministerial departments and the state became the prime funder of research (more so after the withdrawal of money for research by the Carnegie Corporation at the beginning of the 1940s). The promotion of studies with national importance and more intense research in science and technology against the background of fast economic growth and South Africa's involvement in the Second World War against Germany were central on the agenda. South Africa's rather controversial entry into the war had resulted in further consciousness of the international arena and of a new international order in the making by the Western Allies (Jeeves 2004: 2). The creation of a national profile in an international environment and, therefore, the participation in an internationally competitive environment was one of the major goals of science policy at that time and also constituted a strong moment of nation-building

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(Mouton 2010: 243). The foundations of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) in 1945, the largest science laboratory in South Africa outside of the universities, modelled on equivalent institutions in the British Commonwealth, and its counterpart for the Social Sciences and Humanities, the National Council for Social Research in 1946 (emanated from the National Bureau and later turned into the Human Sciences Research Council [HSRC]) speak a clear language (Dubow 2006: 243). The CSIR and the HSRC (and their predecessors) did their own research in their laboratories and research institutes but also on the basis of bursaries and grants, which increasingly promoted research of university academics as well as of museums (Pienaar et al. 2000: 28). Given the international awareness as described, it is clear that university professors also worked in that context.[111] Unfortunately, there is little systematic information available about how the international played itself out at the universities during the time.[112]

5.2 Higher Education during the Apartheid Era (1948–1990)

The electoral victory of DF Malan's National Party in 1948 (against Jan Smuts' United Party) came to the surprise of many and had been the result of accelerating political mobilization of nationalist Afrikaners since the beginning of the Second World War (Jeeves 2004: 10f). In the ongoing political party competition, the National Party had been obliged to come up with a more radical alternative and a counter-ideology to the United Party's liberal political ideas. In the following, the apartheid idea and Malan's Party were backed by a large majority (Giliomee 2003: 379). The major goals of the first all-Afrikaans cabinet since 1910 were to find a solution for the "racial problem" in South Africa as well as to reach independence and the status of a Republic. Its triumph led to the increasing replacement of Anglophone civil servants by Afrikaans loyalists and to the increasing use of Afrikaans as medium of communication.

Regarding scientific issues, the first decade of the National Party government was characterized by pragmatism and a cautious approach regarding institutional change. South Africa's involvement in international scientific organizations was promoted, especially as these organizations formed a platform for quasi-diplomatic communication during a period of increasing isolation of South Africa from international associations due to local political developments (Dubow 2006: 257). The Sharpeville massacre in 1960, resulting from demonstrations against the imposed pass laws and the South African police opening fire against the crowd killing 69 people, marked a turning point in South Africa's history (Beck

[111] Further information on university cooperation with the science Councils and their reactions on the science policy of the time would be available in the research documents and funding agreements of universities. In terms of the research function at South African universities and university colleges, a report drafted by the National Research Council and Board is illuminating. Based on questionnaires to the principles of all South African institutions, they found that the research function, even though considered as a fundamental function, was neglected in South Africa in favour of the teaching side. Lack of funds and understaffing were mentioned as the main reasons for research being limited to a small number of individual research projects only. Only two of the surveyed institutions reported that they had a Research Committee dealing with research matters. To increasingly boost the research function in South Africa and in collaboration with the nation-state and the scientific Councils was the main recommendation following from the analysis (National Research Council and Board 1940).

[112] During the research, the University of the Witwatersrand, the University of Pretoria and the University of Cape Town were approached in order to get statistics on international students and lecturers prior to 1990. None of these institutions, however, was able to provide figures older than 1994.

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2000: 142). Not only did the event lead to the banning of the African National Congress (ANC)[113] and the Pan-African Congress (PAC)[114], the shootings also provoked great international protest and the condemnation of South Africa from the United Nations (UN). South Africa's breaking with the Commonwealth in 1961 and the subsequent establishment of the Republic of South Africa (RSA) in the same year must also be linked to the massacre. By 1965 the country was excluded from all inter-African organizations, and diplomatic isolation was in place (Dubow 2006: 257). The apartheid state's view on its position in the world was severely altered, and an increasing nationalization of knowledge production and scientific activity took place. "Knowledge was being politicized, institutionalized, and nationalized as never before" (ibid: 266). Science and knowledge generation were tried to be turned into a self-reliant and independent national project by the apartheid government, with path breaking research results, such as the first heart transplantation in 1967 by Christiaan Barnard at the University of Cape Town (UCT), being celebrated as a matter of national pride and ensuring South Africa international acclaim and attention.[115]

To what extent this process of nationalization was complemented with a process of internationalization on the level of HEIs shall be approached in the following by means of secondary literature, material from the qualitative interviews (conducted between August 2010 and May 2012) as well as on the basis of information on appointed professors and their international degree experiences, international students, opportunities for international mobility as well as international publishing. This will, however, be limited to information from Stellenbosch University (SU).[116] Before, the chapter will broadly trace the developments in the higher education sector between 1948 and 1990 by looking at the institutionalization of inequality in higher education, the attempted instrumentalization of HEIs for government purposes, at resistance from the universities as well as at the state of higher education at the end of apartheid.

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[113] The ANC had been founded in 1912 as "the voice of Black South Africans" (Ellis 1991: 439). Initially, it started to fight apartheid with peaceful means. By the mid-1940s, the ANC experienced a form of radicalization through the formation of the ANC Youth League, established in 1944 by a group of militant black youths, amongst others Nelson Mandela (Ellis 1991: 441; Drechsel and Schmidt 1995: 124ff). After its banning in 1960, the ANC organized armed struggle against apartheid from exile (Ellis 1991, 2012).

[114] In 1959 a small group of radicals got separated from the ANC, which resulted in the creation of the PAC (Beck 2000: 141).

[115] A further illustration of the perspective politicians had on knowledge generation would be the speech of Prime Minister BJ Vorster on a programme of uranium enrichment in 1970, in which he said: "South African scientists have thus again added to the prestige of their country in no uncertain terms. In the past, they have made lasting contributions to science, but perhaps the achievement that I am announcing today is unequalled in the history of our country" (quoted from Dubow 2006: 262). National security goals and military calculations in reaction to the international arms embargo were the major drivers for defence related research and development, worth multi-billion Rand and including the nuclear weapons programme capable to build atom bombs (Bawa and Mouton 2004: 196). Nuclear and Material Sciences, therefore, were strongly pushed by the South African government at South African universities. Also mining and agriculture industries were highly influential, as they were central to the survival of the apartheid regime (ibid.). At the end of the 1970s, science and technology (but not necessarily the individual academics behind the projects), according to Dubow, "were firmly invoked in support of an ideology of modernizing techno-nationalism, which ensured that white – and particularly Afrikaner – intellectual prowess was celebrated as a key weapon in the fight against communism and African nationalism" (Dubow 2006: 258).

[116] As explained earlier, it would have been interesting to compare the developments with regards to international students and lecturers with the other big South African universities (University of the Witwatersrand, University of Pretoria, University of Cape Town). Yet, they could not deliver the necessary statistics.

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5.2.1 The Entrenchment of Sectionalism in Higher Education

South Africa's HEIs experienced severe pressures under the National Party government. Its apartheid policy was enforced upon all spheres of life and implied the reorganization of the state along ethnic lines, aimed at separate development of the different South African population groups. Even though education in South Africa already had been segregated prior to 1948, segregation now became formalized, institutionalized and promoted by the new government and backed by the legal system of the country (Sehoole 2005: 11). Amongst a series of discriminatory laws, one of the first measures taken by the new government to realize its apartheid ideology was the Bantu Education Act (1953), by which the government established a separate black education system under state control.[117] The aim of Bantu education, according to HF Verwoerd, one of the architects of apartheid and at that time Minister of Native Affairs, was to create complementary economic and political units for different ethnic groups in order to address the "ethnic problems" of the country. In an often quoted speech, Verwoerd said "There is no place for him [the Bantu, SB] in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. Within his own community, however, all doors are open" (Pelzer 1966: 83). The Act was based on the findings and recommendations of the Commission on Native Education (1949–1951), also known as the Eiselen Report, named after its chairperson, the already mentioned Werner Eiselen, son of a German missionary and Anthropologist at SU. The promotion and maintenance of cultural differentiation as well as the control of African political involvement was what Eiselen intended with segregation. Resulting from the Bantu Education Act, the government's Native Affairs Department took over control of all schools for black children, including the ones previously operated by the churches and missions. Thus, education became more vocational and African languages were increasingly used as teaching media. The reproduction of subordination of Africans to the Whites was the order of the day (Sehoole 2005: 14). With regard to universities, the report on Native Education in South Africa focused mainly on enrolments of non-white students at the existing universities in South Africa.[118] The report recommended the establishment of Bantu universities. This recommendation had no immediate effect; it was, however, turned into reality a couple of years later.[119]

The Extension of University Education Act – one of the core elements of racist apartheid policy towards the realization of the vision of a separate society – led to the formal

[117] The passing of the Bantu Education Act (later renamed into Black Education Act) was preceded by a number of discriminatory acts under the National Party: the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (1949), the Immorality Act (1950), the Population Registration Act (1950) and the Group Areas Act (1950). A battery of race laws was already introduced after the foundation of the South African Union in 1910: the Mines and Works Act (1911), the Native Land Act (1913) and the Natives Urban Areas Act (1923). The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (1953) finally realized racial segregation in the public arena, such as in schools, hospitals, public transport or at beaches. This has been labelled Petty Apartheid (Beck 2000: 125) in contrast to the so-called Grand Apartheid, which after the expansion of race laws in the following decades reached its peak with the geographical segregation through the creation of homeland and separate neighbourhoods for the different South African population groups (Thompson 1990: 191ff).

[118] Fort Hare numbered 343 Indian, coloured and Bantu students in 1949 (with no white students at all). Of UNISA's 1.588 non-residential students in 1948, around a quarter was "non-European". UCT reported 146 and the University of the Witwatersrand 165 "non-European" registrations in 1949. In Natal, 330 mostly Indian students at the end of the 1940s were soon expected to be taught at separate buildings and separate lecture rooms. At Rhodes University only a few black students attended those classes that were not available at Fort Hare. Afrikaans-medium universities had never admitted any black student (Union of South Africa 1951: 69ff).

[119] The Eiselen Report uses the terms Bantu and Africans synonymously.

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segregation of universities on the basis of racial criteria by statute, and it restricted the entry of black[120] students to white institutions (Republic of South Africa, Extension of University Education Act, Act No. 45 of 1959).[121] The term "extension" entails actually a huge irony as the Act intended to limit access for Blacks. Black students were only admitted to the better equipped and research active white institutions in exceptional cases if the desired programmes were not offered in black institutions and also only after ministerial permission (Moodie 1994: 5). As a consequence, so-called "tribal colleges" for the different ethnic groups in South Africa were set up in the rural areas: the University College of the North in 1960 for the Sotho-Tsonga, Tswana, Venda and the Transvaal Ndebele as well as the University College of Zululand for the Zulu and Swazi. Fort Hare was restricted to the education of Xhosa- and Sotho-speakers in the Ciskei following the Fort Hare Transfer Act in 1959 and its being taken over by the government (Ajayi et al. 1996: 36; Moodie 1994: 5). With the University College of the Western Cape (1959) and the University College in Durban (later Durban-Westville) (1972), higher learning institutions were founded for those parts of the population classified by the state as coloured and Indian.[122] As they were regarded as the training spot for the South African "middle class", the latter two were situated in urban areas. The five colleges established in this first phase were later conferred university status. Between 1976 and 1982, more institutions were opened. One university was linked to each of the artificially built and independent "self-governing" so-called TBVC republics (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and Ciskei) or *homelands* for African populations: the University of Transkei, North West University, the University of Venda and the already existing University of Fort Hare in the Ciskei. Two further institutions were founded as "special purpose institutions" (Cooper and Subotzky 2001: 8). As of 1976, the Medical University of South Africa (Medunsa) offered black students a medical education. Vista University, founded in 1982, worked with a number of strictly controlled offshore campuses in urban townships in and around Pretoria in order to deal with university education of urban Africans. This was also to avoid new student protests, such as the uprisings in Soweto, the South Western Townships in Johannesburg, against schooling in Afrikaans in 1976 (see also Behr 1988: 192ff). Around the passing of the Act in Parliament, Prime Minister Verwoerd gave an Address on the Occasion of the Opening of the Academic Year at Stellenbosch University. In that speech he justified the Act in the following words:

> "When own university institutions for the Bantu are established in their own areas it will also become evident that the different Bantu national communities will only obtain this real value of universities and university-trained persons if these intuitions, lecturers and students emanate from their midst, if the institutions are built and the students study in their own communities and hence areas, and if they stay

[120] Many authors use the term *Blacks* encompassing all groups suppressed under apartheid, which means for Indians, Coloureds and Africans (Moodie 1994; Davies 1996; Sehoole 2005). "Black", if not otherwise stated, refers to all disadvantaged people in this work.

[121] The idea for separate HEIs, according to Behr (1988: 184), was not an invention of the apartheid government but had existing predecessors in the history of the United States of America, where in the middle of the 19th century several institutions were founded for "Negroes", such as Wilberforce University (1856), Atlanta University (1865) and Lincoln University (1866).

[122] The Population Registration Act (1950) had divided the South African society into three "races" that were sought to be separated from one another: Whites, Coloureds and Natives. The law simultaneously determined and emphasized the hierarchy among these groups, with the white population being at the top and "Natives" at the bottom of the scale.

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> among their own people to serve them. Those who attack us in South Africa when we give to the Bantu population their own university institutions and thereby ensure that their leaders are not weaned away by going to the white universities and community as pupils, do not realize that it is the greatest service on earth that a guardian can render, namely to allow the nation and community under his care to retain its young savants and to let them become its leaders." (Pelzer 1966: 250)

Besides the universities, the sector of the technical colleges also experienced further development during the apartheid. In 1955 the government removed all of them from the "higher education" financial scheme, though it was only in 1967 that the provinces overtook control. Extensive lobbying, however, resulted in the establishment of four so-called Colleges of Advanced Technical Education (CATEs), which were given the status of HEIs by a formal Act of Parliament in 1967. The CATEs were located in the big urban centres of South Africa: Cape Town, Durban, Pretoria and Johannesburg. These institutions continued their advanced technical qualification with national diploma awarded upon the completion of a three-year training (Behr 1988: 146f). The CATEs became the predecessors of technikons, whose introduction in 1979, according to Cooper and Subotzky (2001: 9), was not more than a simple name change. The introduction of the technikon as another type of institution alongside universities (and colleges for vocational training), from the vantage point of the South African National Commission of Higher Education (NCHE), established in the 1990s, testified not only to the keeping with international trends in higher education in an era of far-reaching isolation (NCHE 1996: 29) but also to an essential higher education policy of the Afrikaner government: Universities were exclusively determined to be research institutions whereas technikons were expected to apply scientific knowledge. The functional differentiation between the three types (universities, technikons and colleges) was determined by the Van Wyk de Vries Commission 1974 and the Goode Committee in 1978. Consequently, the qualification structures at the different institutions were supposed to be developed according to their functions. The opening of the first technikons in the 1980s, however, proved to be difficult, because universities for a long time had established programmes with a vocational focus as well, which had resulted in an overlap of tasks. Nevertheless, further CATEs and later technikons opened in the following years, among them one distance learning technikon. Similar to the separate development approach in the university system, a number of historically black technikons came into existence (Cooper and Subotzky 2001: 10).[123]

The whole sector, therefore, experienced the extension of higher education for black people. Besides the already existing universities (and technical colleges), a parallel system was established that served the non-white parts of the South African population only. The main difference between the group of the Historically Black Institutions (HBIs) and Historically White Institutions (HWIs), therefore, was that the former were socially engineered or planned institutions whereas the latter had emerged organically.[124]

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[123] More detail on the development of the technikons in the 1980s can be found in Behr (1988: 142ff).

[124] A study, initiated by the Desmond Tutu Educational Trust, implemented by the Education Policy Unit of the University of the Western Cape and published in 1994, reasoned, that given the differences between historically white and historically black universities due to the apartheid project the labelling *historically disadvantaged* seemed adequate for characterizing previously black universities in contrast to the Historically Advantaged Institutions (HAIs) (Badat 1994).

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Opponents of apartheid retrospectively interpreted the Extension of University Education Act (1959) as follows: Ideological goals of the fragmentation of the higher education sector and of the so-called policy of separate development in the various aspects of life were the unequal allocation of resources on the basis of racial origin, the production of ethnic identity and subordination as naturally given, the education of a body of civil servants for the Bantustan bureaucracies, the segregation of the black population into controllable minorities and, therefore, the avoidance of black power overtake and dominance in South Africa (Reddy 2004: 10f; Sehoole 2005: 16). The organization of the higher education sector in South Africa, according to this interpretation, had as its main aim the reproduction of power and privilege of the ruling white and male elite and the subordination of Blacks and women (Bunting 2004b: 45).

5.2.2 Universities as Instruments to Implement the Apartheid Ideology and Resistance from within Institutions of Higher Education

The South African higher education sector under apartheid was constructed on the model of the intervening state as a hybrid form of both the state control model and the state supervision/regulation model.[125]

> "The view of the previous government was that formal higher education institutions in South Africa are essentially legal entities whose nature and functions are prescribed by law. Because all formal higher education institutions are in this sense 'the creatures of the state', they have no powers or rights other than those prescribed by law." (Bunting 1994: 19)

However, the combination of Afrikaner affirmative action on the one hand and institutionalized segregation as a vision for state development on the other led to a quite ambiguous relationship between state and HEIs. The new black institutions were steered by the state on the basis of a state control model, whereas white institutions experienced some form of institutional autonomy within the limits of the apartheid legal framework, not least in terms of funding arrangements (Moodie 1994: 14, 23; du Toit 2007: 104). Yet, numerous incidents of censorship (on literature as well as on teaching materials), of banning, arresting, of the prosecution and even assassinations of students and staff opposing the system as well as of police interventions on campus appeared as severe infringements of academic freedom (du Toit 2007: 103; Ndebele 1997: 445). The assassination of David Webster, social anthropologist at the University of the Witwatersrand and anti-apartheid activist, in May 1989 through apartheid forces and the detention of Barbara Hogan, one of his students, in 1981 and her imprisonment for high treason are a case in point (Klugman 1989: 519f).[126]

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[125] Theoretical models on the relationship between state and higher education sector in that period are discussed by, amongst others, Moja and Cloete (1996).

[126] As early as at the end of 1968, Prime Minister Vorster made clear that he would be willing to interact in university affairs in case of continuing protest: "But now, during the past few days at Cape Town University and at the University of the Witwatersrand – I do not know whether it has spread to other universities yet – there have been certain agitations and they are allegedly called "sit-ins". […] Therefore I want to state very clearly that I have great respect for the traditional autonomy of the university, but there is a limit which may not be exceeded and I want to take this opportunity this afternoon to say to the authorities, the various Councils and others who are in control of those universities: I will give you a reasonable chance to find your own solutions to these troubles at Cape Town University and Witwatersrand University, since you are autonomous universities. But if you do not do so within a reasonable time, I shall do so myself and I shall do so very thoroughly" (Extract from a speech at Heilbron on 16 August 1968, quoted from Geyser 1977: 91f).

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From the perspective of the government, all HEIs were supposed to serve first and foremost the interests of the respective ethnic group, thus to become a "volksuniversiteit". This was especially true for the white Afrikaans-medium universities[127], which were expected to produce the next generation of politicians and civil servants of the apartheid system. The Afrikaans universities stood under the guidance of academics loyal to government so that there was a close relationship between state bureaucracy and institutions. They recognized by and large the higher education policy of the apartheid government and followed their instructions and regulations as their existence as well as their financial potency depended fundamentally on their support to the government. An alignment with government policy was also seen as part of their social and political obligation. The fact that in 1990 96 percent of the student body in the residential Afrikaans universities was white gives an idea of their obedience to the government and the extremely limited efforts being made to bring Blacks into the institutions, after the 1983 Universities Amendment Act had permitted the white universities to admit black students (Behr 1988: 197; Bunting 2004b: 37). The six Afrikaans universities were run in strongly authoritarian ways. Centralized authority and senior academics (e.g. principals, vice principals, deans, heads of departments etc.), strong strategic planning units as well as a crucial mid-level management in control of the institution and capable to realize change, played a powerful role (Bunting 2004b: 43). The universities were largely instrumental to the apartheid ideology; knowledge production was mainly directed at conserving the status quo in the country and determined by a local socio-political agenda (ibid: 45). An example is the military research. It was carried out in order to circumvent the international armament sanctions laid out against the country by the UN Security Council in 1977 following the Soweto uprising (and even earlier the voluntary embargo in 1963) and thus to become militarily self-reliant (Bawa and Mouton 2004: 196).

Stellenbosch University (SU), to a considerable extent, held a special status among the white Afrikaans universities. Over time, it had produced four of the six Prime Ministers, who had served under apartheid, heads of state as well as Ministers, not to forget intellectuals that laid some of the cornerstones of the apartheid ideology, such as the Stellenbosch graduate and Professor Werner Eiselen. SU is understood to be the cradle of apartheid: It was under the roof of the old buildings of the Theological Seminary in Dorp Straat that the concept of separate development came into being.[128] SU was considered as *the* university of

[127] The following five institutions formed part of that group: the University of the Orange Free State, Potchefstroom University, the University of Pretoria, the Rand Afrikaans University and Stellenbosch University. In these institutions, Afrikaans was the only official medium of communication. In the sixth of the white Afrikaans universities, the University of Port Elizabeth, founded in 1964 to counter the English Rhodes University in the Eastern Cape and to bring conservative white English-speaking students closer to government, English was used as a second official language next to Afrikaans. Also this university was led by conservative white Afrikaans speakers (Bunting 2004b: 40). The foundations of the University of Port Elisabeth and of the Rand Afrikaans University in 1966 illustrate a rhetorical shift by the government: from the Afrikanerization of existing institutions to the foundation of new ones to service the Afrikaner *volk*. The creation of Rand Afrikaans University formed the equivalent of the English University of the Witwatersrand (Dubow 2006: 264f).

[128] According to Giliomee (2003: 375), the following persons were responsible for the formulation of the apartheid concept: NP van Wyk Louw, one of the Afrikaner nationalist intellectuals and premier man of Afrikaans letters, who during the 1930s and 1940s had worked in the education department of the University of Cape Town; GBA Gerdener, member of the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC), founder of a black mission school of the DRC in the Transvaal at the beginning of the 1930s and Professor of Missiology at SU from the end of the 1930s and the various editors of the influential Cape Town based Afrikaner newspaper *Die Burger* (Albert Geyer, Phil Weber and Piet Cillie).

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government and the most distinguished Afrikaans university. It enjoyed the support of the leading National Party and was a strong national as well as ideological institution. Some called SU "Afrikanerdom's holy place" while others referred to it rather as something like a holiday camp, contrasting it with the excitements of the bigger cities (Hill 1983: 124). Yet, due to the closeness to the Cape Town based Parliament, SU was in a good position to influence politics. "It was widely believed on the Stellenbosch campus that, because the university has a special place in the government's heart, campus politics tend to be noticed at national level" (ibid.).

The four white English language universities developed quite an ambiguous relationship to the National Party government.[129] While they acknowledged that they were as well public state institutions that received large parts of their financial subsidies from the state, the English universities, however, drew on their liberal values and roots and refused to accept the government ideology that universities were not more than "creatures of the state" and that they had to serve the national needs of the apartheid system. Instead, the English universities regarded themselves as part of the international community of HEIs primarily engaged in the advancement of knowledge. Therefore, they strongly encouraged their members to maintain international relations, which took place mostly with the UK, and to also keep a notable distance to government. To illustrate the point, none of the four universities allowed their academic staff to become involved in any defence-related research on behalf of the government (Bunting 2004b: 44). After the Extension of University Education Act in 1959 and the apartheid restrictions with respect to teaching materials, the enrolment of black students and the appointment of academics, they publicly declared that academic freedom in South Africa was dead (ibid.). To restore the lost academic freedom in South Africa was in the centre of their efforts (Sehoole 2005: 28). Occasionally, the English medium universities were outspoken against apartheid laws and discriminatory actions of the government and tried to remain accessible for black students as long as the law allowed doing so or as long as the law could be circumvented. UCT and the University of the Witwatersrand, for example, had organized large rallies in opposition to the Extension of University Education Act; UCT had even formulated a "constant opposition to all forms of academic segregation on racial grounds" (Behr 1988: 194). However, they did not openly fight the apartheid regime and fought a rather silent resistance that was supported merely by students than by academic staff members (Davies 1996: 323). The perception that "[t]he English universities were strong opponents of apartheid and everything associated with it" (Reflections C. Reinecke, 2001, then Rector of Potchefstroom University), however, seemed to persist.

Even though there were people who argued for the punishment of universities if they were politically active in a way the government saw as irregular and consequently outside its proper functions (majority view of the public enquiry into white universities in South Africa of the van Wyk de Vries commission 1974; see also Geyser 1977), the tensions between the English liberal universities and the apartheid state, however, never translated into budget cuts or changes in their funding. They continued to be largely funded by the state on the

[129] These were the University of Cape Town, University of Natal, Rhodes University and the University of the Witwatersrand.

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basis of the respective formula (Moodie 1994: 24). This is indicative for their tolerance of apartheid and a majority at the English-medium universities being at ease with the situation. Regarding institutional governance, a mix of authoritarian and collegial styles were applied at the institutions: authoritarian with a view to junior staff and students, who hardly had a say in the running of the institution, and collegial on the general institutional management level, on which the principal, the registrar and all full professors formed the traditional English collegiums (Bunting 2004b: 43). Afrikaans and English-medium institutions shared one common governance element: capable and well-equipped mid-level management positions that were controlling the institutions from positions below the principal and his vice principals (ibid.).

The third group was made up by the black institutions. They operated under full control and repressive measures of the government and were run in highly authoritarian ways. The central state prescribed academic standards as well as curricula; it appointed all members of management of the black universities and ensured that all management, administrative and teaching positions were filled with white Afrikaans men, who firmly believed in the ideals of apartheid and white supremacy (Reddy 2004: 18; Sehoole 2005: 19). It was not until the mid-1980s that some leading positions in the lower and middle segment of institutions were staffed with black people. The government, however, continued to exercise institutional control through the nomination of Council members and by ensuring that the Senate would still be dominated by Afrikaners (Ndebele 1997: 445; Bunting 2004b: 45; see also Badat 1994). The black universities were not only geographically isolated, they had to operate under highly repressive internal and external structures that affected the institutional and academic autonomy severely. Deficient equipment, a faintly developed infrastructure and limited administrative capacities were characteristic for the black universities as well as limited course offerings on the lowest levels, namely undergraduate programmes and diplomas. Master's and doctoral level training did not exist, and the focus lay on teaching and not on research. Course offers were concentrated on Liberal Arts, Humanities, Law and Education. Business and Administration, Natural Sciences, and Agricultural Sciences played a marginal role as only selected black universities were allowed to offer these subjects. Study programmes were mainly aimed at preparing black students for their future tasks as civil servants within the administrative structures of the Bantustans. Course levels and subjects were supposed to secure the existing division of labour between black and white. Careers as scientists were not intended for black students; e.g. Natural Sciences subjects were only taught to educate future school teachers (Badat 1994: 12; Sehoole 2005: 22).[130] A further characteristic of black institutions was that the majority of their students stemmed from disadvantaged parental homes and faced difficulties to pay their study fees. Black institutions suffered from these conditions. Throughput rates were extremely low and the burdens of outstanding study fees high (Barnes 2006: 151). Nevertheless, enrolment figures at black institutions increased throughout the 1980s, but modifications regarding teaching or administrative personnel were not made. According to Sehoole (2005: 21ff), who was a

[130] At the white universities, additional course offers included the more cost-intensive subjects, namely Architecture, Mining, Engineering, Medicine, and Dentistry.

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student at the University of the North in the 1980s, the teaching personnel as well as teaching material at black institutions were of poor quality. Afrikaans speakers, that were not good enough for positions in white universities, made up for large parts of the teaching personnel. Notes, that emphasized ethnic differences between African population groups as well as their "backwardness", served as teaching material.

The University of the Western Cape (UWC) and the University of Durban Westville (UDW) supposedly providing higher education to the coloured and Indian populations were located within the RSA and, therefore, in the "white" areas. But the legislation on job reservation not allowing black South Africans in certain professions restricted the opportunities for their graduates. However, the developments at UWC, originally a Broederbond-run Afrikaans teaching institution, for example, also bear ample testimony to the fact that apartheid was not able to break the spirit of resistance. The Black Consciousness Movement as well as radicalizing students in the 1970s pressed strongly for anti-racist reforms at the University – a process which was paralleled by changes in the governing bodies of the institution, in which conservative forces could be replaced with more progressive staff members in the Senate. With Professor van der Ross, the first black Rector of UWC took office in 1975. After the Soweto uprisings in 1976 against Afrikaans being enforced on students as language of instruction, UWC switched to English. These developments resulted in the rejection of the institution's official apartheid mandate and in the revision of the institution's Mission Statement, which finally opened out into the establishment of South Africa's "first non-racial, open admissions policy" in 1982 and into "the intellectual home of the left" under Jakes Gerwel, who became Rector in 1987 (Anderson 2002: 23ff; Thomas 2005: 83)[131].

Whereas the HWIs received their block grant funding automatically through a predetermined formula, based on several variables, such as enrolment figures and programme offers, and were completely autonomous in their spending and reinvestments, the financial equipment of black institutions in the Bantustans as well as in the former RSA depended largely on applications to and distributions from the respective departments. This procedure was accompanied by a lack of accountability, corruption and political control as well as by missing autonomy and decision making (Barnes 2006: 151). The formula-based resource allocation was but one source of income for the HWIs (even though the largest source) and officially followed the principles of efficiency, institutional autonomy and government intervention exclusively in case of market failure (Bunting 1994: 137f). The HBIs, to the contrary, were completely dependent on government money for their "negotiated budgets". They could not rely on other sources, such as through allocations from alumni, research institutions or from the private sector, and besides they faced difficulties regarding outstanding study fees. Yet, there are voices stating that the HBIs were in many respects financially better off under apartheid. They got significant funding, and as they were also staffed in many instances by white Afrikaners that were running those institutions, they just asked for money if they needed things and received it (Badat 1994; Interview 48, 2011).

The so-called SAPSE (South African Post-Secondary Education) formula, introduced in 1985, was based on a full range of criteria for the final allocation of the budget to the white

[131] See also http://www.uwc.ac.za [retrieved 23 May 2012].

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universities. Student numbers, graduation rates, subject groupings and course levels were the key factors in calculating the budget. As the calculated sums usually exceeded the available budget, a so-called a-factor for adjustment was introduced. It indicated the percentage of the calculated amount that was finally paid as subsidy to the universities. Whereas this factor was initially close to 1, it dropped during the end of the 1980s. In 1986 the factor was 0.91, in 1988 around 0.79 and 0.77 in 1990 (Bunting 2004a: 79). According to Moodie (1994: 26), the SAPSE formula for state funding was sophisticated and flexible at the same time. The underlying data as well as operations for calculation were made available so that HEIs were knowledgeable about their expected subsidy. Also the block grant system was continued as the form of allocation of state subsidies to universities; universities, therefore, had a high degree of autonomy to decide upon spending priorities (ibid.).

The aim of the black HEIs within the RSA to gain more institutional autonomy through an adjustment of the allocation of budgets to the white institutions was reached in 1988, when the same funding formula was applied to all universities of the Republic. The funding allowed individual institutions far reaching financial as well as administrative autonomy and resembled a *hands off approach* in steering the institutions, insofar as the higher education market was expected to regulate the system within the ideological framework of different institutions for different racial groups. However, disadvantage and differentiation were reproduced at black universities by means of finance as the block grant formula, firstly, favoured subject groups, such as the Natural Sciences, that were under-represented at the HBIs and, secondly, weighed master's and doctoral training higher than undergraduate education, which, as we have seen, hardly existed at the black institutions. The formula, furthermore, rewarded research outputs; research, however, was not part of the HBIs envisaged functions. Also the success rates, as another factor in the block grant calculations, disadvantaged the black institutions. As their student body was mostly comprised of learners from disadvantaged backgrounds, completion rates were comparatively low (Badat 1994).[132]

During the late 1980s, all black universities in the RSA were involved in turmoil and struggle against apartheid. These institutions became major settings of the conflicts with the regime and of the fight for alternative approaches, strategies and ideologies for higher education in general and institutional cultures of universities in particular. Student protests and class boycotts dominated the agenda so that teaching and learning were interrupted. Some of the institutions were even closed down by the apartheid state (Davies 1996: 327f; Bunting 2004b: 45f). Similarly involved were some of the English-medium universities, most of all UCT and the University of the Witwatersrand, as well as some Afrikaans institutions.[133] While we have seen earlier that Stellenbosch University (SU), for example, had been in the heart of the apartheid establishment, there is at the same time a still to be written history of the

[132] The situation had later become even worse for HBIs as the political transition created a certain kind of liberation, especially for black students. Suddenly they had choice. They could go wherever they wanted as long as they had the financial means to do so. So, there was a massive migration of students all over South Africa at the beginning of the 1990s (Interview 48, 2011). In other words, South African universities were exposed to the forces of the market in a way that they had never been exposed to. And, of course, a lot of those HBIs were seen as tainted, they were seen as not of the same quality as the white institutions. This had severe consequences on their enrolments and, therefore, also on their now formula-based funding. After 1990 all white universities were flooded by black students except for SU, due to its language policy (Cooper and Subotzky 2001: 38f).

[133] For further examples see Maddox (1987: 274ff), Behr (1988: 196f) and Odhav (1998).

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deconstruction of apartheid from within this University, which is rather unknown and not systematically researched yet, of which the following examples shall give an idea. Throughout the apartheid years, there had always been people at SU who were self-critical intellectuals and outspoken opponents of the regime and the apartheid ideology and who became influential already in the 1950s and 1960s in Afrikaner circles. They were, however, not representative of the whole University community but a strong exception. Among them were, for example, the theologians Bennie Keet and Beyers Naudé. Professor Keet was lecturer at SU's Theological Seminary when his book "Suid-Afrika-waarheen?" ("Whereto, South Africa?") was published in 1955. In that book, he indisputably showed why apartheid would not work and strongly encouraged his fellow Afrikaners to become inclusive South Africans instead of following their own interests only. Naudé is renowned for being the first white person banned by the South African government from 1977 to 1984. In the mid-1980s, he had succeeded Desmond Tutu as General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches. Naudé is considered one of the greatest moral transformers in Afrikaner circles from today's perspective. Further Stellenbosch people, who from the 1950s and 1960s onwards with their self-criticism were quite influential on other Afrikaners and South Africa, include the philosopher Johannes Degenaar[134], the sociologist SP Cilliers who had studied in Harvard under Talcott Parsons, the theologian Willie Jonker and the philosopher Willie Esterhuyse. Esterhuyse with his book "Afskeid van apartheid" ("Apartheid must die"), published in 1979, caused a scandal, firstly, for having published the book at all – though the title wasn't chosen by him – and, secondly, because he failed to show the way how to replace the system (Hill 1983: 129). In the 1980s, Esterhuyse was involved in opening up the first contacts between the ANC and apartheid intelligence agents (see Esterhuyse 2012). The philosopher André du Toit, the Latin lecturer André Hugo, the historian Hermann Giliomee and Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the opposition party in Parliament in the 1980s, deserve further mention (van Niekerk 2007: 208f).

During the 1980s, however, the basis for open criticism became more extensive and stronger. An example was the establishment of the "Discussion Group '85" by a group of academics at SU outspokenly arguing for change in South Africa. One of the initiators was the theoretical physicist CA Engelbrecht (Maddox 1987: 275). Another example was the analysis of the role of the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) in apartheid in the book "Die NG Kerk en apartheid", which the theologian Johann Kinghorn had co-authored with CFA Borchardt and others (Kinghorn et al. 1986). Furthermore, two booklets pay ample tribute to the initiatives at SU in the 1980s to engage in designing a post-apartheid society. Both of them go back to members of the Centre for Contextual Hermeneutics, which was located at the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. Among the members were first and foremost the already mentioned professors Johann Kinghorn and Bernard Lategan. In the 1980s, Kinghorn and Lategan took a group of SU academics on an exposure trip to Soweto, a suburb of Johannesburg, in order to face South African reality. The first booklet "The option for inclusive democracy: a theological-ethical study of appropriate social values for South Africa", published in 1987, goes back to this experience and would later become influential

[134] Degenaar had studied at SU and also at the universities of Groningen, Leiden, Oxford, Berlin and Heidelberg.

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again, when the transformation of SU was debated in the late 1990s. Members of SU's Student Representative Council (SRC) were also involved in that outing. They had not only the chance to discuss with young black leaders but also to issue an official invitation to the leaders of the Inkatha Youth Wing for a visit to Stellenbosch, which had led to permanent links in the long run (Hill 1983: 135). The second booklet "Into Africa: Afrikaners in Africa reflect on 'coming home'", published in 1989, contains reflections of a group of scholars and students from SU, who in 1988 and 1989 on private initiatives had visited different African countries "in search of an African identity" (Breytenbach 1989: i). Involved in the organization were the Centre for Contextual Hermeneutics, the Department of Africa Studies as well as the SRC. Among the contributors of the booklet and participants of the trips were the theologians Johann Kinghorn, Bernard Lategan and Martin Pauw, the economists Colin McCarthy and Sampie Terreblanche, the sociologist Johann Groenewald, the political scientist Hennie Kotzé as well as a member of the SRC, André Oliver (Kinghorn et al. 1989).
Besides the SRC involvements in the outings, there are other examples of beginning doubts among SU students about the Afrikaner dominance. Elphick (2004) reported on a meeting among SU students he had attended at the end of the 1960s, where after intensive debates they voted 1000 against 500 to withdraw from the national Afrikaans student organization with the argumentation that it was "undemocratic, prejudiced against English-speaking students, and unwilling to make contact with the outside world" (Elphick 2004: 554). Hill (1983: 133ff) referred to an incident in early 1980, when Hilgard Bell, then chairperson of the SRC, stated publicly that there was no moral justification for apartheid and that South Africa should move away. The statement was part of an interview titled "Inside the Mind of an Elite Afrikaner" he had given the Weekend Argus, an English (and not an Afrikaans!) newspaper. Great turmoil befell the University subsequently. SU's Rector, Mike de Vries, himself issued a press statement dissociating the University from Bell's remarks and his gesture of disrespect against the elders of the Afrikaner dispensation, which at that time was unthinkable for young Afrikaners. Nonetheless, the matter came to national attention causing some reservation though predominantly supportive reactions by student leaders of other Afrikaans universities. Prime Minister Botha, as a consequence, refused to attend a meeting organized by the SRC, at which he had promised to speak. However, Botha did attend a meeting organized by the local Stellenbosch National Party youth branch in April 1980, where he was received with critical questions and open dissent by some people in the audience. In the same line of cautious innovation was a "mini national convention", organized by the Current Affairs Society in the same month. It consisted of speeches by well-known representatives from all racial groups, ending with a panel discussion. As such, it bears witness to a refreshing nonconformity among the organizers and, therefore, a minority of students, which was not at all self-evident at the time (ibid.). The Bell affair may be interpreted as a turning point in student politics at SU and in South Africa. And it may have asserted influence on the Rector of Stellenbosch, who decided to speak in a meeting of the Current Affairs Society in mid-1980 on, among other things, the role of SU as an architect of change in South Africa towards a community of equality and equality of opportunity (Die Matie, student newspaper, 8 August 1980, quoted in Hill 1983: 136). This speech was covered nationally by the press.

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5.2.3 The Size and Shape of Higher Education at the End of the Apartheid Era

In 1990 the South African higher education sector consisted of 36 institutions of higher education: 21 universities and 15 technikons. Among them were ten universities and seven technikons[135] reserved for the white parts of the South African population and ten universities and seven technikons[136] for Blacks as well as two distance education institutions[137], which were open to all groups of the South African population (Bunting 2004b: 49ff).[138]

In June 1988, there were 283.330 students enrolled at the 21 universities and 57.345 enrolled at the 15 technikons. During the years to come, enrolments increased significantly to close to 350.000 students in the university sector in 1993 and almost 134.000 students in the technikon sector. The technikon headcounts had more than doubled and were climbing steadily. Whereas the university/technikon ratio was 83:17 in 1884, it had come to 64:36 by 1998 (Cooper and Subotzky 2001: 12).[139] UNISA, the distance education university, was the largest institution in terms of student numbers: In 1988 it counted almost 100.000 students (of whom almost a third were African students); in 1993 the number would rise to 122.586 (of whom 54.072 were African students) (ibid: 28). Student numbers at Stellenbosch University were at 13.827 in 1988 (among them 96 percent white students) and increased over 14.298 in 1993 (with 92 percent white students) to 15.822 headcount enrolments in 1998. The 83 percent white students in 1998 constituted by far the highest ratio compared to all other formerly white universities in South Africa (ibid: 36).

A closer look into enrolments by qualification level and field of study as well as into student output of South African universities gives an idea of how the higher education system operated. Qualification levels used to be divided into the following three categories, according to the SAPSE database: 1) Undergraduate (first-time entering and other undergraduates); 2) Lower Postgraduate (below master) (Postgraduate Certificate/Diploma/Postgraduate Occasional/Postgraduate Bachelor, Honours) and 3) Upper Postgraduate (master, doctorate). In the year 1990, a total of 44.366 students received a formal qualification by the universities in the RSA (excluding the independent TBVC republics), of whom 66 percent were undergraduate degrees, seven percent master's degrees and one percent doctoral degrees and the rest lower postgraduate degrees (Bunting 1994: 83). The distribution according to the subjects, which the graduates of the year 1990 had studied, was as follows: Business, Commerce (16 percent), Education (23 percent), Engineering (3 percent), Health Sciences (9 percent), Languages (6 percent), Law (6

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[135] This group consisted of the following institutions: Cape Technikon, Free State Technikon, Natal Technikon, Port Elizabeth Technikon, Pretoria Technikon, Vaal Triangle Technikon und Technikon Witwatersrand.

[136] Mangosuthu Technikon, Technikon Northern Transvaal, Border Technikon, Eastern Cape Technikon and North West Technikon, ML Sultan Technikon and Peninsula Technikon formed the group of the historically disadvantaged technikons.

[137] These were the University of South Africa (UNISA) and the Technikon South Africa (TSA).

[138] Strictly speaking, the higher education sector included a third category of institutions: the vocational colleges, which were subdivided into teacher training colleges, technical colleges, nursing as well as agricultural colleges (Bunting 1994). However, data on the colleges is limited. They will be largely excluded from the following presentations.

[139] The figures presented by Cooper and Subotzky (2001) are based on the Department of National Education's South African Post-Secondary Education (SAPSE) database for HEIs in the RSA and on calculations put together retrospectively by the different Education Policy Units (EPUs) of South African universities at the beginning of the 1990s. Numbers for the independent homeland institutions were calculated separately but were included in the statistics.

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percent), Life and Physical Sciences (5 percent), Math Sciences (1 percent), Psychology (6 percent), Social Sciences (10 percent) and all other categories (15 percent) (ibid: 84).

As a consequence of the apartheid legacy and the policy of separate development, segregation and unequal access had become key characteristics of the higher education sector. The proportion of Whites at the universities in 1992 was four times their share of the population in the RSA, whereas the proportion of Africans in the university system, in contrast, was only half of its population share – the independent homelands being excluded in the calculation (Bunting 1994: 39). In 1988 (1993) the distribution in headcount enrolments at the universities was as follows: 55 percent Whites (44 percent), 32 percent Africans (44), 7 percent Indians (7) and 6 percent Coloureds (5) (Cooper and Subotzky 2001: 22).[140] Taking the whole higher education sector in South Africa into account, including the TBVC republics as well as private institutions and colleges, 12 percent of the age cohort from 20 to 24 years among Africans participated in higher education in 1993. Among Coloureds the percentage was slightly higher at 13 percent, for Indians it was 40.4 percent, and by far the largest rate, 69.7 percent of the age group, participated among the white population (Bunting 1994: 35). The inequalities were not limited to headcount enrolments. They were also reflected in the various disciplines as well as on different study levels and outputs. Natural Sciences, Engineering and Technology, for example, were predominantly offered at the white HEIs leading to a skewed human resource output of 80 percent Whites in these subjects. The unequal distribution of undergraduate and postgraduate enrolments at black and white universities was also noticeable: Whereas at HBIs 81 percent of the degrees were issued on the undergraduate level in 1986 (83 percent in 1993), the ratio was far lower at HWIs (59 percent in 1986 and 60 percent in 1993), which also indicates where potential research skills were concentrated (ibid.). The throughput rate of all undergraduate students in all universities in the RSA in 1990 was at 70 percent (Bunting 1994: 77) with HBIs facing higher drop-out rates than HWIs. Regarding gender aspects, it must be noted that the percentages of first entering students at universities were almost equal between male and female students – quite in contrast to those at technikons where only 30 percent of the students were female. An under-representation of women in the Natural Sciences, in Engineering and Technology was obvious. Gender inequalities were particularly apparent among staff members at HEIs, with around 70 percent of the permanent research and teaching staff being male (NCHE 1996: 39). Research in general was a white male dominated affair. As Wolpe (1995: 280) demonstrated, the production of research as well as the offering of graduate programmes occurred along racial lines and were mainly concentrated in the historically white institutions. In 1990, for example, only 4.8 percent of all South African publications were produced by HBIs. Not only was there a strong gender bias in research, the results of an ANC commissioned study in 1992 to evaluate South African science together with similar studies published in the years to come, also revealed that South African research was far from addressing the needs of the majority of the population (Bawa and Mouton 2004: 197).

[140] This can in part be ascribed to the different drop-out rates in schools and unfavourable schooling for Africans. In 1986, for example, 64 percent of all students at South African universities were white in contrast to 23 percent Africans.

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The kind of data and information that were available and what was published at the end of the 1980s also tell a story. As far as the author is aware, the data base was limited to statistics on race and gender, on students and staff in the system and their outputs, on degree levels and subjects studied. What is notable is the absence of data on alumni as well as data on internationalization in the broadest sense. There are hardly any studies on the whereabouts of former students after they had received their university or technikon degrees. Also data on international students, international lecturers, and international study experiences were not systematically collected so that it is almost impossible to do any systematic comparisons between the apartheid era and the time after in terms of a degree of internationalization. The lack of this information was probably simply a matter of not seeing any value in assessing them from a government perspective and not due to ideological reasons. Even though there may be numerous examples of internationalization at different South African universities pre-1990, it was neither in the interest of the individual institutions[141] nor in the interest of the government to collect these data – not during apartheid and not immediately after its demise. This has resulted in many authors analysing current developments in South African higher education ignoring much of what had happened in South African universities prior to 1990 and thus claiming that processes of internationalization were a phenomenon exclusive to the post-apartheid dispensation.

5.2.4 Internationalization at Stellenbosch University in spite of Apartheid and International Boycotts?

This section will stand out from the chronological narration up to here and differs from the previous chapters regarding the nature of argumentation, as it does not only rely on secondary literature but also analyses source material. In particular, it examines processes of internationalization at Stellenbosch University (SU) during the apartheid era and especially during the time of the international boycotts against South Africa and its apartheid regime. By presenting material from the qualitative interviews (conducted with current and former members of SU between August 2010 and May 2012) and from SU's archives, the chapter will complement and enrich some of the well-established interpretations on the effects of the international boycotts on South African higher education and SU in particular repeatedly mentioned in the (especially South African) post-1990 literature, but also in the same qualitative interviews. These interpretations concern the hypotheses of isolationism and increasing localism. In the literature as well as in the interviews, we find overwhelming evidence that the apartheid system and the resulting international boycotts led to "academic isolation" (Cloete 2004: 58), to a "gradual and widespread isolation of African science and scientists" (Mouton 2010: 237), to Afrikaans universities "being disconnected from the international academic community" (Bunting 2004b: 41), to "isolation from the mainstream of international academic developments" (Gibbon and Kabaki 2004: 124; NCHE 1996: 3; see also NECC 1992; Bawa and Mouton 2004: 196; Maassen and Cloete 2004: 8; CHE 2004:

[141] As indicated earlier, efforts made to get hold of statistics on international students and lecturers from the University of the Witwatersrand, the University of Cape Town and the University of Pretoria were not successful. None of the institutions was able to provide data older than 1994.

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212)[142] and thus to growing self-reference, self-sufficiency and an increasing focus on the local (see also Lancaster and Haricombe 1995 and Brink 2007: 17).

> "[S]taff did not have the opportunity or very little opportunity to interact as normal, as academics in the international academic world. So in a generation, you have a large component of your staff who were not in that culture of being part of the universal world of knowledge […]." (Reflections C. Reinecke, 2001, then Rector of Potchefstroom University)

As a consequence, South African HEIs are said to have become more insular (internationally as well as nationally[143]) insofar as they promoted more and more of their own master's students, appointed them as academic staff and thereby arranged for a self-referential closed academic circle (Gibbon and Kabaki 2004: 124; for the Social Sciences Mouton 2010: 243ff; see also Interviews 11, 14, 20, 28, 2010; Interview 46, 2011; Interview 50, 2012). The boycott engendered a level of self-sufficiency since it forced South Africa to produce its own course materials suitable to local circumstances and needs as it prompted the emergence of new journals (especially in the Social Sciences) in the 1970s and 1980s as alternatives to conservative and state-supported publications[144] (Mouton 2010: 245).

The hypotheses of isolationism and increasing localism will be given a subtle nuance on the basis of new interview[145] and source material from Stellenbosch University[146]. Before

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[142] Gibbon and Kabaki (2004: 124f), for example, stated that South African HEIs were isolated from international competition, from pressures for more efficiency and accountability and, therefore, also from academic managerialism, which in South Africa came with a delay of a decade (see also Bundy 2005: 89; Fehnel 2007; Rouhani 2007; IEASA 2009). While funding for higher education started to be drastically reduced in the UK – the UK, according to Bundy (2005: 85f), serving as good example for developments in many OECD countries (see also Chapter 4.1) – government expenditures for South African higher education had been growing in the 1980s, on average by 14.2 percent annually (Gibbon and Kabaki 2004: 125). "There was little pressure to recruit students or raise research funds and consultancy money, and minimal competition amongst faculties and between institutions" (Gibbon and Kabaki 2004: 125). Bundy (2005: 89) followed the same line of argumentation; he did, however, not talk about a growth but rather stated that expenditures had remained constant over the decade of the 1980s, yet without providing a source for his argument. And Nordkvelle (1990), based on information from the World University Service (1988), was reporting substantial cuts of annually 15 percent over the second half of the 1980s (in 1988: between 25 and 29 percent), especially due to the economic sanctions and a deep recession, not only for the universities but equally for the research Councils, such as the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR). Many authors argued that due to the academic boycott the changes happening in worldwide education in the 1980s largely passed South Africa by and only arrived with a delay of a decade, thus ignoring Nordkvelle's observations. The same ignorance goes for internationalization: "[W]ell established centres for international education did not exist in South Africa, although internationalisation became a feature of higher education systems in many other parts of the world following the Second World War" (CHE 2004: 212; see also Rouhani 2007: 475).

[143] As Mouton has argued, apartheid and the academic boycott instituted not only an almost complete intellectual and geographical and, therefore, an external isolationism ("isolated from international trends and events" [Mouton 2010: 238]), but also an ideological internal isolationism ("increasing internal insularities between Afrikaans, English and African scholars and institutions within the country" [ibid.]), resulting in "a domestic insular and isolationist science system" (ibid.).

[144] They included, for example, Scriptura, the now International Journal of Bible, Religion and Theology in Southern Africa, Transformation, Social Dynamics or Psychology in Society (Mouton 2010: 245).

[145] The interviews are a fascinating source with regards to how the international academic boycott and the attached tensions were remembered at the time when interviews were conducted, namely as a phase of isolationism and localism. They make clear the ambiguity with a view to the boycotts. It happened that the same interviewees who stressed the isolationism and the localism in the course of the interview also underlined the particular situations, in which individuals found themselves and in which exceptions from the rules were made. International experiences on the individual level, therefore, could be made possible, and the academic boycott against South Africa, according to them, was never complete. This also means that SU was not totally enclosed (e.g. Interviews 7, 12, 2010; Interview 42, 2011). Yet, reference to international isolation and insularity of South African science, of self-centredness, self-reference, self-sufficiency were made by the majority of interviewees, professors, students, administrators, managers as well as representatives of the South African higher education sector (e.g. Interviews 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 20, 23, 25, 28, 35, 2010; Interviews 42, 45, 46, 47, 2011; Interview 50, 51, 2012).

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analysing these sources, the chapter will go on by briefly designing the context of the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM), the international boycotts and the academic sanctions in particular.

The international boycotts against South Africa go back to December 1958. They are grounded, firstly, in the first All-African People's Conference in Accra and its resolution to boycott South African goods (Guelke 2006; Lissoni 2009). Secondly, in response to this Conference, they are also grounded in an ANC leadership initiative in the same month to find "new methods of struggle" (Gurney 2000: 125; Lissoni 2009) and thus to launch an economic boycott after years of "mass protests, stay-at-homes and passive resistance by the ANC and its allies in the Congress movement" (Lissoni 2009) since the National Party took power in 1948. Based on the assumption that economic growth and apartheid were incompatible with one another and that a boycott campaign could harm the apartheid state where it was most vulnerable, namely in the economy, the ANC re-activated its boycott strategy[147] (Gurney 2000: 125). According to the National Executive Committee report to the ANC National Conference in December 1958, the ANC leaders hoped that the non-South African world and especially international investors in South Africa would show solidarity with the liberation struggle by joining the boycott (Gurney 2000: 125; Barnes 2008: 36; Lissoni 2009). Responses came from the UK, amongst others, where the call was taken up by the Boycott Movement in June 1959[148], in which mainly expatriate South Africans were organized. The Boycott Movement made an argument for international sanctions against South Africa (Gurney 2000: 143). The international AAM that came into existence in the following years involved a broad spectrum of actors, including, for example, individual solidarity movements, trade unions, political parties, and the churches. All of them were mainly based in their national country settings, from which they operated against apartheid. However, they displayed a large degree of interconnectedness and interaction on a transnational level and with close contact to South African apartheid opponents, most of all the ANC.[149]

The academic boycott was part of a broader campaign supported by the UN against South Africa, which tried by means of political, economic, cultural and sport sanctions to pressurize the apartheid government into abandoning the policies of apartheid (Lancaster and

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[146] Sources include the booklet "Professore: Universiteit van Stellenbosch en voorgangers" (de Bruyn 1989), statistics provided by the University's Division for Institutional Research and Planning in January 2013, SU's yearbooks between 1948 and 1989, documentation from SU's Senate and Council meetings during the same period as well as SU's Research Report, which came out for the first time in 1986.

[147] As Gourney (2000) and Lissoni (2009) demonstrated, boycotts against any sort of discriminatory practices had a long history in South Africa – with different extents of success. Among the most prominent and successful instances was the bus boycott in Evaton and Alexandra, resulting from an increase in the fares in the mid-1950s that was recalled after a boycott of more than a year (Gurney 2000: 125).

[148] In April 1960, the Boycott Movement was turned into the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM).

[149] According to Brendel (2012) and based on a documentation project of the AAM Archives of the Nelson Mandela Foundation, archive material could be found for 397 organizations in 47 countries – with a focus on Western Europe and North America. The British AAM maintained contacts with organizations in 36 countries, and there is evidence of more than 200 local groups in the UK (Brendel 2012: 73; see also http://www.nelsonmandela.org/aama/aama_organisations; http://www.nelsonmandela.org/aama/aama_organisations [retrieved 19 July 2013]). The transnational interaction of the German AAM has been comprehensively described by Henrik Brendel in his master's thesis published in 2012.

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Haricombe 1995).[150] According to Adrian Guelke (2006), Professor of Comparative Politics at the University of Belfast in Ireland and of South African origin, the fountain head of the academic boycott is differently described in the literature.[151] Irrespective of the concrete circumstances of the coming into existence of the academic boycott, it can be stated that, from the mid-1960s on, South African academics and South African HEIs had become the target of a voluntary international academic boycott in the framework of cultural sanctions (Lancaster and Haricombe 1995). The overall goal of the academic boycott was the isolation of academics and institutions of higher education and their exclusion from international developments and information and thereby the curtailing of their research (ibid.).[152]

The academic boycott had provoked different reactions among academics in South Africa as well as outside (Lancaster and Haricombe 1995). Supporters of the boycott argued that the academic elite of a country should not be treated separately from the social and political setting, notably because some universities were very close to the system and involved in its reproduction. Opponents countered that the boycott would also do damage to the victims of apartheid, e.g. with regard to the newest insights in medical research and treatment, and that an academic boycott in contrast to political and economic sanctions would only be noticed to a limited extent by the government (Barker 1987: 244; Maclay 1987: 244f). Knowledge and access to information, so the argument of the opponents, would be the key for change (Maddox 1987: 260). If communication with the international community were shut off by an academic boycott, a drop in academic standards to the detriment of the country's economic and technological performance and its international competitiveness were to be expected (Lancaster and Haricombe 1995). The aversion against an effective academic boycott through the international community could also be related to the protection of liberal academics and the self-proclaimed liberal English-speaking universities, as Nordkvelle (1990) argued. A selective academic boycott was finally considered to be the compromise

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[150] As Guelke has observed, it is surprising that in comparison to the large body of literature on apartheid, including its opposition and on South Africa's road to democracy, information on the academic boycott is almost limited to the knowledge that it did exist (Guelke 2006).

[151] Some say it goes back to the institutionalized segregation of university education in the aftermath of the Extension of University Education Act from 1959 (Hanlon and Omond 1987). Others claim that it began at the end of 1964 with the British AAM urging academics to not accept any academic posts in South Africa and collecting between 500 and 600 signatures for the matter (Fieldhouse 2005). And the ANC website provides the text of a Declaration by British Academics (that was published in the ANC's Spotlight on South Africa in Tanzania in 1965) to academically boycott South Africa, which, according to this source, was signed in 1965 by 496 academic staff members: "We, the (undersigned) professors and lecturers in British universities in consultation with the Anti-Apartheid Movement: Protest against the bans imposed on the professors Simons and Roux; Protest against the practice of racial discrimination and its extension to higher education; Pledge that we shall not apply for or accept academic posts in South African universities which practise racial discrimination" (Spotlight on South Africa, Dar es Salaam, November 26, 1965 quoted from the ANC's website).
The background story to the aforementioned professors Simons and Roux is the following: In 1964 banning orders had been issued for all those people listed by the South African government as communists. This extension of bans, initiated by the South African Minister of Justice BJ Vorster, severely hit Jack Simons from the University of Cape Town and Eddie Roux from the University of the Witwatersrand. They were prohibited from teaching, publishing and attending meetings as well as from being cited so that their academic careers were brought to a halt (Guelke 2006). According to Guelke, the boycott was related to a letter from professor Simons to the Manchester Guardian. This letter was sent at the end of 1964, calling academics to "not seek to fill the vacancy created by his banning or by any other such banning" (ibid.).

[152] The opinions on the effects of the academic boycott on ending the apartheid regime differ. In retrospect, the majority, however, attached no major value and influence to any element of the strategies in the academic boycott to accelerate the coming down of the system (e.g. Interview 4, 2010; see also Maddox 1987; Guelke 2006, O'Brien 2006).

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(Alexander 1995: 5ff). Mutual consent was reached that sanctions were supposed to address those in favour of apartheid, whereas its opponents had to be supported. Not surprisingly, this approach was equally criticized, especially regarding its practicability. Nonetheless, the selective academic boycott was accomplished in the 1980s by a coalition of opponents of the South African apartheid government. Among them were the Union of Democratic University Staff Associations (UDUSA) and the United Democratic Front (UDF) in South Africa as well as ANC members in exile. There were, furthermore, international anti-apartheid organizations outside of the country (Lancaster and Haricombe 1995; Gibbon and Kabaki 2004: 124; Sehoole 2005: 140), after in 1980 a set of resolutions addressing amongst other things the academic boycott as part of the cultural boycott had also been passed by the General Assembly of the UN (Nordkvelle 1990).[153] A few years later, in 1985, a ministerial meeting on political cooperation of the European Communities approved a resolution to "harmonize their attitudes" among member states on "discouraging cultural and scientific agreements except where these contribute towards the ending of apartheid or have no possible role in supporting it" (quoted from Maddox 1987: 273). The British Commonwealth Heads of Government adopted a similar resolution later in 1985 (ibid.).

Lancaster and Haricombe (1995), two information scientists from the USA, at the beginning of the 1990s, did an extensive research on the consequences of the academic boycott on South African scholars and the extent of their suffering. They derived their conclusions from 900 questionnaires sent to South African academics (with a response rate of 57 percent) and another 50 qualitative interviews. According to their findings, the predominantly voluntary boycott from the early 1960s to the early 1990s affected close to 60 percent of the respondents. Taking their answers as a basis, a number of boycott strategies could be identified by the authors. They ranged from international scholars refusing to visit South Africa because of its governmental policies (52.7 percent), South African scholars having access to information resources denied (e.g. in the framework of the so-called "book boycott") (52 percent), South African scholars denied attendance at international conferences (25.9 percent), foreign scholars refusing to collaborate with South Africans because of South Africa's governmental policies (16.3 percent) and South African manuscripts refused publication (10.5 percent) (ibid.). Mouton (2010: 237), furthermore, expressed a "lack of scientific contact with fellow scholars overseas [...] and a general lack of international scientific collaboration". Additionally, he referred to the exclusion of South African scientific associations as members of international bodies[154], South African postgraduate students not being allowed to officially register at foreign universities while doing research there or the denial of visa (also on the African continent), and academics from abroad not accepting to act as external examiner for theses handed in at South African universities.[155] He also

[153] Yet, some countries, such as Canada, France, the UK, the USA and West Germany, did not approve the resolutions while others, such as the Nordic ones, had abstained from voting. The latter, however, agreed on measures to stop all academic contacts with South African universities one year later (Nordkvelle 1990).

[154] They included, for example, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the International Council of Science (ICSU) (Mouton 2010: 244).

[155] Anecdotal evidence for how different countries handled their visa regulations with regards to South Africans as well as examples of journal boycotts, the rejection of articles from South Africans and various attempts to organize international conferences in South Africa are provided in a Nature overview on "Science in apartheid",

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reported that the apartheid government itself contributed to a beginning isolation by a ban on books from what it considered as threatening authors – mostly Marxists and Neo-Marxists (Mouton 2010: 244). The constraints, as outlined in the literature, were shared by those interviewed for this research.[156]

Until autumn 1986, the international academic boycott had not been rigorously implemented, also because it had not been among the priorities of the AAM. Those international scholars who wanted to come to South Africa to teach had continued to do so, and they did not experience any interference. The attempts to dissuade them from doing so had no major effect (O'Brien 2000; see also Guelke 2006). Conor Cruise O'Brien, a political scientist from Ireland and an outspoken critique of apartheid, for example, had visited UCT in 1986, following an invitation from Professor David Welsh to partake in a lecture series in spite of the academic boycott. After he had shared his opinion on the academic boycott as "Micky Mouse staff" (Guelke 2006) in a meeting with students, thus caricaturing its supporters, things started to escalate. The incident resulted in student protests, the cancellation of O'Brien's lectures and a following "crisis of unusual gravity" at UCT as well as in the media (Bertelsen 1991: 117). The internationally widely reported affair around Conor Cruise O'Brien demonstrated that academia had become a political affair in South Africa (The Cape Times, 8 and 9 October 1986 in ibid: 124, 128, 131; Gibbon and Kabaki 2004: 124)[157]. Research stays and conference attendance of foreign academics in South Africa, after they had already almost come to a standstill, "dried up completely" (Gibbon and Kabaki: 124) in the late 1980s – in particular after the controversial and much debated disinvitation of South Africans from the 11th World Archaeological Congress in September 1986 in Southampton (Maddox 1987: 272; Ucko 1987). In 1987 the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) stated that it had difficulties to recruit foreign scientists due to the academic boycott (but also in response to the devaluation of the Rand). From previously around 100 researchers of different rank per year, the number had shrunk to two or three. 30 percent of the CSIR's research staff used to be foreigners, and according to Maddox (1987: 272), "South Africa's science-intensive economy was heavily dependent on foreign academics through overseas recruitment". Provided that the figures went further down, the resulting

written by its editor John Maddox (1987) after he had visited South Africa upon invitation of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR).

[156] The following statements are representative: "We were not allowed to study overseas, to publish in journals [...], we had no international networks [...] Through the boycott we were not allowed to go anywhere in Africa" (Interview 8, 2010); „[S]tudieren konnte man noch in den meisten Ländern. Man durfte nicht zu viel gesehen werden, aber man war da. Die Leute haben es gespürt, man durfte z.B. in einigen Disziplinen bei Konferenzen keine Vorträge halten. Bis Ende der 80er Jahre war die Uni doch relativ isoliert. Cooperation agreements wollte formell niemand haben" (You still could study in most of the countries. You only should not be seen, but you were there. People felt it. For example, in some disciplines you were not allowed to give a presentation during a conference. Until the end of the 1980s, the University was quite isolated. Nobody wanted official cooperation agreements [SB]) (Interview 11, 2010); "Well it certainly led to difficulties in travelling, for example, and simply to being able to establish formal collaboration […] I got invited, for example, to conferences in Japan where finally it was simply impossible to obtain a visa for such travel […] [P]eople did experience that they had difficulties to publish in certain environments or certain journals" (Interview 12, 2010); "Well, it of course made that kind of networking difficult" (Interview 35, 2010); "You couldn't attend conferences and all of that. That is true. It was a situation of isolation through the Afrikaners own making in the first place, they brought it on themselves" (Interview 42, 2010).

[157] A more comprehensive overview on the incident as well as on media reactions is provided by Bertelsen (1991).

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skills gap would have to be filled with specialists from other countries on short-term contracts; in 1987 the CSIR was about to explore opportunities with Taiwan (Maddox 1987: 272). Also the liberal English universities reported that their international recruitment had dwindled to a third (ibid.).[158] Thus, the insularity of the institutions was further intensified (Gibbon and Kabaki 2004: 124).

However, the academic isolation was at no point in time really complete.[159] Gibbon and Kabaki, for example, describe the selective isolation as "one-way curtain" (2004: 124): While international scholars, according to them, increasingly ceased to come to South Africa, those South Africans considered being politically correct – on whatever basis this was determined – still had the chance to connect at international conferences (see also Lancaster and Haricombe 1995). These observations, already restricting the hypothesis of an almost complete academic isolation, can be supplemented with material from the interviews highlighting that international contact and exchange, especially on the individual level, did happen all along and at different South African universities.

> "The isolation was not complete and again was different from individual to individual. I got invited, for example, to conferences in Japan, where finally it was simply impossible to obtain a visa for such travel, but it never led to a large-scale inability to publish internationally. There may have been few environments where there were bigger problems than in others, but in Physics that never really was a big problem." (Interview 12, 2010)

> "I wasn't at this University at this time. I was at the Rand Afrikaans. We had no difficulties. I went to England, America and to Europe on several occasions to do research and to do teaching there. I can't speak for Engineering and those who were dependent on permissions to use certain laboratories, but I personally, in visiting archives, libraries and universities, I had no problems. I believe, you had problems especially when you applied to go to Holland and you were refused to go there, but I have got no personal experiences of that." (Interview 9, 2010)

> "And by the way, there [are, SB] always countries around the world and individuals who in any case allow people to go, for example, to South America even though they were against apartheid [such as, SB] Brazil. But in the 70s and 80s, this country was the mining capital in the world, they wanted to develop the mines and had to bring South Africa in. […] Europe was open, America was open, it was only Asia that wasn't. And Asia wasn't a factor in the 1970s and 1980s. They only came later on with the strong Chinese development." (Interview 4, 2010)

Even though there have never been any official cooperation agreements with universities outside South Africa during the apartheid era, it was on the basis of personal contacts that most of the institutional relations that had existed prior to the academic boycott could be maintained and, as a result, could later be officially reactivated. Those informal networks were flourishing, also on the institutional level, so that contacts and relations survived the academic boycott, even at the Afrikaans universities and even at SU, as the following statements given by former members of SU show:

> "Informally, we had incredibly much cooperation. Less with the Northern countries – they rather sympathized with the liberation movement, a lot with Germany, some with Switzerland, much with the

[158] This may be also seen in the light of the Association of Commonwealth Universities' decision in 1973 to discontinue recruitment for South African universities (Guelke 2006), amongst other things.

[159] In Mouton's article, published in 2010, this shade, however, is not mentioned. His conclusion is limited to the following statement: "[B]ecause of the international bans and boycotts, many South African scientists had little scientific contact with their international colleagues during the seventies and eighties" (Mouton 2010: 245).

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> Dutch, even though usually not well received, and a lot of with Belgium and also with England." [SB] (Interview 11, 2010)
>
> "There were no official agreements, it was too political. But there were constantly visitors; they came through the faculties and the Vice Rector (Academic Affairs). […] In addition, there was the Information Ministry that wanted to promote South Africa abroad. They invited representatives from overseas, from different circles. They mostly came to Stellenbosch, because it was the friendly face of South Africa." [SB] (Interview 25, 2010)[160]

The importance of international contacts, and the efforts made not only by SU as an institution but also by its academics in order to create and maintain them, are emphasized by a physicist and a former fellow of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation relating to attempts to counter the academic boycott and the related isolation:

> "[The boycott] also elicited a number of initiatives to overcome that isolation, which may probably not have followed with the same level of intensity. People simply knew that things would not happen automatically, so time and effort was invested in maintaining and even expanding international links. I mean, we set up a series of summer schools in Theoretical Physics, the first of which was in 1981, and at that time we typically invited five lecturers from abroad – high profile people. Certainly, in some cases the response to our invitations was fairly negative, if not a sort of a simple neutral response. Few people did respond by elaborating why they would not be willing to become involved. But at the same time, the majority of people were happy to get involved." (Interview 12, 2010)

The interview material, furthermore, demonstrates that the "being cut off from international developments in higher education" was also differently interpreted. Some interviewees acknowledged that the academic boycott led to an increasing measuring by own standards, e.g. a focus on the local, which was internationally not competitive once the world was open again to South Africa.

> "Well, I mean, the isolation had a huge impact on academics here. If I can make an analogy [...] to sport: when South African teams returned into the international arena, where South Africa thought they were particularly good, in the first games in cricket and rugby they lost badly, and it showed you the effect of isolation. If they don't compete on the international level fully, it will affect your performance. But once they have gone back for a few years, they could perform at that level. It's much harder when it comes to intellectual matters. Because a professor, for example, is like an oak tree: it takes time, needs to be nourished, fed and the right kind of exposure, stretching and all of those things." (Interview 15, 2010)
>
> "When they started the rating system in South Africa[161] [...], some of the universities just had no rated scientists at all or very few – Stellenbosch was one. And I think, part of the reason is that the rating really

[160] This statement also relates to a propaganda scheme of the Vorster government developed in the 1970s to convince the world that South Africa was ready for real change. Operations in that framework were financed with money from the Defence Department and included a number of activities, such as the purchasing of publications for propaganda matters or the buying support of foreign politicians (Beck 2000: 166).

[161] This quote refers to the national research evaluation rating system for the Natural Sciences, Engineering and Technology subjects, introduced in 1985 by the South African Foundation for the Development of Research (FDR) (which in 1999 was turned into the National Research Foundation – NRF, a government agency responsible for research funding for all disciplines, including the Social Sciences and Humanities). According to the NRF's history section, "[t]he FDR would invest its money in people with a track record of doing good research. This led to a novel concept of peer evaluation and the rating of individual researchers in higher education, based on their recent track records and outputs in research. Their level of support was exponentially linked to this rating. The system was widely acclaimed, attracting favourable international comment" (see http://www.nrf.ac.za/ [retrieved 15 January 2013]). That means, based on the research outputs of individual South African academics of the initially five preceding years, the individual was evaluated by a panel of national and international expert peers, applying a category system into which the scholar was rated. The underlying goal was to get independent and objective information on the academic in order to identify the best researchers and to invest scarce recourses in them (Pienaar et al. 2000: 29). According to the NRF, this system was introduced in response to a perceived

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> asks for international exposure, and Stellenbosch didn't have that level of exposure. Because they ask people abroad, you don't choose your reviewers, you suggest reviewers. [...] And Stellenbosch didn't have many people who could report of them favourably, because they were a little bit more insular, being more of a closed society somehow." (Interview 14, 2010)

> "[It is] wrong to say it was totally enclosed, isolated and non-aware of what was going on in the rest of the world, but hampered and underdeveloped – yes." (Interview 42, 2010)

Others said that the access to international journals – also through the circumvention of the book boycott and the limited access to journals through third parties – allowed at least in theory to be up to date with latest scientific developments. The perceived isolation, as a result of the boycotts, and especially the UNs' arms embargo, also led to innovative approaches towards practical problems.

> "One thing that was never cut off was the literature. You couldn't go to many conferences, but you could still buy the journals and read the journals. So, from that point of view, I think, we did manage to develop, probably not as fast as we could have developed with a lot of contact, but we also did not stagnate. [...] If I look at Engineering in these days, the arms industry was a very strong stimulant for development. Because we couldn't buy arms [...], we had to do things ourselves. And that produced a lot of incentives to develop and be up to date. In fact, I think, we gained quite a few advantages there that our people tended to be broadly based. We were able to handle interdisciplinary problems much more so than the highly specialized people overseas [...]; they were not that good at handling interdisciplinary problems. So, from that point of view, the stimulus has given us a few special skills. I think, the academic boycott, I was speaking about Engineering now, had a much more destructive effect on the soft sciences." (Interview 35, 2010)

South African universities dealt differently with the academic boycott and the cooperation with non South-African academics. A professor, who in 2010 worked at SU's Faculty of Theology after he had experienced the struggle at the University of the Western Cape, the first self-proclaimed "non-racial university", remembered:

> "[B]efore the fall of our wall at the Western Cape we honoured the cultural boycott, which meant that we never had international contact, we never received visiting professors on the campus.[162] It was part of our attempt to change the country while SU and many others of the white universities were very eager to have international relationships but found it difficult, because they were regarded by the world as not correct etc., because of apartheid." (Interview 40, 2010)

What can be learned from the interviews are a number of things. Firstly, there were the individually felt unjust and discriminatory restrictions many academics had experienced themselves or heard of from colleagues before 1990, resulting from the international boycotts

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lack of well-defined and widely accepted criteria for research funding at the beginning of the 1980s. Access to FDR funding, as a result of investigations into the matter, should in the future be based on the individual rating of the scholar. In an article, published in 2000 by a group of NRF-related scientists, the circumstances of the introduction of the rating system were "institutional and operational changes in SET [Science, Engineering and Technology, SB] grant-funding and research, and dual support for research in the higher education sector" that formed the drivers for the system (Pienaar et al. 2000: 27). The rating system in South Africa was initiated as a state-run initiative at the heyday of the apartheid boycott to drive global competitive research. Thus, it also responded to the scientific isolation of the apartheid years. The system has persisted and still forms an important government measure to support and fund research. Following Pouris (2007: 439), some HEIs base their staff promotion and recruitment efforts on the results of the ratings (for Stellenbosch University see Chapter 8.2.3). South Africa's rating system is said to have become unique in the world (Auf der Heyde and Mouton 2007: 6; see also Interview 5, 2010; Interview 46, 2011).

[162] In 1987 UWC's Senate had decided to no longer invite foreign scholars to the University who did not "show solidarity with its commitment to the struggle for a non-racial democracy in South Africa" (Maddox 1987: 275), even if that would compromise academic freedom (ibid.).

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against the South African apartheid system. They made many of the interviewees between 2010 and 2012 refer to the academic boycott as extremely restrictive and absolute in its isolation, which only upon requesting and in the course of the discussion would be weakened and contextualized. Secondly, it seems that many of the interpretations of the academic boycott, from the point of view of the years 2010 to 2012, were neglecting the worldwide situation in terms of international academic mobility and collaboration of the time and making wrong causal links to the boycott.[163] The judgement of the academic boycott from a distance of more than 20 years and a changed setting with regards to internationalization can obviously lead to a skewed interpretation of the events in the past. Thirdly, based on the interview material, the author argues for a passive and an active connotation to the isolation process: On the one hand, there were South African science and scientists being isolated by the international academic community (through, for example, selective academic punishments). On the other hand, they were isolating themselves on the national South African as well as on the level of individual institutions (from international developments and also with regards to the polarization between English, Afrikaans and African institutions and academics in South Africa, as Mouton (2010: 245) has argued[164]), thus creating a level of self-centeredness and self-satisfaction. The international academic boycott, from the perspective of the period of interviewing, could, therefore, also be interpreted as a scapegoat for the consequences resulting from the active isolationist attempts of the Afrikaner community and thus of individual institutions and the South African government. And fourthly, even though limiting and constraining academic development and international cooperation, the isolation was by no means complete. Many instances of international mobility and exchange were reported. With a view to the interviews, the hypothesis of an almost complete academic isolationism must surely be rejected. An increasing focus on the local context, according to the interviews, however, happened side by side with the continuation of international cooperation and exchange – especially in the case of SU.

The two hypotheses, isolationism and increasing localism, will in the following also be assessed with material from SU's archive. This will be done, firstly, on the basis of SU's professoriate in terms of their international degree experiences[165], secondly, regarding

[163] The following statements are representative: "Looking at when I was a student, the opportunities to visit foreign countries and to contact people in my field was quite a problem due to the isolation of apartheid years" or "There were visitors coming, there were exchanges happening [but] not to the same extent as now" (Interview 5, 2010) or "But I think that we have now a more free exchange of ideas and collaborations" (Interview 6, 2010).

[164] Mouton (2010: 245) concludes that inner-South African insularity was even more harmful to the national science system than the external isolation: "Collaboration with colleagues across political and racial divides was minimal to nonexistent, leading to an isolationist scientific culture that produced a system that was compartmentalized in the extreme." And this situation, as a result of the apartheid system, was still measurable in the mid-1990s (ibid: 247).

[165] The following statistics are based on a compilation of all professors at Stellenbosch University from 1875 to the first half of 1989, authored by GFC de Bruyn: Professore. Universiteit van Stellenbosch en Voorgangers (1989). The booklet includes the names of all professors, the date of appointment as professor at SU as well as the universities, where the individual professor had earned his or her degrees, yet not when exactly. As the booklet does not state the nationality of the professors, the analyses with regards to the internationalization of SU's professoriate will focus on "international degree experiences" and not on "international professors" at SU, even though the fact that a professor was awarded degrees by non-South African universities only is a strong indicator of a non-South African nationality. With regards to the different education trajectories of professors, the author created the following mutually exclusive seven categories: 1) degrees from SU only; 2) degrees from South African universities only, with the last one – usually a master's or a PhD degree – from SU; 3) international degree experience and SU affiliation (e.g. master's degree earned from SU and PhD from a non-South African

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international students at SU, thirdly, with respect to opportunities of international mobility of staff and students and, finally, in reference to the degree of international publishing.

By looking at the figures of SU, the assumption that with the intensification of the international boycott against South Africa the number of internal appointments would rise considerably cannot be confirmed. In the period between 1949 and 1989, 28.6 percent of the 392 appointed professors at SU with information available held degrees from SU only. 55.6 percent of all appointed professors had an SU affiliation prior to their appointment (Index A: last degree earned from SU prior to appointment or prior to earning another degree abroad before employment at SU).[166] 67.9 percent had received their degrees from a South African HEI only (including the ones with degrees from SU only; Index B). Comparing the time between 1949 and 1970 with the period from 1971 to early 1989 (when the academic boycott, according to the literature, intensified) with regards to the professors holding degrees from SU only, the figure even fell slightly from 30.4 percent to 27.6 percent. Looking at the 1980s in isolation, which are regarded as the heyday of the academic boycott, the figure was at 29.6 percent. An SU affiliation was characteristic to 56.5 percent of the professors in the first half of the apartheid era and to 55.1 percent in the second half (with a slight increase in the 1980s to 56.8 percent). What increased considerably were the appointments of academics with degrees exclusively earned at South African institutions and, therefore, with no international degree experience (1918–1948: 38.5 percent; 1949–1970: 60.9 percent; 1971–1989: 71.7 percent; 1980s: 76 percent).

A closer look into the 1980s revealed the following: In 1981, 1982 and 1987 (with the latter being considered as the culmination of the academic boycott after the case of O'Brien and the exclusion of South Africans from an international conference) the percentage of appointed professors with degrees solely from South African institutions was particularly high. It mounted to over 90 percent in 1981, was at 86.7 percent in 1982 and at 82.4 percent in 1987 (own calculation, based on de Bruyn 1989).[167] The year 1982 showed with 40 percent internal SU appointments and 66.7 percent appointments of professors with an SU affiliation prior to appointment (Index A) the highest figure in these categories. It was followed by the years 1984 (38.1 percent internal appointments), 1986 (37.5 percent) and 1987 (35.3 percent). The high percentage in these specific years, however, was the exception rather than showing a trend (ibid.).

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university); 4) degrees from South African universities only (SU not being the last awarding university); 5) South African degree plus at least one degree from abroad with no SU affiliation in terms of prior degrees; 6) first degree from a non-South African university plus (a) South African degree(s); 7) degrees from non-South African universities only. In a second step, the author created the following three indices: A) professors with SU affiliation (accumulation of categories 1, 2 and 3); B) professors without international degree experience (accumulation of categories 1, 2, 4); C) professors with international experience (accumulation of categories 3, 5, 6, 7). B and C are mutually exclusive.

[166] As outlined in the last footnote, the author accumulated under "SU affiliation" (Index A), firstly, the percentage of professors with degrees solely earned at SU, secondly, of professors with their last degree conferred by SU before appointment and, thirdly, of professors with a degree from SU plus international experience before appointment at SU (e.g. master's degree from SU and PhD from a non-South African university). Someone who did his bachelor's at SU and his master's at another South African university was not included, as the hypothesis to be tested was related to the promotion of *own* master's students.

[167] In 1981 out of the 11 professors appointed, 10 were conferred their degrees by South African HEIs only (1982: 13 out 15; 1987: 14 out of 17). During the rest of the 1980s, the share of professors with degrees from South African institutions in the total number of appointments was between 55.6 and 76.2 percent (own calculation, based on de Bruyn 1989).

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Table 1: Appointments of Professors at SU according to Degrees (1949–1989)

Appointments / Degrees from	4/1918–1948	1949–1970	1971–1989	1980s	1949–1989
1) SU only	21	42	70	37	112
2) SA only (last from SU)	1	7	36	21	43
3) SU and abroad	17	29	34	15	63
4) SA only (last NOT from SU)	8	35	76	37	111
5) SA (not SU) and abroad	19	20	24	9	44
6) abroad first, later from SA	2	1	3	1	4
7) abroad only	10	4	11	5	15
ns	[5]	[3]	[1]	[1]	[4]
Total	78 [83]	**138 [141]**	**254 [255]**	**125 [126]**	**392 [396]**
SU only (cat. 1)	21	42	70	37	112
	26,9%	30,4%	27,6%	29,6%	28,6%
Index A: SU affiliation (cat. 1,2,3)	39	78	140	73	218
	50%	56,5%	55,1%	58,4%	55,6%
Index B: SA degrees only (cat. 1,2,4)	30	84	182	95	266
	38,5%	60,9%	71,7%	76,0%	67,9%
Index C: international degrees (cat.3,5,6,7)	48	54	72	30	126
	61,5%	39,1%	28,3%	24,0%	32,1%

Source: own calculation, based on de Bruyn (1989).

Table 2: Appointments of Professors at SU according to Degrees (1980s)

Appointments / Degrees from	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
1) SU only	3	6	1	8	2	3	6	2
2) SA only (last from SU)	2	3	2	3	1	1	2	3
3) SU and abroad	1	1	1	2	3	1	1	1
4) SA only (last NOT from SU)	5	4	2	5	4	2	6	3
5) SA (not SU) and abroad		1	1	1	1	1	2	2
6) abroad first, later from SA				1				
7) abroad only			2	1				1
ns						[1]		
Total	**11**	**15**	**9**	**21**	**11**	**8 [9]**	**17**	**12**
SU only (cat. 1)	3	6	1	8	2	3	6	2
	27,3%	40,0%	11,1%	38,1%	18,2%	37,5%	35,3%	16,7%
Index A: SU affiliation (cat. 1,2,3)	6	10	4	13	6	5	9	6
	54,5%	66,7%	44,4%	61,9%	54,5%	62,5%	52,9%	50,0%
Index B: SA degrees only (cat. 1,2,4)	10	13	5	16	7	6	14	8
	90,9%	86,7%	55,6%	76,2%	63,6%	75,0%	82,4%	75,0%
Index C: international degrees (cat.3,5,6,7)	1	2	4	5	4	2	3	4
	10,1%	13,3%	44,4%	23,8%	36,6%	25,0%	17,7%	25,0%

Source: own calculation, based on de Bruyn (1989).

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For the appointment of academic staff at SU, the myth of an *increasing* insularity, translated as the increased promotion of SU students into academic positions due to the academic boycott over a longer period, must, therefore, at the very least be challenged. However, the following two things must be kept in mind: Firstly, appointments of professors per year usually numbered not more than 20, thus limiting the expressiveness of percentages for a given year. And secondly, the information on degrees was only available until the beginning of the year 1989; hence, no conclusions can be drawn for the beginning of the 1990s. What can be confirmed on the basis of the presented material, after all, is an increasing insularity on the national South African level.

With a view to increasing intellectual isolation (translated as the disconnection from the international academic community and from international academic developments), the following should be noted. Looking at first once more at the degrees of SU professors (Table 1), it is interesting to note that a high ratio of appointed professors in the period from 1949 to 1989, namely 32.1 percent, possessed at least one international degree (Index C). Half of them had held a degree from SU before going abroad, mostly in order to earn a PhD from a university overseas (primarily in Germany, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States of America). In absolute terms: Out of those 392 professors appointed between 1949 and early 1989, 126 (32.1 percent) were awarded at least one degree internationally, 63 of them held a Stellenbosch degree prior to their study abroad. Taking only the second half of the apartheid era into account (the time when international sanctions were increased), the numbers were only slightly lower: Of the 255 professors appointed between 1971 and 1989 28.3 percent possessed an international degree experience. Looking at appointments in specific years (1948, 1955, 1960, 1965, 1970, 1975, and all years between 1980 and 1988) the results do not differ much, except for the years 1981, 1982 and 1987, in which the figure had gone down to 10.1 percent for the year 1981, to 13.3 percent in 1982 and less than 18 percent for 1987. The international experience among the Stellenbosch professoriate measured in foreign degrees, therefore, remained almost constant between 24 and 33 percent of all appointed professors, except for in these three years.

What these statistics demonstrate is, firstly, that many SU graduates went abroad for another degree before becoming professor at their old alma mater. Secondly, it shows that, at the beginning as well as during the heyday and also in the final years of the apartheid regime, SU was constantly infiltrated by a considerable number of academics with international experience.[168] The nomination of professors with a *solely foreign academic career* in terms of degrees, however, numbered only 15 in the period between 1949 and 1989 (decreasing from over 50 percent prior to 1918 and 15 percent in the period between 1918 and 1948 to less

[168] What the material, however, did not allow to be answered was the question of when exactly the specific degrees were earned abroad. De Bruyn (1989) only indicated the dates of appointment and the universities that conferred the previous degrees. As such, it is difficult to say whether, for example, someone, who had earned his PhD at the beginning of the 1970s in the Netherlands would be able to counter the being cut-off from international developments in the 1980s. Assuming that this person has kept the contacts from the time abroad, however, this could still be the case, also given the fact that travelling for South Africans remained possible to a certain extent all along. Hennie Roussow, SU's Vice Rector (Academic) in the 1980s and beginning 1990s, who was conferred his PhD by the Free University in Amsterdam, for example, was quoted in 1987, that while he was "able to visit his Dutch friends at their homes", he could "not be invited by them onto university premises" (Maddox 1987: 272).

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than four percent during the 1950s and 1960s and to 5.5 percent in the second half of the apartheid era with a slight decrease again in the 1980s to 4.8 percent).[169] All of this implies, in effect, that at SU international professors and international experiences of South African professors were present all along, especially from Germany and the Netherlands, and that a cosmopolitan counter movement to the localization of higher education and the disconnection from international movements with various forms of academic internationalism was in existence, which in the remembering of many of those interviewed between 2010 and 2012 was, however, overshadowed by feelings of complete isolation.

The figures lead to a partial challenge of the argument of international intellectual isolation as there was a constant influx of international experience into the South African universities – at least at SU (and the analysis is limited, first of all, to professors, not taking into account international experiences of the rest of the university staff and, secondly, to international experience measured in terms of degrees only, excluding international experiences through non-degree seeking semesters or years or shorter research stays abroad, for which, however, there exists plenty of anecdotal evidence from the interviews [Interviews 1, 4, 6, 9, 11, 12, 25, 2010]). Furthermore, it could be argued that those who had established international scientific contacts, for example during the time of doing a PhD abroad, would continue to remain in touch with these contacts, in spite of the academic boycott. On the individual level, the being cut-off from international academic development is, therefore, not tenable.

With regards to the development of international students at SU, the following seems to be of interest: While there were no international students enrolled at SU prior to 1948 (with the exception of one from Belgium in 1946), the situation started to change very slowly in the middle of the 1950s. Until the mid-1960s, however, the cases remained in single figures.[170] From then onwards, according to the statistics provided by SU, the numbers in absolute terms increased steadily, as did the total amount of students (1970: 84 out of 7.204; 1975: 182 out of 10.684; 1980: 290 out of 13.171; 1985: 312 out of 14.283; 1990: 341 out of 15.445; 1993: 401 out of 15.455).[171] They countered the academic boycott, which started in the middle of the 1960s and intensified towards the 1980s and, in particular, at the end of that decade. At the heyday of the international academic boycott in the second half of the

[169] This number has also to do with the language issue, as any professor was expected to be able to teach in Afrikaans. As such, it also interlinked with the earlier referred to national isolation and insularity (and not necessarily only with the academic boycott and an increasing international isolation).

[170] In 1954 there was one international student out of a total of 745. In 1960 there were four out of 1.541, and in 1965 15 out of 2.444.

[171] Between 1965 and 1990 the countries of origin of SU's foreign students increasingly diversified. Beyond Belgium, the Netherlands, West Germany and the UK they included Denmark and New Zealand in 1965 and later – even though limited in numbers – several additional European countries (also Eastern European ones, such as Bulgaria, Poland, Romania, Ukraine), South American countries (such as Argentina, Brazil, Chile), Asian countries (China, Japan, North and South Korea, Vietnam) as well as Australia, New Zealand and Canada. With a view to international students from the African continent, it can be stated that in 1965 there was but one from Namibia and three from Zimbabwe. The figures from these two countries soared over the decades, remaining the largest source countries for international students at SU from the African continent (1970: 10 [Namibia], 12 [Zimbabwe]; 1980: 75 [Namibia], 30 [Zimbabwe]; 1990: 160 [Namibia]; 15 [Zimbabwe]; 1993: 226 [Namibia], 22 [Zimbabwe]). Yet, they comprised most of all white students. The rest of Africa with very few exceptions hardly featured prior to 1990 (Figures provided by the Division for Institutional Research and Planning in January 2013. They include so-called special students that came to SU for non-degree seeking purposes, e.g. to do an exchange).

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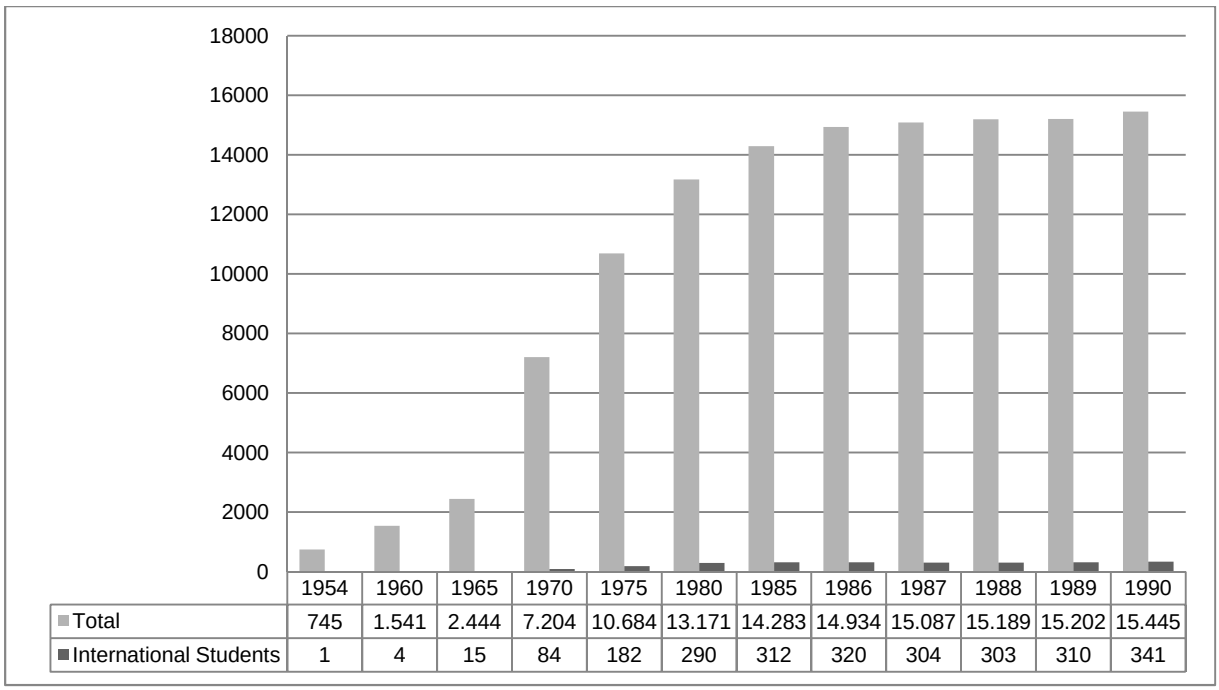
1980s, however, a little, almost negligible decline in international students can be observed (1986: 320; 1987: 304; 1988: 303; 1989: 310), followed by a great leap forward at the beginning of the 1990s. Measured in percent, the number of international students rose from 0.6 percent in 1965 to 2.2 percent in 1990 and 2.68 percent in 1993.[172]

Figure 1: Development of International Students at SU (1954–1990)



	1954	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Total	745	1.541	2.444	7.204	10.684	13.171	14.283	14.934	15.087	15.189	15.202	15.445
International Students	1	4	15	84	182	290	312	320	304	303	310	341

Source: figures provided by SU's Division for Institutional Research and Planning in January 2013.

A breakdown of the international students according to their country of origin, however, shows an effect of the intensification of the international academic boycott in the second half of the 1980s. A look on the figures for the traditional partner countries, Belgium, the Netherlands, the UK and West Germany, show a considerable drop after 1985 for all of these countries – an effect that would well continue until after the first democratic elections in South Africa in 1994.[173] Student numbers from the USA, for example, remained constant over the period. Responsible for the considerable rise in the total amount of SU's international students between 1985 and 1993 were white students of Namibian nationality (1985: 81; 1990: 160; 1993: 226).

[172] Figures provided by the Division for Institutional Research and Planning in January 2013.
[173] For the year 1985, the figures were as follows: 18 (Belgium), 27 (the Netherlands), 58 (UK), 48 (West Germany), and for 1993: 8 (Belgium), 15 (the Netherlands), 16 (UK) 12 (West Germany).

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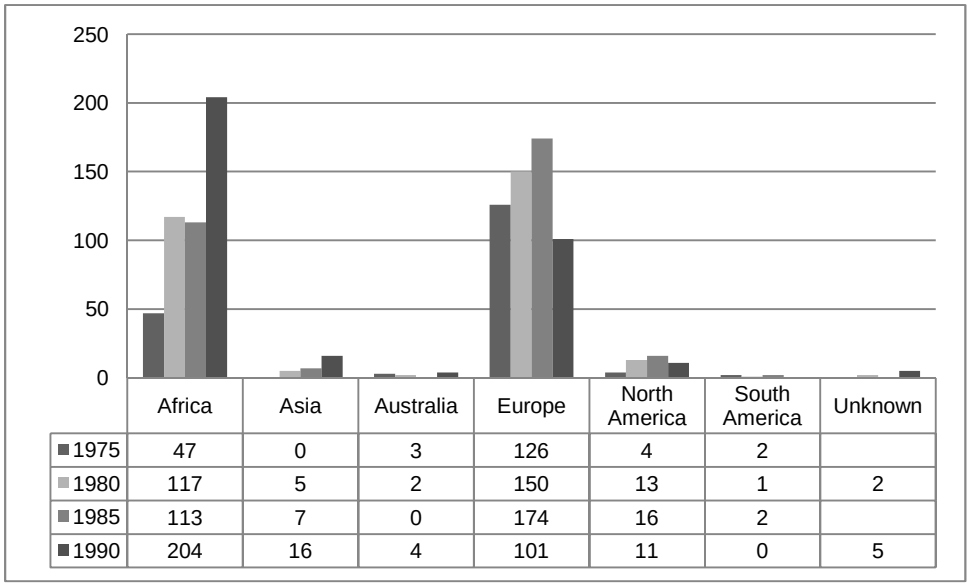
Figure 2: International Students at SU according to Region (1975–1990)



	Africa	Asia	Australia	Europe	North America	South America	Unknown
1975	47	0	3	126	4	2	
1980	117	5	2	150	13	1	2
1985	113	7	0	174	16	2	
1990	204	16	4	101	11	0	5

Source: figures provided by SU's Division for Institutional Research and Planning in January 2013.

Also here we can see in parts a challenge of the isolation of South African science through a large number of international students at SU from all around the world (most of all from the Netherlands, Belgium, West Germany, the UK and the USA), also during the climax of the academic boycott in the 1980s. Even though the figures went down for the traditional partner countries while rising for Namibia, the influx of the international into the University had largely remained constant in absolute numbers over the last years of the 1980s, before rising again after 1994. Pertaining to international student numbers, the hypothesis of the local and of some form of isolation at SU, therefore, cannot be maintained. Yet, what we can see from the figures is an intensification of the academic boycott, especially from a number of Western European countries, and, as a result, a less strong flow of international students from there into the University than most probably would have occurred without the academic boycott (Figure 2).

The academic boycott did not bring international mobility of students and staff of South African HEIs to a complete stop. There are numerous examples to be found in SU's yearbooks of financially supported international mobility for South African academics by various bursary schemes during the apartheid era. Examples include the Rhodes scholarships for studies at Oxford University, stipends from the British Commonwealth, like the Queen Victoria stipend to complete studies overseas, annual bursaries issued by the Neederlands-Zuid Afrikaans Vereinigung (NZAV), the Ernest Oppenheimer Memorial Trust supporting research stays abroad for lecturers, the Strakosch scholarship for postgraduate studies at Cambridge, the Hanlie van Niekerk scholarship for Music Studies overseas or the Abe Bailey fund for a maximum of two years study in the UK, which since 1951 had also been offering travel bursaries for three week study tours to the UK (SU Jaarboek, 1948 to 1989; The Abe Bailey Travel Bursary Fellowship Newsletter March 2012). All of them were

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advertised at SU and listed in the yearbooks.[174] Also depicted in SU's yearbooks were the bilateral cultural agreements and scholarship exchange schemes existing on the national level (with the Netherlands, Belgium, West Germany, Austria, France, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, the UK and the USA), mostly for postgraduate studies up to twelve months.[175] The Belgium and Dutch agreements, however, were suspended in 1977 due to the political developments in South Africa and the resulting calls of the AAM (Interview 25, 2010).

Against the background of the German foreign cultural policy and the cultural agreement entered into with South Africa in 1962 (Czaya 1964: 182ff; Rode 1975: 38ff), the following examples shall illustrate some of the academic linkages between South Africa and Germany after the Second World War.[176] Subsequent to the end of the Second World War, the earlier mentioned Deutsch-Afrikaanse Kulturgemeinschaft or Afrikaans-Deutsche Kulturgemeinschaft (ADK) was inclined to quickly reactivate its work especially due to the desire of its former members to continue regular student exchanges between Germany and South Africa (van der Merwe 1982: 157f). This was mainly to maintain the relations between the Boer nationalists and West Germany and to promote racial ideologies under the banner of cultural interests (Czaya 1964: 143).[177] After the re-establishment of the ADK in 1954, these tendencies of a right wing organization became even stronger (ibid.), and the board immediately dedicated its work to exchanges. SU and Potchefstroom offered two scholarships for German students each (van der Merwe 1982: 157f; see also SU Jaarboek 1961–1971). South African students were welcomed with scholarships in Hamburg, Münster and at the Technische Hochschule Stuttgart. The DAAD and the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation played an important role in terms of financial support (van der Merwe 1982: 157f). The Humboldt Foundation also supported research stays for South African scholars in Germany, most notably academics from SU.[178] According to the website of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, there were a total of 34 academics from SU, who, over the years,

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[174] In addition and in the framework of the international Boycott Movement against South Africa, scholarships for studies in the UK were made available for those opposing the regime, for example by Cambridge University in 1960 (finance coming by a majority from undergraduate students active in the protests). At Glasgow University, a fund was created in 1959 to support students from South Africa (Gurney 2000: 132). To what extent these scholarships were given to students from SU cannot be reconstructed with the sources used for this study.

[175] Many of the cultural agreements contained a component on licenses and technical cooperation for the development and promotion of the South African arms industry. According to an ANC document, this included West Germany, Italy, France, the UK and the USA (ANC 1975).

[176] From the German perspective the driver for this agreement was, according to Czaya (1964: 182ff), an imperial and expansionist interest in Southern Africa. The agreement's target groups were most of all German nationals in South Africa and the white South African elite, thus excluding the majority of the South African population and ignoring the South African racism of the time (ibid.; see also Rode 1978: 98; Youkpo 1986: 321f). The agreement was, therefore, interpreted as stabilizing factor for the apartheid regime (Bayer 1987: 562; see also Rode 1975: 264ff and 1978: 101; Youkpo 1986). From the perspective of the RSA, the agreement was used as means against the increasing international isolation (Youkpo 1986: 255ff). Resulting from international pressure, the cultural agreement was frozen in 1985 (Bayer 1987: 562). This, however, did not mean that the cooperation came to an immediate standstill. South African academics, for example, were participating in the German Archeological Congress in summer 1985 (Bayer 1987: 563), while the exclusion of South Africans at the World Archeological Congress that took place a year later in Southampton had turned into a highly contested affair (Ucko 1987).

[177] Also the DAAD, the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, the Dr.-Erich-Lübbert-Stiftung, Goethe Institut and the Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen contributed to the cultural exchange relations (Czaya 1964: 145).

[178] Following strong and repeated criticism by, for example, German Africa scholars and the German section of Amnesty International on the practice to exclusively promote the white South African minority under the agreement, scholarships from the DAAD were expanded to black South Africans for the first time in the academic year 1973/1974 (seven scholarship holders each), and black academics were similarly included into the exchange of academics (Rode 1978: 98).

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were invited by German universities for a research stay, some of them even several times.[179] Accordingly, SU is one of the few places where a local "Humboldtianer" branch exists. Among the 34 Stellenbosch academics, 16 became a Humboldt fellow for the first time during the apartheid era, among them eight in the 1980s. The disciplinary background of those 16 SU academics was Theoretical Physics, Theoretical Chemistry, Law as well as Theology.[180] Thus and quite in contrast to, for example, the Dutch universities, which by the 1980s followed a strong boycott policy (Bunting 2004b: 41), the German DAAD and the Humboldt Foundation never stopped their activities in South Africa. They were backed by general German foreign policy to cooperate with the South African regime mostly for economic reasons (Rode 1978: 101ff; see also Schneider-Barthold 1976; Ripken 1978; Youkpo 1986). The cultural agreement, according to ANC sources, also affected the military realm. In the framework of the agreement, which regulated scientific and technological cooperation, visits to Germany and special trainings were organized for South African scientists working in the sector. This entailed an unlimited exchange of knowledge in nuclear technology (ANC 1975, 1977; see also Bayer 1987: 567).[181]

Also Stellenbosch University as an institution supported international contacts and cooperation and the mobility of its members financially through special funds. In that context, the Council and Senate minutes from the late 1950s to the end of the 1980s are revealing. As indicated in one of the previous quotations, many institutions of higher education, such as SU, were keen to increase their international relationships also during the period of the academic boycott. Funding for scientific travel (Fonds vir Wetenskaplike Reise and Rektor se spesiale fonds vir Wetenskaplike Reise) was available for SU professors, who could apply for financial assistance for short term travels to make international contact and explore overseas research collaboration. The *Fonds vir Wetenskaplike Reise* had been introduced in 1957, in that year with a budget of £350 and at least £500 in the years to come (SU Council, 16 February 1957: 77). Regarding the rationale of its introduction, the Council minutes only refer to "allowing university staff members the opportunity for attending scientific meetings or making trips related to their fields of interest" [SB] (ibid: 77). Allocations from this fund were made to support travels within South Africa as well as to other parts of the world, mostly to

[179] See http://www.humboldt-foundation.de/pls/web/pub_hn_query.main?p_lang=de [retrieved 9 November 2011], see also list provided by SU's responsible for scholarship holders of the Humboldt Foundation.

[180] It is important to note that in the era prior to 1990 a number of representatives of SU's Faculty of Theology were among the fellows, such as Johann Kinghorn and Bernard Lategan, who as we will see later played an important role in the deconstruction of apartheid at SU in the 1980s. Other theologians from SU, e.g. Walter Claassen, and Robert Kotzé with a Master's degree in Semitic Languages and Cultures, became important figures in the internationalization process of the University in the 1990s, the former at first as Senior Director (Research) and later as Vice Rector (first for Academic Matters, later for Research) and the latter as the first and for the following 20 years only head of SU's International Office. Another Humboldt fellow, who figured prominently in the University's management in the 1990s, was the lawyer Andreas van Wyk, Rector of SU between 1992 and 2001. With this information in mind, one could argue that parts of the transformation at SU would later be guided by internationally experienced intellectuals, many of them with study and research experiences in West Germany.

[181] The ANC documents give detailed information on visits of South African military functionaries, exchange of strategic information and ministerial assessments, the support of the South African military through the exchange of knowledge, nuclear collaboration through scientific cooperation, supply of military equipment as well as of nuclear material (ANC 1975, 1977).

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the USA and to Europe (ibid.).[182] Looking at the development of that fund, it is remarkable how the amount the University had put into this funding scheme increased in absolute numbers over the years (1962: approx. R4.000; 1967: approx. R4.600; 1972: approx. R16.000; 1977: approx. R17.000).[183] It expanded enormously in the 1980s, from R75.000 in 1982 to R190.000 in 1987 (own calculation, based on the Council documents of the respective years) to R550.000 in 1991 (SU Council, 16 September 1991: 201f). However, the steep upward movement during the 1970s and 1980s has to be qualified against rising annual inflation rates of the South African Rand, which amounted to 10.3 percent on average for the decade of the 1970s and 14.6 percent for the 1980s (with a peak of 18.52 percent in 1985). Yet, adjusted for inflation, the figures still more than doubled between 1977 and 1982 and grew by more than one fourth between 1982 and 1987 and by two thirds between 1987 and 1991.[184]

In 1970 the University had introduced the second funding scheme under then Rector Jan Naudé de Villiers. The so-called *Rektor se spesiale Fonds vir Wetenskaplike Reise* had an initial budget of R10.000 to further increase the number of travels mostly to non-South African conferences and visits to overseas universities (SU Council, 18 April 1970: 20). Its growth in the 1980s, during the heyday of the academic boycott, from R16.400 in 1982 to R45.500 in 1987 (own calculation, based on Council documents of the respective years) and R90.000 in 1991 (SU Council, 16 September 1991: 201f), has to be particularly highlighted. Adjusted for inflation, the increase amounted to close to 40 percent between 1982 and 1987 and by close to 15 percent between 1987 and 1991.[185] In addition to these two funding schemes, SU professors from 1985 onwards were supported in spending sabbaticals or research leave periods of three to twelve months at overseas universities through the so-called funding for overseas study leave (*Spesiale Fonds vir Oorsese Studieverlof*) – mostly in Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand – with a total budget of R130.000 in 1987 (own calculation, based on Council minutes of 1987) and close to R250.000 in 1991 (SU Council, 16 September 1991: 201f).

Also research stays of visiting academics were supported with financial means by SU. From the early 1960s onwards, a Senate committee for visiting academics (*Besoekende Akademici Senaatskomitees*), on the basis of suggestions from the faculties, proposed international guests to the Senate for either short-term visits of a couple of days or for a period of one to three months. Furthermore, a fund for research development was used for inviting international academics, who were already in South Africa at one of the other South African institutions of higher education. With the help of that fund, they could be brought to SU (discussion with Robert Kotzé, September 2010). International visits financially covered by SU – even though limited in numbers – were, therefore, part of the daily life at SU, which

[182] One of the first travel grants was awarded to professor CGW Schuman for attending an International Conference on Methods of Opinion Survey in Munich in July 1957 and for afterwards visiting several European Faculties of Economics, such as in Munich, Zurich and Delft, on the issue of their course designs for Engineering students (SU Council, 16 February 1957: 78).

[183] The South African Pound was replaced by the South African Rand in 1961.

[184] Own calculations, based on the figures presented at http://www.inflation.eu/inflation-rates/south-africa/historic-inflation/cpi-inflation-south-africa.aspx [retrieved 10 November 2013].

[185] Own calculations, based on the figures presented at http://www.inflation.eu/inflation-rates/south-africa/historic-inflation/cpi-inflation-south-africa.aspx [retrieved 10 November 2013].

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was, however, not necessarily true for other Afrikaans HEIs. Visitors to SU came mostly through the faculties; central administration only dealt with the financial aspects. Numbers, therefore, cannot be reconstructed easily. Usually, there were not more than four visiting academics funded from SU's budget per year for a longer stay. In 1994 the fund was decentralized and transferred to the faculties (SU Council, 21 March 1994: 559).

Conclusions that can be drawn from the special funding schemes and their developments in terms of the amounts available are, firstly, that scientific travel, from the 1960s onwards, became increasingly important for SU, especially travels to other parts of the world. The University, the author suggests, tried with heightened financial means to counter the academic boycott in the 1970s and even more decisively during the decade of the 1980s. Professor Hennie Rossouw, Vice Rector (Academic) in the 1980s and early 1990s, confirmed the generous spending, in particular for travels abroad, made by Rector de Vries and his management team throughout the 1980s: "Well, I can tell you how generous he was in approving [applications, SB]. We tried to approve as many as possible and we pleaded for funds with the rector" (Interview 2012). The tremendous increase of funding in the early 1990s was obviously linked to South Africa opening up again to the world. But it had a distinguished history prior to the beginning of change.

With regards to international publishing opportunities at SU in the second half of the 1980s, the University's Research Report served as prime source. As this report had only started to be published and printed since 1986, the reconstruction of trends was not possible. Two faculties, namely the Faculty of Sciences and the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, were analysed exemplarily for the years 1986, 1988 and 1990. According to the research reports, it is eye-catching that in terms of publication activities some subject groups had fewer problems to publish in international journals and to also publish their contributions through international conferences at the end of the 1980s. The departments of the Faculty of Sciences (e.g. Biology, Chemistry, Physics) published in local South African journals (such as the South African Journals of Science, of Botany, of Chemistry and Physics or the Suid-Afrikaanse Tydskrif vir Natuurwetenskap en Tegnologie) as well as in international journals (such as the European Journal of Biochemistry, Physical Review or Mitteilungen aus dem Institut für allgemeine Botanik Hamburg) and with a few exceptions predominantly in English[186]. Members of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences and its departments (e.g. History, Geography, Political Science), to the contrary, had mostly placed articles solely in local South African journals (such as Die Suid-Afrikaanse Geograaf, Suid-Afrikaanse Biografiese Woordeboek or South African Journal of Sociology) and with a considerable number of articles in Afrikaans[187]. With regards to co-publishing with international colleagues, it must be stated that, for the two faculties analysed in the period 1986 to 1990, there is almost no example of an international team of authors and also none of a South African team

[186] Out of the 79 articles published by members of the departments and institutes of the Faculty of Sciences in 1986, 77 were written in English (1988: 71 out of 73; 1990: 79 out of 81) (own calculation, based on SU's Research Reports 1986–1990).

[187] For the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, the figures are significantly different in comparison to the Faculty of Sciences. In 1986 37 of the 78 articles were in English (1988: 70 out of 125; 1990: 65 out of 118) (own calculation, based on SU's Research Reports 1986–1990).

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of authors coming from different South African institutions. This is another manifestation of the inner-South African isolation, as described by Mouton (2010: 245).

With a view to the effects of the academic boycott against apartheid South Africa on Stellenbosch University, the following is noteworthy. Taking the analysis of the degree of internationalization of SU's professoriate, the students, mobility schemes and to a limited extent the publications into account, an effect of the academic boycott on SU was limited to the 1980s and most of all to the second half of that decade (plus in some cases the beginning of the 1990s) and, as a result, for a rather short period of time. For the decade of the 1980s, an increasing localism could be identified with regards to professors, the reference point being, however, South Africa and not SU, as many of the interviews[188] and some authors[189] of the secondary literature had suggested. For students, the effect was limited to the last years of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s. However, according to the sources and in contrast to the statements made in the interviews, there was no evidence for a substantial increase of insularity for SU through the appointment of own graduates until 1989. The percentage of appointed professors that held only SU degrees prior to their appointment had remained constant throughout the whole period of apartheid. The same goes for the Index "SU affiliation".

Also the hypothesis of an international isolation, as a result of analysing the interview and archive material, must be put in context. The isolation, as has repeatedly been referred to, was never absolute. Even though the flow of international academics coming to South Africa was interrupted to a certain extent during the 1980s, it never went down to zero. Instead, there had been an almost constant stream of visitors to and from South African HEIs. At SU, professors with international experiences continued to be appointed, the total number of international students at SU had grown steadily (with a small exception at the end of the 1980s), and funding made available by SU for the promotion of international mobility of its academics had risen. Hence, international exchange and cooperation continued besides strong boycott policies of some countries – especially on the level of individuals and institutions. And SU academics, in particular the natural scientists, also continued to publish in international journals at the end of the 1980s.

Hennie Rossouw, former Vice Rector (Academic) at SU, confirmed the findings that the academic boycott started to be felt by SU in the 1980s and lasted only a couple of years.

> "We didn't have real problems, in spite of apartheid, in the late 50s and beginning of the 60s. […] There was movement all along. […] At the end of the 1970s, I don't think that there was so much concern about isolation, because on an individual basis people, as staff members, were very welcome at universities in Europe and North America. I mean, there were no boycotts; there could have been individuals that did not want to associate with South Africans, but the main bulk of colleagues from other universities they received individuals, they invited individual academics and they were not apart from conferences and so on. But in the 80s, things started to change. […] In the 80s, we first experienced the impact of boycotts and sanctions and isolations and pressures and things like that." (Interview 50, 2010)

[188] See footnote 146.
[189] See, amongst others, Gibbon and Kabaki 2004.

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As should have become clear in the context of South African science, the academic boycott and the apartheid era did not prevent international exchanges.[190] Instead, throughout the whole second part of the 20th century, there had always been a sense of international connection, especially among the historically white universities, with traditional links between the English universities and universities in the UK and the USA and an inclination towards Dutch and German universities for the Afrikaans institutions. This could lead to the conclusion that regarding international relations there was not a huge difference between the apartheid and the post-apartheid era. Apart from the barriers outlined above, international relations among academics and HEIs in both periods, prior to 1990 and thereafter, were only subtly different and represented general trends in the whole world.[191]

All of this is, however, not to say that the universities and individual academics did not suffer damage because of the academic sanctions. As the secondary literature and the interviews have shown, especially the actual constraints South African scientists suffered from (as shown with Maddox 1987, Lancaster and Haricombe 1995 and Mouton 2010) as well as the symbolic results of the boycotts, e.g. feelings of isolation, of being excluded and unfairly discriminated, were widespread. They contributed to a localization of South African scholarship, through which higher education and South Africa's science system certainly were affected and which, according to some interviewees, have punctually survived both the boycott as well as the political transition. This led to a partial inferiority complex, which, according to one interviewee, overshadows international relations to this day (Interview 8, 2010).

However, as South African scholars and librarians in Lancaster and Haricombe's project (1995) have stated, the academic boycott was a nuisance, an inconvenience at its worst. It constituted an irritation to South African academics and less so a serious barrier for scientific careers. In most of the cases, means and ways were found to bypass restrictions and proscriptions and to still be internationally active and follow international trends.

5.3 Conclusion: The Interaction of Processes of Nationalization and Internationalization in South African Higher Education

This chapter has sketched out the broad picture of higher education development in South Africa from its origins in the 19th century to the developments during the Afrikaner nationalist dominance. In particular, it has focussed on the interplay between processes of nationalization and internationalization and their intermingling with one another.

Chapter 5.1 produced the following three conclusions: Firstly, already before the introduction of apartheid policy, following the coming to power of the Nationalist government in 1948, the South African higher education sector was racially segregated and subdivided into the English-medium, the Afrikaans-medium universities and one black institution. While in South Africa this observation is linked to intra-societal power relations, to supremacy and exclusion

[190] Additional evidence relates to the international experiences of those South Africans who later, in 1995 and 1996, became involved as commissioners in the National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE) – see Chapter 6.3.1 of this work.

[191] See also Chapter 4.2 on border-transcending mobility and internationalization processes in higher education from a historical perspective.

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in the first place, it also invites a comparison with the replacement of Latin as European language of higher education by teaching through the medium of the vernacular in the context of nation-building (see Chapter 4.1). Secondly, the relationship between higher education institutions and the state could be characterized by limited though existent institutional autonomy: HEIs had been autonomous mostly in terms of financial expenditures while being legally dependent on the state. The financial autonomy of HEIs in South Africa at the beginning of the 20th century is quite in contrast to the developments in continental Europe, where between the end of the French revolution and the end of the Second World War almost all European universities increasingly lost their financial autonomy and were controlled by the state (see Chapter 4.1). And thirdly, higher education and the research system in South Africa had always been highly influenced by external ideas, initially mainly from the European colonizers. The comparison with other science systems and the war time needs after the First World War had fostered South Africa's ambition to enter the international science arena. By the end of the Second World War, the South African research system had developed both an inward and an outward looking perspective and was ready for the promotion of international science. In comparison with the developments in continental Europe and the USA, an awareness of the importance of science and research appeared in South Africa with a delay of some decades (see Chapter 4.1). Becoming engaged in knowledge production not only resulted from the wartime needs after the First World War but was also connected to the desire of creating a national profile in an increasingly competitive international environment, similar to developments elsewhere. It thus constituted a strong moment of nation-building.

The presentations of the developments in higher education during the apartheid era in Chapter 5.2 have shown that the apartheid governments' attempt to separate South African society along racial lines proved successful in terms of formal institutional arrangements. The artificial creation of institutions of higher learning for different South African population groups, with the major goal of substantiating white supremacy in South Africa, had severe consequences for the whole higher education sector. By the end of the 1980s, the sector was described as totally state-dependent, internally isolated, extremely uncoordinated, and, therefore, inefficient, and most notably as largely unequal. Resistance against apartheid grew, above all, during the 1980s and also at Stellenbosch University.

The international academic boycott had contributed to some degree of isolation from international developments in higher education. As has been shown in Chapter 5.2.4, the analysis of the source material, however, invites a reconfiguration of the hypotheses of isolationism and increasing localism. In contrast to statements from the secondary literature and the qualitative interviews conducted for this research, according to which SU had been particularly eschewed by the international community due to its perceived institutional closeness to the apartheid regime and, as a consequence, suffered from a high and growing degree of international isolation and an increasing focus on the local, different instances of international contact and interaction existed throughout the apartheid era.

International experiences among SU's professoriate in terms of their degree experiences upon appointment, for example, had roughly remained constant between 1949 and 1989, as

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did recruitment from within the institution. What could be proved with regards to the appointment of professors, however, was an increasing localism on the national level in the same period, which, however, was not necessarily unique for South Africa (see Chapter 4.2). International student numbers at SU had increased considerably between 1949 and the beginning of the 1990s, in absolute numbers and also slightly in relative terms. Also this finding follows the patterns in worldwide higher education, as outlined in Chapter 4.2. In addition, SU on the institutional level made available large sums from the 1960s onwards, in order to foster international collaboration and incoming and outgoing, short and long-term mobility of academics, thus partly countering the upcoming international boycott. Hence, it can be concluded that the apartheid era, in the case of SU, contributed to a conscious promotion of internationalization on the institutional level much earlier than at many other South African universities.

The development of the higher education sector and individual institutions during the apartheid years must be seen, first of all, in the light of a government-led nationalization project in research and science as a reaction to the perceived international isolation of South Africa. At the same time, however, there is abundant evidence – also during the heyday of the academic boycott – that elements in South African universities not only opposed apartheid but also tried to purposefully maintain or even create new international links. As a result, the intuitive hypothesis that the apartheid regime was obstructive for the internationalization of higher education must be complemented with a counter hypothesis, namely the liberalization of the universities as reverse tendency: internationalization occurred side by side with the apartheid regime's nationalization attempts.

Consequently, the year 1990 did not constitute a harsh disruption. What it constituted was a point of re-entry to negotiate South Africa's democratic future and to institute change in all spheres of society and thus to also renegotiate South Africa's role in the world and that of South African academics. Change in South Africa was preceded by a more than decade long resistance from various stakeholders of society, many of them with different kinds of international experiences. South African intellectuals, university staff members and students were well among them.

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Chapter 6: University Politics in South Africa after the End of the Apartheid Era: Between Transformation and Transnationalization

This chapter covers the developments of university politics in South Africa after 1990. Their analysis will be done against the backdrop of the two-fold development challenge of societal transformation and coming to terms with the apartheid legacy on the one hand and the transnationalization of the policy field of higher education under conditions of globalization and international influences on the other.[192] The point of departure for the reconstruction of this process are research reports, commission reports, legislation and national plans published between 1990 and 2010, transcriptions from expert interviews[193] as well as secondary literature from within and outside South Africa. Six documents from the period between 1994 and 2001 shall be analysed in more detail. They are the ANC "Policy Framework for Higher Education and Training" (published for public comment in 1994 prior to the first democratic elections in April 1994), the final report of the National Commission on Higher Education "A Framework for Transformation" (1996), the Green Paper on Higher Education Transformation (1996), the Education White Paper 3 "A Programme for Higher Education Transformation" (1997), the Council on Higher Education document "Towards a New Higher Education Landscape" (2000) and the National Plan on Higher Education (2001).[194]

The following aspects shall guide the analysis. To begin with, there will be an examination of the ways that the global is referred to in the documents and of the language and rhetoric mechanisms employed to legitimize changes in higher education. Secondly, explicit references to international debates in higher education, to foreign paradigms and experiences from other higher education systems will be highlighted. This collection aims at elucidating where specific ideas and concepts for the transformation of the South African higher education sector came from, which national education systems were used as points of reference, and if possible (depending on the information available, which is scarce) how and through whom they possibly became part of the discussions. Thus, the source material will help to shed light on how the transformation of higher education was negotiated, which ideas were competing with one another and especially what individuals with what kind of experience gave input into the policy making process. It is argued that it is mostly through individual actors, e.g. national elites with international expertise as well as international stakeholders partaking in these processes as knowledge brokers that ideas travel, so that

[192] Practical implications of the policy process will not be fully dealt with in this study. But how policy played out at one particular institution of higher education will be presented in the part on Stellenbosch University.

[193] These interviews were conducted in August and September 2011 with representatives of South African higher education. In addition, interview transcriptions from the publication "Transformation in Higher Education – Global Pressures and Local Realities in South Africa" (2004) have been used (see References and Source Material).

[194] Since the release of the National Plan on Higher Education, the South African higher education sector has been implementing the policies developed in the second half of the 1990s. That is the reason why the last of the documents to be analysed dates back to 2001. This is not to say that there were no further policy documents adopted by the South African government after 2001. For example, the National Qualifications Framework Act (2008) contains a number of implications for the inter- and transnationalization of South African higher education. Yet, it has been excluded from an in-depth analysis as it addressed only a particular aspect of the higher education sector.

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policies on the level of nation-states are informed by foreign models and ideas. The biographies of these individuals with respect to international education and working experiences will form part of the analysis. Finally, it will be explored to what extent internationalization, international collaboration and mobility are referred to in the documents.

It has to be noted that the documents are consensus documents. They are the products of mediation processes and do not mirror the controversies and discursive tensions among those who were part of the negotiations. Furthermore, they do not systematically indicate the individual contributions to the texts. Disagreements and different opinions of certain aspects of higher education, therefore, can only be dealt with in reference to the material that was attached to the documents[195], on the basis of secondary literature or the expert interviews. The same applies, in particular, to how certain external references entered the documents. Also information on international advisers, who were part of the different research groups and writing teams and how they may have possibly influenced the outcomes, is limited. They will be included where available but do not claim to be comprehensive. This would be a matter for further research.

The chapter will start by presenting the main reasons for the transformation of the South African higher education sector, based on the problems associated with it from the vantage point of those involved in its transformation in the early 1990s. It will continue with a chronological narration of the transformation process between 1990 and 2010, following the phases proposed by Badat (2004): Phase I (1990–1994): development of principles and values guiding the transformation process; Phase II (1994–1998): beginning of policy formulation and definition of goals, strategies, structures and instruments; Phase III (1999–): establishment of a nationally integrated, coordinated and differentiated system of higher education. The description of the last phase will include sections on recent developments and challenges concerning transformation as well as on the internationalization of South African higher education. The in-depth analysis of the six documents will be integrated into this chronology and will be discussed at the end of the chapter.

6.1 "The need for transformation"[196]

When Frederick de Klerk announced the unbanning of the African National Congress (ANC) and other political organizations, the abolition of the apartheid laws and the release of Nelson Mandela from prison after 27 years in February 1990, South Africa found itself on the eve of a decade of drastic and far reaching change. The soon to be expected end of statutory apartheid led to the start-up of an ambitious project, aimed at establishing a new social order in South Africa, at breaking up with the structures inherited from the apartheid regime and at reducing the enormous social inequalities. Both the National Party (NP) still in government and the African National Congress (ANC) waiting to be elected into government were in accordance that the South African higher education sector urgently needed a far-reaching transformation.

[195] In the case of the final report of the National Commission on Higher Education, for example, a section with alternative views of some of the commissioners is included.
[196] This headline is borrowed from the final report of the National Commission on Higher Education (1996: 1).

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Already prior to the first democratic elections in 1994, the NP government had come up with an Education Renewal Strategy discussion document. The deficiencies of the general education system, including higher education, were described as follows:

> "Many South Africans view the present education model based on the principle of own affairs/general affairs and expressed in the existence of education departments for each population group as lacking legitimacy. [...] [The government admits that the present model lacks legitimacy most of all, SB] because an unacceptable basis for accommodating diversity, namely race, has been perpetuated in education by the RSA Constitution Act, 1983." (DNE 1991: 20, 22, quoted from Bunting 1994: 4)

The ANC in its discussion document "A Policy Framework for Education and Training", published in early 1994, had given the problems of the higher education sector the following expression:

> "The Higher Education sector reflects the distortions and inequities of the apartheid past, as well as the tensions and uncertainties of the national transition to a democratic order. The dominant issues, which affect all significant policy questions in the sector are: • Higher Education institutions ought to be representative of the South African population. This means that black students ought to enter and succeed in Higher Education in proportion to their strength in the population. Students, academic and administrative staff should reflect the country's racial, gender class, and rural-urban balance. […] • The gross deficit in Black Higher Education enrolments is particularly acute in institutions and across disciplines (such as the natural sciences) due to the deficiencies of Black schools and the effect of other apartheid policies which functioned to exclude Blacks. • Historically Black institutions were developed to service the apartheid social order and hence have been disadvantaged financially, in the range of disciplines offered, and by the underdevelopment of graduate studies and research capacity." (ANC 1994: Part 6, section 24)
>
> "[I]ts present structure and capacity are seriously distorted, its governance systems are outmoded and its funding arrangements have led to serious crises for both students and institutions." (ANC 1994: Part 1, section 3)

The missing legitimacy caused by racism and unequal access opportunities to education in general were thus considered to be the major obstacles for education, including higher education, coupled with outdated governing and funding arrangements. Racism and inequality were associated by the ANC with a negative impact on the skills base of the South African economy and, therefore, "on productivity and the international competitiveness of the economy" (ANC 1994: Part 1, section 1).

Ian Bunting, a former Professor of Philosophy at the University of Cape Town (UCT), who was involved in the early debates on transforming higher education in South Africa, in policy research in the early 1990s[197] as well as later in the technical committees of the National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE), elaborated on these challenges in his book "A Legacy of Inequality" (Bunting 1994: 224ff) and highlighted the following six aspects for the higher education sector as it was in 1994:

- Unequal access to higher education institutions (HEIs): White South Africans had a far bigger chance to get admission to universities and technikons than black South

[197] Bunting has contributed to the works of the Post-Secondary Education Research Group of the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI), of the National Education Coordinating Committee (NECC), and of the Policy Forum of the Union of Democratic Staff Associations (UDUSA).

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Africans. The majority of students were white, whilst its share in the total South African population accounted only for 13 percent.

- Different success rates: The majority of graduates were white. Students, who graduated from institutions, which were administered by the House of Assembly (white universities and technikons) showed significantly better results than those from institutions under the direction of the House of Delegates (Indian students), the House of Representatives (Coloureds) and the Department of Education and Training (black students).
- Unequal employment opportunities: In 1994 90 percent of all permanent academic posts in South African institutions of higher learning were held by white South Africans. Even the administration of non-white institutions was dominated by whites.
- Under-representation of women: Access to higher education as well as to employment in higher academic and administrative positions was significantly worse than for men.
- Unequally distributed resources: The ratio of students per lecturer was substantially lower in historically white institutions than in historically black institutions; on average the lecturers in white institutions were also better qualified. Additionally, the financial situation was extremely unequal in favour of the white institutions.
- Missing relevance for society: Democratic responsibility of HEIs with regard to the needs of the majority of South Africans was lacking.

The deficiencies had its origins in the fragmentation of the sector: Because of the apartheid model of higher education and the division of responsibilities among 19 different departments (including 15 in the RSA and another four in the independent homelands), South Africa was lacking a single unified system of higher education with consistent goals.[198] Hence, integrative planning and coordination were more than difficult. An illustrative example is the cost-intensive doubling of programmes for the sake of separate development, as indicated in previous sections. The unequal allocation of power and resources, furthermore, had led to a culture of lacking accountability: Institutions of higher education in South Africa were not required to render an account of their work progress, of formulated and achieved goals – neither by the Ministry, nor by employees, students or parents.

The final report of the National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE), published in 1996, presented “the need for transformation” with a slightly different nuance:

> “The need for transformation stems from two sets of factors: firstly, the profound deficiencies of the present system which inhibit its ability to meet the moral, social and economic demands of the new

[198] Four independent ministries held statutory responsibilities for the 17 individual universities established in the RSA (excluding the universities in the independent homelands). The Department of National Education was not among them, as it did not have any statutory responsibilities. The four ministries were the Ministry of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly (responsible for the eleven universities for Whites), the Ministry of Education and Culture in the House of Delegates (responsible for the University of Durban-Westville for Indian students), the Ministry of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives (responsible for the University of the Western Cape for coloured students) – the three of them belonging to “own affairs” – and the Department for Education and Training (responsible for the four universities for Blacks in the RSA) allocated to “general affairs” (NCHE 1996: 42; Sehoole 2005: 20f). Further ministries in the independent homelands added their bit to the complexity and puzzlement of governing arrangements, which were similar for the technikons as well as for the teacher training colleges (Bunting 1994: 24ff).

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> South Africa; and, secondly, a context of unprecedented national and global opportunities and challenges. Together, these factors require reorientation and innovation." (NCHE 1996: 1)

The deficiencies were given the following expression by the Commission:

> There is a chronic mismatch between higher education's output and the needs of a modernising economy. Discriminatory practices have limited the access of black students and women students into fields such as science, engineering, technology and commerce and this has been detrimental to economic and social development.
>
> There is a strong inclination toward closed-system disciplinary approaches and programs, which has led to inadequately contextualised teaching and research. The content of the knowledge produced and disseminated is insufficiently responsive to the problems and needs of the African continent, the southern African region, or the vast numbers of poor and rural people in our society.
>
> There is a lack of regulatory frameworks, due to a long history of organizational and administrative fragmentation and weak accountability. This inhibited planning and coordination, the elimination of duplication and waste, the promotion of better articulation and mobility, the effective evaluation of quality and efficiency." (NCHE 1996: 2)

It is here that the twin logic of the transition becomes obvious. While the ANC document and Bunting's analysis (1994) primarily focus on deficits related to the inequalities in higher education produced by the apartheid system (yet with the ANC document indicating its implications for the economy), the challenge of incorporating the South African higher education system into the international higher education system in the context of a competitive, globalized economy is given more emphasis in the NCHE report. The NCHE further displays the imperative of a higher education sector capable to address the needs of the African continent and, therefore, for knowledge relevant for society, clearly appreciating the theses made popular by Michael Gibbons and his colleagues in the early 1990s[199]. The call for more effectiveness and efficiency of the system, as outlined in the last paragraph, according to the NCHE, refers to "internationally accepted indicators" (NCHE 1996: 35). Efficiency is indicated, for example, by throughput rates, which means the measurement of the proportion of enrolments graduating in any given year. If this rate is low, the drop out and failure rate are high (ibid.), which is seen as equivalent to an inefficient system. In case of fluctuating enrolment numbers, for example, this indicator is, however, deficient.

While many aspects of South African higher education, according to this overview, required far reaching transformation, both the ANC document and the NCHE report were also clear that the existing peaks of excellence in the system should be preserved.[200] South Africa, at the beginning of the 1990s, was thoroughly a well-respected science nation as has been indicated in Chapter 5. All transformation, therefore, had to be directed at identifying and retaining what was valuable and by not destroying "national assets", centres of excellence as

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[199] See "The new production of knowledge: the dynamics of science and research in contemporary societies" (1994). Its role in policy development in South African higher education in the 1990s and early 2000s will be dealt with more comprehensively in Chapter 6.3.1 on the NCHE.

[200] "Specialisation of functions will include the recognition and creation of centres of excellence appropriate to national and provincial development requirements" (ANC 1994: Part 6, section 24); "The country possesses the most developed and best resourced system of education and training in Africa, and some higher education institutions have developed internationally competitive research and teaching capacities. Their academic expertise and infrastructure should be regarded as national assets. It would be detrimental to the national interest and the future provision of quality higher education if the valuable features and achievements of the existing system were not identified, retained and used in the restructuring process" (NCHE 1994: 9).

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well as existing research capacity. This could only be achieved by aligning with the international higher education world. It seemed indispensible to look to the outside, especially to other higher education systems and best practice (ANC 1994: Part 1, section 1). On the local level, in order to produce moral legitimacy for the new system, it was necessary to broadly open the higher education system to previously excluded groups of the population and to create legitimacy, based on broad societal consensus. To reconcile these aspects and to balance the national and the transnational became a challenging exercise, which was not only difficult to finance but also permanently endangered by the loss of quality through the envisioned growth of the system and the broad expansion of access.

6.2 The Beginning of Transformation (1990–1994): Development of Principles and Values Guiding the Transformation Process for Higher Education

The period before the first democratic elections was characterized by a large interest from within the South African society to accompany the transformation and to contribute to its reshaping. The call for redress[201] was omnipresent. On the individual level, it was regarded necessary to create equal opportunities for those previously oppressed and excluded. At the same time, it had to be assured at the institutional level that also those universities and technikons that were historically disadvantaged could guarantee their further existence by offering good quality education. In the pre-1994 period, a range of initiatives were brought into being, all of which aimed at developing alternatives to higher education policy under apartheid – on the symbolic rather than on the level of policy formulation. The majority of them had their origin in the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) of the 1980s. In the late 1980s, the ANC together with the input of organs like the National Education Crisis (later Coordinating) Committee (NECC), a body formed in 1985 that comprised progressive democratic organizations and education activists from the education sector, had developed the vision of "building a people's education for people's power" to counter the apartheid education model with a radical alternative (Badat 1995: 151ff; Cloete 2004: 56). However, a concrete education policy did not exist prior to 1990 as the emergence of a democratic society had not been considered realistic. After 1990, the new environment offered the NECC the opportunity to abandon its previous strategy of opposition, protest, mass mobilization and short-term activities in favour of a strategy of transformation and reconstruction on the basis of policy research (Badat 1995: 151ff; Cloete 2004: 56). Many of the ideals of "People's Education", however, were preserved – with the concept of equity as its centre piece.

In February 1991, the NECC approved the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) project, which aimed at providing policy options for different aspects of education. Funding was assured by the Swedish International Development Agency (Samoff 1994: 9). Within NEPI, a Post-Secondary Education Research Group was formed. NEPI did not see itself as a

[201] "[Redress] refers to making amends for wrongs done; to remedy or rectify; to make fair adjustments; to see that justice is done. […] Redress was not seen as punitive – a way of punishing those responsible – nor was it conceptualised as a mechanism to right every wrong of the past. Redress was prescriptive in focusing on equality of opportunity – but not in respect to stipulating equal outcomes" (Moja and Hayward 2005: 33). The concept redress and the development, discussion and implementation of redress policies are discussed in further detail in Moja and Hayward (2005) and Barnes (2006).

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project of a specific constituency nor did it attempt to formulate, let alone implement, policies. Its stated goal was most of all local indigenous capacity building through research into and analysis of policy options (Badat 1995: 152). Limited information and competencies within the initiative as well as the necessity for democratic discourse did not allow for more than an overview of rather abstract possibilities. The central concept for the research agenda, against which all proposals of NEPI would have to be measured, was equity. Non-racialism, non-sexism, democracy and redress within a unitary system were the guiding principles for the process (ibid.). Among the participating organizations in the Post-Secondary Education Research Group were the already mentioned UDUSA (Union of Democratic University Staff Associations), NUSAS (National Union of South African Students) and SANSCO (South African National Students' Congress). Mfundu Nkuhlu (SANSCO) and Nico Cloete (UDUSA) were elected as national conveners (NECC 1992). Three topics of a macro-political framework were identified to be researched by the Post-Secondary Education group: size and shape, access and success as well as governance. The research phase, however, proved more difficult than anticipated as expertise in policy research was severely lacking and as the years of isolation, according to the authors of the research report (ibid.), had made it difficult for anti-apartheid intellectuals to stay up to date with international developments in higher education.[202] As a consequence of the higher education model of the apartheid era, researchers were mostly coming from the "white left" of the Historically White Institutions (HWI) and from the University of the Western Cape (UWC), created as institution for the coloured students, and its Education Policy Unit, thus already creating tensions around redress and equity within the group of researchers (ibid.). The core research group finally consisted of ten Blacks and ten Whites, four women and sixteen men, and seven members from Historically Black Institutions (HBIs). Already in that early phase of researching policy options, international experts were sought for an outside perspective on the drafting of a report. Among them were representatives of the Centre for Higher Education Policy Studies (CHEPS), the Netherlands; the Society for Research in Higher Education in York, UK; the London based Institute of Education; the Association of African Universities (AAU); the American Council on Education (ACE); the Commonwealth Secretariat; the International Institute of Education Planning (UNESCO) or the World Bank (NECC 1992). Some of these, such as Fred Hayward from the ACE[203], Peter Maassen and Frans van Vught

[202] The argument of an encompassing isolation has been repeatedly used by various authors. However, as has been demonstrated in previous chapters (see Chapter 5.2.4 on internationalization at SU during the "isolation" of the apartheid years) international contacts in higher education have existed throughout the whole apartheid period on various levels and of various kinds. Thus, the isolation argument is challenged by this research to some extent.

[203] The American Fred Hayward, held a bachelor's degree from the University of California and a PhD from Princeton University. He had taught at the University of Ghana and at Fourah Bay College and had worked as research associate at Dakar's Institut Fondamentale d'Afrique Noir, thus gaining a lot of experience in African higher education before he got invited to South Africa in 1992 for the first time to participate in a transformation conference. After the conference, the American Council on Education (ACE) decided to launch a project on the state of Historically Black Universities (HBUs) in South Africa and how the Ford Foundation could contribute to upgrading these institutions. The project was continued and expanded towards strategic planning, with USAID joining. Thus, between 1993 and 1997, Hayward had been involved as Senior Associate in the ACE's South Africa Strategic Planning Project with Historically Disadvantaged Universities and Technikons. Hayward arrived in South Africa during the NEPI process, and he became one among a dozen non-South Africans participating in the process. Hayward regularly came back to South Africa (Reflections F. Hayward, 2001, former Senior Associate to the American Council on Education). Hayward's publication list on higher education is extensive, including for

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from CHEPS and Dick Fehnel, initially from the consulting firm Creative Associates International, contracted by USAID, and after 1994 representative of the Ford Foundation, became involved in South African higher education transformation for the coming years. Dick Fehnel, for example, explicated the Ford Foundation's activities in South African higher education since the mid-1980s:

> "The Ford Foundation had been a major supporter of efforts since the mid-1980s to help the white, English-speaking universities of South Africa – namely, the University of Cape Town, Wits University, the University of Natal and Rhodes University – to develop programs for black students and academic staff. These efforts, and programs in other fields such as human rights, support for the arts, and support for black leadership development in the judicial system and other democratic institutions, were all run through Ford's New York office. This was not a desirable way to operate programs, but it was the only option at the time. So, when it became clear that a democratic election would be held in 1994 and a new government would be in place, Ford moved aggressively to open an office in Johannesburg." (ibid: 152)[204]

The final research report of the Post-Secondary Education working group was entitled "National Education Policy Investigation Post-Secondary Education" (NECC 1992). It had claimed and received legitimacy, most notably because it was based on an intensive consultation and exchange of arguments between different interest groups, activists as well as policy experts and because it was not limited to one political constituency. Its outcome was incorporated into the NEPI Framework Report from 1993. The latter clearly emphasized the link between education reform and macro-economic and labour market reforms, proposing a high-skills alternative for South African economic development on the basis of high-skills development through good basic and further education supported by a strong state, a strong civil society and partnerships with capital and labour (Kraak 2004: 254f).

While NEPI was a more open-ended process theoretically looking at options for the system, the ANC founded the Centre for Education Policy Development (CEPD), a research and policy unit aimed at developing the education policy direction for the ANC. The centre started its work in 1993 with financial support from the Canadian government (Samoff 1994: 9).[205] The CEPD used the exploratory work of NEPI and developed clearer policy guidelines for the ANC soon to be in government. NEPI and CEPD have to be seen not as separate but rather as complimentary (Interview 45, 2011). They both dealt with the whole system from pre-school to higher education, and there was a huge overlap of individuals and institutions involved in both processes, most of all members from UDUSA and the students' associations (ibid.). What the CEPD under its first Director Trevor Coombe, later working at the Department of Education (DoE), produced with the help of more than 300 researchers and

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example studies on the status of internationalization in the USA (Hayward 2000) and several publications on the transformation of higher education in South Africa (Jansen and Sayed 2001: xi).

[204] Also USAID had been very active in producing assessments on higher education at the beginning of the 1990s – usually in teams of South Africans and American experts – including first policy recommendations for the future government. The Primary Education Sector Assessment and Tertiary Education Sector Assessments are examples (Jansen 2003: 87). In 1990 USAID had issued the Support to Tertiary Education Project (STEP) worth US$110.000.000, for which the ACE was one recipient, to assist black historically disadvantaged universities with strategic planning (see http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PDABL636.pdf [retrieved 16 January 2012]).

[205] Joel Samoff, in his UNESCO report "A Review of Externally Initiated, Commissioned, and Supported Studies of Education in South Africa" (1994), provides an overview on Foreign Aid to South African Education in the 1990s as well as on Contributions and Support for Making Education Policy in South Africa.

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practitioners came to be known as the ANC "Policy Framework for Education and Training", published in January 1994 for public comment. This so-called Yellow Book (Manganyi 2001: 25; Sehoole 2005: 121), which had emerged from the ANC-COSATU document "A Framework for Lifelong Learning", was the point of departure for the human resources development section in the ANC's 1994 Reconstruction and Development Plan (RDP) and led to the first White Paper on Education and Training (1995). The policy framework again was explicitly not proposing any mechanisms for the implementation of policies (see also ANC 1994: Part 1, section 1), for which the document, according to Jansen (2002: 202), was strongly carped at. Only the Implementation Plan for Education and Training (IPET), which was handed over by the CEPD and its Higher Education Task Team to the ANC when it assumed power in May 1994, was more practical and outcome-oriented. This document, however, soon became superseded after the nomination of the new Minister of Education and the Director General, who had not been involved in their coming into existence (ibid.).

The "Policy Framework" section on higher education presents a vision and the principles for the transformation of higher education, with redress of historical imbalances as one of the central items. The policy proposals of the report are a telling index of what the ANC ideas of the time were on higher education. For example, while the NEPI Post-Secondary Education report propagated the equal treatment of all higher education institutions at the expense of a differentiation of the system, the ANC "Policy Framework for Education and Training" favoured the reduction of institutional differences between South African higher education institutions while securing a good quality education at all institutions. The latter did not, however, focus on institutional equality but rather on differentiated and specialized functions. The ANC document proposed, for example, centres of excellence appropriate for national and provincial development requirements; a distinction into teaching and research institutions was rejected. The proposal to develop multi-campus institutions might be a hidden indicator that the merging of institutions, which would become reality ten years later, was theoretically already on the table in the early years. The ANC chapter, furthermore, includes statements on funding, whereby an incentives-driven system was favoured in order to get institutions' support for national priorities. Tuition fees were one element of the funding approach for higher education. It was complemented by financial support for students in the form of bursaries, scholarships and a national loan scheme (ANC 1994: Part 6, section 24). Trevor Coombe explicated:

> "The ANC policy framework document recognised that we were attempting to build a system anew, which would be unified entirely, not segmented or fragmented, which was national and which, to the highest possible degree, was built on a consensus view about its broad mission." (Reflections T. Coombe, 2001, member of the Minister of Education's Strategic Task Team from May 1994 until May 2000)

Among the immediate policy activities recommended were the transformation of the Advisory Council on Universities and Technikons (AUT) into a Higher Education Council, the establishment of a Division of Higher Education with own key personnel in the Ministry of Education. They also included providing information to HEIs about enrolments and admission policies and instructions to increase black enrolments at HWUs and all technikons as well as to steady enrolments at HBUs (ANC 1994: Part 6, section 24). All in all, higher education was

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the least developed part in the ANC Yellow Book. This was one reason why a National Commission was envisioned to be appointed as it was felt that higher education needed a solid investigation (ibid.).

Two references to the global in the ANC's "Policy Framework for Education and Training" (1994) could be identified: The first addressed the need to bring together local and international experience ("willingness to learn both from our mistakes and from the successes of others, whether in our region or internationally" [ANC 1994: Part 1, section 1; see also ANC 1994: Part 3, section 8]). In this way, the further involvement of international higher education experts into the policy making process was justified. The second reference, under the headline "Mobilising financial resources for educational reconstruction" (ANC 1994: Part 3), referred to the necessity of an upgrade of the South African skills base in order to develop the country, to generate economic growth and thus to compete internationally.

> "The economy must be restructured to meet the needs of all our people on a sustained basis within a highly competitive world market. The creation of meaningful jobs and the qualitative upgrading of the education and training system are crucially important strategies to achieve these goals." (ANC 1994: Part 3, section 6; see also Part 1, section 1)

Based on this document, it can be concluded that ANC thinking had developed in line with the neo-liberal paradigm determined by the World Bank: "South Africa was now following the Western example of highlighting university reform as a vehicle for improving the international competitiveness of the state" (Davies 1996: 329f).

Generally speaking, the period between 1990 and 1994 was marked by huge policy awareness ahead of the 1994 elections. Broad public participation by different stakeholders and different population groups and a high degree of consultation emphasized the process character in policy formulation, which in the beginning seemed more important than content and concrete mechanisms of change. However, the nearer the elections would come the higher the pressure on the government in waiting to deliver concrete guidance of action in terms of solid policies. This may be one explanation for the observed shift from the process approach of participation and consultation to a more content-based approach, increasingly emphasizing performance, outcome and economic competitiveness. The emphasis on the policy process, however, continued to play an important role in policy formulation. This approach reflected a major characteristic of South Africa's transition, which was negotiated rather than revolutionary. The change in South Africa did not constitute a radical change, no sheer power transfer or a simple elimination of legislation and leftovers of the old regime. It rather constituted an evolutionary reform process with power sharing agreements, an Interim Government of National Unity and the continued existence of inherited legacy in order to guarantee stability (Beck 2000: 185ff; Reddy 2004: 29ff; Butler 2008: 301ff).

By establishing a National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE) after the first democratic elections in South Arica in April 1994 and by outsourcing the process of policy development from the DoE, some form of continuity between the transitional period and the post-1994 era was secured. Thereby, the principles and the main agenda of the new government would be realized, namely to create representativity and inclusivity and to make consultation with stakeholders and participation of minorities compulsory, sometimes

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regardless of the final results (Jansen 2002: 206). The idea to establish a commission in the field of higher education, however, was not new, neither to the South African higher education context[206] nor to other higher education systems worldwide[207]. And also the way it would work methodologically – advising the government on the basis of dialogue and research into higher education – was part of an international trend. The particularity of the South African case laid in its approach of consensus building and compromise, of participatory, consultative and representative policy development that the South African Government of National Unity, consisting of the NP and the ANC, had pursued (Sehoole 2005: 119f) under the influence of Nelson Mandela and that had become part of the Constitution (ibid: 156).

6.3 The Beginning of Policy Formulation (1994–1998): Symbolic Policy Making and Lack of Implementation

6.3.1 The National Commission on Higher Education

From today's perspective, one of the most comprehensive endeavours to analyse and put South African higher education on track was the National Commission for Higher Education (NCHE), appointed by the President in 1994. Given the totally fragmented and unequal nature of the higher education system, the idea of a high level investigation had already been put forward in the transitional period before 1994: A national commission on higher education was discussed during a Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) meeting in late 1993 and became one of the policy commitments in the ANC "Policy Framework for Education and Training" (1994). According to the terms of reference, drafted by the ANC affiliated Centre for Education Policy Development (CEPD) and further developed by the DoE, the Commission was expected to advice the first Education Minister in the new South Africa, Professor Sibusisu Bengu (ANC)[208], on the constitution of higher education, its goals and the structures

[206] There are, first of all, the early commissions of the beginning of the 20th century, as displayed in Chapter 5. During the apartheid era, in 1968, a government appointed commission under Justice J. van Wyk de Vries was charged with an analysis of the white universities, especially their financial situation and student relations, whose report was presented in 1974 (Baker 1974; Behr 1988). The van Wyk de Vries commission laid the foundation for the "trinary" divide of higher education in South Africa into universities, technikons and vocational colleges (teacher training, nursing and agricultural colleges). In 1978 the Goode Committee did an investigation in the nature and functions of technikons (Moodie 1994: 3). Following the Soweto uprisings in 1976, another committee was set up by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) under professor P. de Lange from the Rand Afrikaans University to do a major enquiry into the various facets of education in South Africa. Its recommendations came to be known as the de Lange report, published in 1981 (Collins and Gillespie 1984; Davies 1996: 325f)). Yet, until 1994 no official all-encompassing inquiry of the whole tertiary sector in South Africa had been done (Sehoole 2005: 122).

[207] Prominent examples would be the Royal Commission 1961 in the UK on the situation of research and teaching, which operated "at the high noon of the post-war welfare state" (Bundy 2005: 86) and which resulted in the Robbins Report (1963). Among its main items that would be followed by South Africa was a considerable expansion of the system as well as funding according to plan (Bundy 2005: 86). In the course of the coming into existence of this report and the search of policy options, various higher education systems in the world were studied, but none as extensively as the American experience. According to Smith et al. (2002), the outcome of that process is described as voluntary lesson drawing. Some 30 years later, the National Committee of Inquiry into Higher Education in the UK worked in parallel to the South African NCHE. Its so-called Dearing Report (1997) provided the first review of higher education in the UK since the Robbins Report (Watson and Amoah 2007). Another case is the President's Commission Higher Education for Democracy (1947) in the USA.

[208] Bengu is a classic example of a member of the South African political elite, who had lived and worked in exile for years. Bengu had studied in Switzerland on a scholarship at the end of the 1960s and had also earned a PhD

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necessary to administer the sector (NCHE 1996: 265ff). Part of its official mandate was the formulation of a vision for the future of South African higher education, principles, goals and central features of a higher education framework. The Commission was also charged with developing proposals for the restructuring, governance and funding of higher education as well as for a well-planned, integrated and high quality system. Particular emphasis was placed on the overcoming of the inequalities and inefficiencies of the apartheid past as well as on the social, cultural and economic challenges of a globalizing world (ibid.; Cloete and Muller 1998: 5). The Commission was tasked "to preserve what is valuable and to address what is defective and requires transformation" (the words of Nelson Mandela), as "[t]he system of higher education must be reshaped to serve a new social order, to meet pressing national needs, and to respond to a context of new realities and opportunities" (NCHE 1996: 1). Cloete and Maassen (2004: 8) retrospectively summed up that one of the central aims of the Commission was also "to modernise [higher education, SB] by infusing it with international experiences and best practices", on other words to align higher education with global trends.

For an envisaged period of two years, policy formulation with regard to higher education and universities was removed from government responsibility and conferred upon an independent commission. According to Commissioner Nasima Badsha, it was accountable only to the President and Parliament and not to the different stakeholders the commissioners represented (Interview Badsha, quoted from Sehoole 2005: 123).

The Composition of the Commission – A Representation of Different Constituencies

The expert Commission started in January 1995, and its mission "would include providing high-level personpower and a fundamental and applied research infrastructure, as well as making a major contribution to community development" (NCHE 1996: 24). The Commission consisted of 13 South Africans, among them four women and eight Blacks, plus a research coordinator. All of the commissioners were part-time members, except for the Chairperson, the Executive Director and the Research Director, who were employed full-time. The Commission was established as an institution of national unity. Therefore, particular effort had been made to find a fair balance of representatives from both the old order (including people with senior positions in the previous government) as well as the new era, furthermore of people with policy expertise (e.g. from the before mentioned NEPI context of the transition period and other processes of the ANC in waiting) and representatives of higher education institutions, labour and business, but also of race and gender. At the end of 1994, a call for nominations to the Commission had been sent to all South African higher education institutions and stakeholders. A shortlisting committee, initially tasked with developing

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in Political Science from the University of Geneva in 1974. In the meantime, he had become founding director of a high school in Kwa Zulu Natal. Upon completion of his PhD, he briefly returned to South Africa to work as professor at the University of Zululand. In 1978 he left the country again and served as secretary for research and social action at the Lutheran World Federation in Switzerland, where he maintained regular contact with Oliver Tambo, by that time acting president of the ANC. In 1991 Bengu returned to South Africa and took up the post of the Vice Chancellor at Fort Hare University, thus becoming the first black Rector of a South African institution of higher education. Bengu and Mandela had met for the first time incidentally at the airport in Geneva in 1990. In 1994 Bengu got appointed as Minister for Education in the new government. After the elections in 1999, Bengu became ambassador to Germany.

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selection criteria, chose 20 of the 91 nominated candidates. The final appointment of the commissioners was done by the South African President, based on recommendations from the Minister of Education (NCHE 1996: 307). Commissioners with a background from historically white HEIs were somewhat over-represented whereas the teacher college sector (until the end of the 1990s the largest sector in terms of institutions and headcount enrolments in South Africa) was largely under-represented. As the selection criteria are not available, one can only speculate what characteristics besides diversity and representativity of different stakeholders played a role. Professionalism and expertise certainly did (Sehoole 2005: 123). Practical knowledge about South African higher education as well as empirical knowledge about other higher education contexts were additional considerations. Knowledge about and experience in higher education research, however, was rather neglected and added to the Commission through research groups and technical committees. Nico Cloete, research coordinator of the Commission, at the time of writing (2013) Director of the Cape Town based Centre for Higher Education Transformation (CHET)[209] and one of the most active South African researchers in higher education[210], reveals that with the exception of one person all commissioners had studied for some time outside South Africa (mainly in the UK, the Netherlands, New Zealand and the USA) or had gained teaching experience in Europe and North America (Cloete and Muller 1998: 6). It can be deducted that international experiences of other higher education systems were not only part of the criteria catalogue but had notable consequences for the recommendations and models of the Commission. The models were mainly derived from the West, partly because the South African political elite had studied or lived there, but it was also their only reference point as the rest of Africa and the rest of the developing world was not accessible. Dr. Jairam Reddy, for example, who was appointed Chairperson of the Commission after he had served as principal of the University of Durban-Westville from 1990 to 1994, held degrees from the Universities of Birmingham (UK) and Manitoba (Canada) and had received a PhD from UWC. The Executive Director of the Commission, Dr. Teboho Moja, had been instrumental in the foundation of UDUSA, the before mentioned Union of Democratic University Staff Associations, in the 1980s. She is a graduate of the University of the Witwatersrand and the University of the North. Her Master of Education and her Doctor of Philosophy (1995) were awarded by the University of Wisconsin. The commissioners came from different disciplinary backgrounds ranging from Medicine to Natural Sciences, Psychology, Sociology, Philosophy, Statistics and Education. They had earned degrees mainly from South African universities and additionally from the universities of Amsterdam, Groningen, Zürich, Harvard, Massachusetts, Wisconsin, London, Leeds, Birmingham, Manitoba, and Auckland. None of the commissioners was awarded a degree from another African country. But all of them had

[209] The Centre for Higher Education and Transformation (CHET) was funded by the US American Ford Foundation as one of the most powerful policy organization outside of government (Sehoole 2005: 89, 139) and as a long-term think tank that would continue the work of the temporary National Commission in terms of "policy reform, reviewing and evaluating policy efforts that had been implemented, convening constructive debate and promoting networking with higher education policy analysts around the world" (Fehnel 2007: 158f).

[210] In addition, Nico Cloete was coordinator of the above mentioned NEPI Post-Secondary Education Report as well as of the political forum of the Union of Democratic University Staff Associations (UDUSA), initiated in 1992, whose General Secretary he was in 1993/1994. Before, he was president of the Wits Staff Association (1991/1992) and also served on the South African Ministerial Advisory Council for Universities and Technikons.

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spent some time in the USA to study or work. Two of the black commissioners had lived and worked in exile for most of the 1970s and 1980s. One of the commissioners, Professor Hennie Rossouw, a retired Professor of Philosophy who had replaced Commissioner Professor P. De Lange, was affiliated to Stellenbosch University, where he had acted as Vice Rector (Academic) before his retirement in late 1993 and where he was involved in the early attempts of the University to re-establish international contacts; he represented the historically white Afrikaans universities.[211]

The Commission's Mode of Operation – Researching International Higher Education

Based on the assumption that "higher education can play a pivotal role in the political, economic and cultural reconstruction and development of South Africa" (NCHE 1996: 1), the Commission mobilized about 160 South African and international researchers and policy experts to contribute to the transformation of the higher education sector in South Africa, of whom 42 percent were black and 21 percent women (NCHE 1996: 308).[212] Among the international experts were, for example, representatives of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the American Council on Education (ACE), the World Bank, the Sheffield Hallam University and the University of London in the UK, furthermore members from the National Council for Higher Education in Zimbabwe, the National Council for Tertiary Education in Ghana, the Commission for Higher Education in Kenya or the Association of African Universities (AAU). A majority of the South African researchers and experts were affiliated to the different universities, technikons and colleges but also to various government departments, research institutions, to business and labour (NCHE 1996: 399ff).

The researchers were organized into five task groups, made up of various technical committees, and working groups. The task groups commissioned research on 1) Current Situation; 2) Future Needs and Priorities; 3) Governance; 4) Finance; and 5) Programme, Institutional and Qualifications Framework (ibid.). Throughout the whole research process, international input was welcomed. Selected international experts with their experiences from other higher education systems, therefore, became important members of the research groups and their technical committees as well as of the working groups. They worked side by side with South African researchers. According to Jairam Reddy, Chairperson of the Commission, it was an interactive process rather than a consultant dominated process (quoted from Sehoole 2001: 6). In total, the international experts numbered less than 20 of the 160 researchers involved (NCHE 1996: 399ff). Some international researchers, however, just informed the process by contributing research papers on an individual basis without being members of the task groups or committees. With respect to the limited time frame, these researchers were of particular importance:

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[211] According to Nico Cloete, those institutions which had a representative in the Commission were in an advantaged position: "Institutions that had people working for the Commission had them sharing the views with their institutions. They in a way prepared the institutions for what was coming. They also defended the position of the Commission as well the White Paper. Thus, institutions saw the policy coming and were ready" (Interview Cloete, quoted from Sehoole 2005: 130).

[212] Following a call for participation in the task groups and technical committees, 250 applications of researchers arrived (NCHE 1996: 307).

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> "It was much easier, and quicker, to get a short position paper from a netlinked expert in Holland or in Hungary than from a South Africa academic who more often than not did not have email (this was in 1995). In addition, if one needed an overview of, say, student financial aid policies, there was simply nobody in South Africa who had done such a review while there were a number of experts in Washington or Canberra who had published extensively on the topic." (Cloete and Muller 1998: 7)

International funding for the Commission's work had been provided by the Ford Foundation and USAID along with the South African DoE (NCHE 1996: acknowledgements). Technical and research assistance was provided by CHEPS in the Netherlands, the Commonwealth Higher Education Management Services (CHEMS), the Commonwealth Management and Training Services Division (MTDS) of the Commonwealth Secretariat and the Overseas Development Agency (ODA) in the UK, the ACE in the USA, the Centre for Research on Higher Education and Work (Germany), the Association of African Universities (AAU), the UNESCO as well as the World Bank (ibid.). According to Cloete and Muller (1998: 6), they were also invited to contribute to the five working groups. "For example, the World Bank was able to supply the Commission with a top consultant on Student Financing; the Centre for Higher Education Policy Studies (CHEPS) in Holland was able to supply the Commission with material on quality" (Interview with Nico Cloete quoted in Sehoole 2005: 179). Most of the organizations had started their engagement in South Africa already in the transitional period between 1990 and 1994, as has been shown in Chapter 6.2. "There was great interest in the proposed transformation of South African higher education and there was a certain amount of competition amongst funders and exchange agencies to sponsor this policy work" (Cloete and Muller 1998: 6).

The Commission had addressed itself a central task, namely to end the (perceived and actual) scientific isolation of the apartheid years. As a consequence, it visited seven countries in Africa (e.g. Egypt, Nigeria, Ghana), ten in Europe, two in Latin America (Argentina and Chile), the USA, Japan, Malaysia, India and Australia in order to re-establish contact with the international scientific community and to reconnect with international developments in higher education (NCHE 1996: 309). Initially, none of the commissioners wanted to visit the USA. Cloete and Muller (1998: 6) explain that all of them had already been there. So, it was argued that the commissioners should know more or less what is going on there (Interview 51, 2012). Beck-Reinhardt (2003), however, repeatedly heard in her interviews that visiting the USA was considered "politically incorrect" as the US governments under Bush senior and Reagan had been party to the support of the apartheid state (Beck-Reinhardt 2003: 222), which, however, was equally true for many other countries in the world. In the end, almost all commissioners went to the USA. The study tours also aimed at identifying best practice examples by using foreign experiences for the restructuring of higher education in South Africa and to adapt them to local South African realities. Eastern Europe – even though in a similar phase of transition – was never on the cards. With a view to the different historical contexts and preconditions and the limited opportunities for interaction, especially in times of crisis, this is not surprising. One former Commissioner stated: "I don't know why but Jairam Reddy [Chairperson of the NCHE, SB] later had close relationship with the University of Moscow and Siberia. He was an adviser there" (Interview 51, 2012).

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Within less than a year, the task groups had produced more than 100 reports and analyses, on which it could base its Discussion Document and later its final report. International expertise was of course reflected in the working papers and the reports of the NCHE task groups. The formulation of recommendations as well as the writing of a Discussion Document and the final report, however, had remained with members of the Commission and the research secretariat of the NCHE throughout the whole process. The Commission met several times for three or four days to debate how they were going to pull everything into a report. There was a small writing team of three or four commissioners; chapters were usually produced by individual members of the Commission, depending on their available time (Interview 47, 2011). Ownership in the process as well as insider knowledge were regarded extremely important.

Some Reflections on Fields of Tension in the Emergence of a Commission's Report

The South African transition was accompanied by different fields of tensions. The following seem to be important when looking at the transformation of the higher education system. Tensions between ANC aligned and old order aligned members of society, between representatives of the old as well as of the new dispensation in South Africa, are not difficult to imagine. Prejudice and ascribed characteristics to different groups of the population were not easy to overcome. It was for this reason that a careful selection procedure of commissioners had taken place. The coming and working together of this group of people and all those involved in the process was certainly a challenging endeavour.

> "It was an interesting time where in South Africa you could either go into opposition mode, or you could say here is an opportunity for me to have my values challenged, to have my whole identity, my person, my life view re-evaluated by becoming part of a new alignment of people in South Africa." (Interview 47, 2011)

> "It was a very sensitive context. When you have to think and speak on things that are of importance for all the people of South Africa. [...] And there, we had to look at the interest of the South African nation – that was in the Mandela period where the central policy driving force was nation-building as point of departure. And we had to come together in that context of nation-building, to think about how the universities of South Africa or higher education and what will be the effect of nation-building on the scene and what can the higher education sector contribute to nation-building. So, that was an eye-opener but an encouraging experience to work in that Commission, to see how people started off with mistrust against each other and a little reservation, and how they could come to an understanding, and how they could find each other not always in consensus but in respect and tolerance and understanding. They called me at the end of those two years we were on that Commission comrade Hennie. That was a compliment." (Interview, 2012)[213]

However, despite considerable balancing efforts, the working process of the Commission was well criticised for being determined largely by white male researchers. According to Molatlhegi Trevor Chika Sehoole, a black South African researcher, who has a background in the anti-apartheid social movement and who, at the beginning of the 1990s, had been involved in developing alternative higher education policies at UWC, only 31.7 percent of the

[213] As explained in the method's chapter, the author does not indicate the interview number in case the interviewee is referred to by name so as to prevent the reader from drawing interferences to the person behind the number on other aspects of the study, for which the interviewee was guaranteed anonymity.

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members in the task groups, their technical committees and the working groups were black; of the 140 reports only 35 were written by black members (Sehoole 2005: 125). The white dominance thoroughly mirrors the consequences of a history full of racial discrimination and of the apartheid education system, of access, privilege and power, but is equally interpreted by some as an indicator of continued white dominance. The fact, however, that certain currents have continued to play the "numbers game" and to count in order to purportedly measure the degree of transformation in South Africa, has been a worrying development that seems to have already passed the non-racialism of the Mandelas and Slovos.

Related to these intra-commission dynamics are the ones with the stakeholders the commissioners represented. As the commissioners were chosen as experts and based on their general expertise in the field, the constituencies behind them, as already outlined, were expected to only play a minor role. The commissioners, based on the interviews Sehoole had conducted with them (2005: 128), however, did not have a common understanding of their role in the Commission with regards to the institutions they were drawn from. Some understood the Commission's work as totally independent; others reflected their role as representing and defending a certain sector (ibid.). The dialogue within the Commission thus was multileveled and influenced from different angles.

Another field of tension arises when looking at the role of international experts in the transformation process. Analyses from the outside and well-meant external advice can easily conflict with the concept of (national) ownership. If the impression persists that processes have been steered from outside, it may be highly unlikely that proposals made by a commission are accepted and implemented by national stakeholders. Some South African authors, for example, expressed their serious doubts that the approach of lesson drawing from other contexts occurred only voluntarily:

> "South Africa's adoption of this approach was informed by (among the others) the quest and pressure to become a "model" to be emulated by countries coming out of conflict and undergoing transition. This was also related to the fact that South Africa's transition to democracy was one among the first in the post-Cold War period." (Sehoole 2006: 1)

It also has to be emphasized that international best practices do not necessarily fit national requirements. Thereby, tensions between international recognition, international opening and international competitiveness on the one hand and national requirements on the other emerged.

The third tension is connected to the concrete task of the Commission. Among the commissioners were those who believed that redressing the inequalities of the apartheid era was the main task of the Commission, others felt that the restructuring and the modernization of the system in order to generate economic growth and well-being of the country was the most important aspect to be addressed. This tension has been paraphrased as the equity versus development/quality tension (Cloete and Muller 1998: 6).

These fields of tension, as we shall see, pervaded the whole working process of the Commission and beyond, in particular the reactions on the documents made public for comments and scrutiny. The transformation agenda for the new government regarding higher education had been set in the years preceding the first democratic elections in April 1994.

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The following passage of Sehoole's book obviously reflects the policy agenda of the Mandela years and the following values that Mandela repeatedly recited in several of his speeches: peace, non-racialism, non-sexism, human dignity, democracy, and inclusiveness, and overcoming former tensions so that all can be winners (see Mandela, 10 May 1994).

> "The debates within the Commission illustrate its internal dynamics, revealing that it was not homogenous and that the consensus-seeking mode had become a way of resolving difficult issues. The mode of operation of the Commission is linked to an understanding of its brief and the political climate of the time, which was characterized by transition and consensus seeking." (Sehoole 2005: 127)[214]

These values formed the background for what was expected from the participants and commissioners in the NCHE.

The Presentation of a Discussion Document and Resulting Reactions

A little more than one year after the Commission had begun with its work, it presented a Discussion Document in April 1996, which was largely based on the findings of the five task groups. A number of occasions served as platforms for intensive debate on the report, both inside and outside South Africa. Within South Africa, the document was discussed with officials from the DoE, during five regional conferences and one national stakeholders' feedback conference as well as on various occasions with task group members, interest groups from the HEIs, such as student and staff organizations, as well as management bodies, but also with business and labour representatives (NCHE 1996: 27). Stakeholders as well as the public were strongly encouraged to comment on the Discussion Document. The national stakeholders' feedback conference, attended by some 350 participants representing different stakeholders, was organized on 28 and 29 April 1996 (ibid: 310). The paper was strongly criticized for not having sufficiently included all population groups in its process of creation, for even having marginalized certain groups. This criticism relates to different understandings of the procedure and the outcome of a consultative and participative process and the interpretation of the terms of reference of the Commission.[215] The South African Students' Congress (SASCO), for example, bemoaned that the document did not sufficiently address redress and equity. Also, it was accused of being silent about recommendations on curricula as well as on language policies in the new South Africa (Higher Education Review, Supplement to the Sunday Independent, 5 May 1996, quoted in Cloete and Muller 1998: 11). The students, furthermore, criticized that the abolition of tuition fees was not taken into consideration as well as that African, Latin American and Asian models of higher education were not sufficiently consulted (ibid.).

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[214] This is confirmed by one of the former commissioners, as reflected retrospectively: "It was a very sensitive context given that you had to think and speak on things that are of importance for all the people of South Africa. We had been very much obsessed with own affairs and that type of things – what are your group's interest and your group's demands and so on. And there we had to look at the interest of the South African nation – that was in the Mandela period where the central policy driving force was nation-building as point of departure. And we had to come together in that context of nation-building to think about how the universities of South Africa and what will be the effect of nation-building on the scene and what can the higher education sector contribute to nation-building. So, that was an eye-opener but an encouraging experience to work in that Commission, to see how people started off with mistrust against each other and a little reservation and how they could come to an understanding and how they could find each other not always in consensus but in respect and tolerance and understanding" (Interview 51, 2012).

[215] For a more detailed discussion on the different understandings see Sehoole (2005: 132ff, 142f).

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Internationally, a one-week meeting was organized in May 1996 by the Salzburg Seminar in Austria. The Salzburg Seminar (now Salzburg Global Seminar), founded in 1947, is an international forum which aims at bringing together leaders from all over the world to address issues of global concern. The session on higher education reform in South Africa in 1996 was attended by 60 participants from 21 countries, among them a majority of higher education experts from Europe and the USA.[216] "This was done because the new system was to be comparable to the best international practice and to be in line with international trends" (Sehoole 2005: 136). The Salzburg Seminar was, therefore, also part of coming back into the international community after the boycotts and sanctions against South Africa through the international academic community during the apartheid years. The original idea for the Salzburg Seminar, however, did not come from the Commission itself as one of the former commissioners remembered:

> "The funders [of the NCHE, SB], the World Bank and USAID, amongst themselves decided that we needed a Salzburg seminar in Austria, at which they would then invite international advisers. And we didn't object. Because the people they had in mind were very highly regarded, we would not have been able to get them and come and be with us." (Interview 47, 2011)

International reactions to the Discussion Document were impressively positive[217]. So, the Commission, according to Sehoole (2001: 6), "was happy to continue with the framework it was proposing after the Salzburg Seminar gave its stamp of approval to the Discussion Document".

At the same time, inner-South African resistance started to grow from various angles. In parallel to the Salzburg conference, in May 1996, a group of black academics at the University of Venda organized a conference titled "Black perspectives on tertiary institutional transformation" to debate more radical alternatives to the NCHE Discussion Document (Sehoole 2001: 5). It was attended by approximately 100 black scholars, mainly from the historically black institutions, and representatives of the mostly black national student associations, such as the Pan-Africanist Students' Organisation (PASO) and SASCO. The

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[216] Among the well-known participants were Ulrich Teichler, editor of Higher Education; Jan Sadlak (UNESCO), Frans van Vught (CHEPS); Derek Bok, former Rector of Harvard; Walter Kamba, former president of the International Association of University Presidents; Armaity Desai, Chair of the University Commission in India (Cloete and Muller 1998).

[217] Critical positive international reactions to the NCHE discussion paper after the Salzburg meeting are documented in Cloete und Muller (1998). They quote, for example, from the International Education Review: "International experts have described the NCHE proposals for reform as one of the best tertiary education policy documents ever written – but have questioned the government's ability to implement them" (Higher Education Review, 19 May 1996). Peter Scott is cited, for example, stating that the Commission's work is an outstanding piece of work because it managed to consider the shifts in higher education taking place globally. Besides, it was "a fine report, soberly argued and succinctly written" (Scott 1997, quoted in Cloete and Muller 1998: 10). CHEPS representative Frans van Vught applauded the South African Commission for initiating the most comprehensive and ambitious project undertaken worldwide (ibid.). Mike Fitzgerald, at that time Vice Chancellor of Thames Valley University reported to the Times Higher Education "[T]he way in which the commission has conducted its work, the commitment to openness and exchange of views, the determination to redress historic inequities, and the direct linking of higher education to social justice offer salutary lessons for us" (Fitzgerald, Times Higher Education, 25 May 1996). And former Harvard Rector, Derek Bok, concluded: "The peer review of the NCHE reform proposals demonstrated not only a remarkable degree of maturity and confidence on the part of the South Africans but also a rare opportunity to review a major reform process that is usually conducted outside of public scrutiny. With recent political and social transformation in various parts of the world, it is hoped that the South African reform process, of which this document is a part, can provide a useful model for understanding the dynamics of change in other countries' education system undergoing reform in times of transition" (quoted from Sehoole 2005: 136).

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underlying topic of the conference, according to a Mail & Guardian article from 10 May 1996, was the fear that even if political power would be held by the black majority, "cultural and educational resources will continue to be dominated by what whites brought with them from Europe". Voices calling for a strong state in order to fight conservative constituencies in academia, therefore, became loud (Pearce, Mail & Guardian, 10 May 1996). The conference formulated a resolution which criticized the absence of the concept of *Africanization* in the discussions and the insufficient positioning of the content in an African context, and which focused strongly on the connection between curriculum changes and liberation, thereby making the link to some of the contents of the liberation struggle of the 1980s under the slogan "People's Education for People's Power" (Sehoole 2005: 138): "[T]he NCHE had not related higher education reform to aspirations for liberation" (Higher Education Review, Supplement to the Sunday Independent, 12 May 1997, quoted in Cloete and Muller 1998: 11), but the changed South African reality, according to the resolution, was in strong need of a pedagogy of liberation. The underlying assumption would be that political oppression can only be overcome if the majority of South Africans would concomitantly become co-creators of knowledge together with the colonizers (Sehoole 2005: 138). A written statement on the results of the Venda conference in the form of a report compiled by one group member, however, was only published in May 1998 (Seepe 1998) – which was too late to be included into the final report of the Commission (Cloete and Muller 1998: 11). The Venda group was motivated by the brunt of apartheid bush colleges and the hurt of Bantu education. So, they wanted radical transformation and claimed "a bigger piece of the cake".

Cloete and Muller (1998) explain that the invitation during consultations with stakeholders to hand in written comments on the Discussion Document had resulted in more than 90 answers, which were registered on the first electronic policy data base available on the internet (see also NCHE 1996: 27). A synthesis of all responses to the first Discussion Document, put together by the Education Policy Unit (EPU) of the University of the Western Cape (UWC), was presented as part of the final report of the Commission. The key word *Africanization*, according to Cloete and Muller (1998: 11), did not appear in any of the comments or inquiries – with the consequence that the report does not take a stand on *Africanization* besides a short note that "the growing debate around the meaning and implications of 'Africanising the curriculum' needs to be taken further" (NCHE 1996: 111). Apart from *Africanization*, there are a number of other issues that were brought up in the responses, as summarized by UWC's EPU. Generally speaking, the Unit found broad agreement to the major proposals made by the Commission in the Discussion Document. Especially the idea of a single nationally coordinated system of higher education and the model of cooperative governance obtained approval. Also the new funding approach appeared to be well received. Most of the responses, however, dealt with particular aspects of the recommendations and asked for more guidance from the Commission, greater specificity, concrete mechanisms and practical programmes regarding certain elements of the proposals. The EPU's explanations for that particularism range from "limited capacity of stakeholders to enter into policy debates", the evidence "that the overall thrust of the commission's recommendations is not seriously contested" to the "tendency for actors to be

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most interested in examining how particular proposals affect them" (NCHE 1996: 276). Many statements addressed issues of equity, redress and development and called for more emphasis on how to get there. The Commission was also accused that it had not given the vision for transformation enough attention and "that it has failed to capture the contradictions, power relations and inequalities of South African society" (ibid: 278). Some respondents were concerned that the document presented itself as a first world document rather than one with a proper African viewpoint, thereby indicating that it should not be expected that black or historically disadvantaged institutions would adopt the standards and criteria of first world countries. On the other hand, there were voices strongly in favour of a programme of redress, yet drawing attention to the relation between redress and quality and arguing for the development of clear indicators for quality and efficiency in order to best use the limited resources for redress (ibid.). Furthermore, questions around the role of the state in higher education were addressed. Some called for a stronger state in order to really transform the system, others warned against overcentralization and bureaucratization stressing the need for autonomy of individual institutions[218]. Another topic extensively commented on was massification, which means changing an elite system into a mass system by increasing access and expanding the system. While growth and expansion were generally supported, questions were raised on who would benefit from the growth and under what circumstances. Institutional differentiation and whether mission statements and the definition of niche areas were necessary was another subject. According to UWC's Education Policy Unit, there were strong arguments for a flexible differentiation of the higher education system as "that is more in tune with international developments and the demands of the global economy" (ibid: 283). All in all, the responses and their content are a clear indicator for the uncertainty in higher education in a context of rapid change – on the local as well as on the global level. They show that the design of the new system was intensively debated. They also show that there was not one obvious solution but different approaches with different priorities, put on the table by different stakeholders.

Most of the critique and the comments from the policy database would be incorporated into the final report of the Commission – either by justifying and better explaining of why the commissioners had come to a certain conclusion as for example regarding concerns on the number of new governance institutions in higher education (ibid.). In other cases, the Commission had adopted its proposals so as to better reflect stakeholders' opinions; an example would be the composition, powers and functions of national governance structures (ibid.). However, this was not to the satisfaction of some stakeholders who would have loved to see more of the different views represented in the document. Looking at the process of consultation, adopted by the Commission, it became obvious that the Commission was an expert body, accountable to the President and the Minister, but not to the stakeholders.[219]

[218] On the latter see, for example, the submissions to the Commission made by Stellenbosch University (see Chapter 7.1).

[219] See also the statements from the interviews with former commissioners, conducted by Sehoole, and their understanding of their role as commissioners (Sehoole 2005: 133f).

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The Final Report of the National Commission on Higher Education

In September 1996, the Commission handed its final report over to the government[220] – the key lines of the Discussion Document left untouched. The report, titled "A Framework for Transformation", and the proposals made by the Commission again received international recognition and praise. It consists of 10 chapters, including an overview of the new policy framework, information on the approach of the Commission and the process of the coming into existence of the final report. Apart from these rather organizational chapters, the report deals extensively with apartheid's higher education legacy and South Africa in transition. What follows is a rather normative chapter about the vision, principles, goals and features of higher education. Concrete recommendations by the Commission are developed on a single nationally coordinated higher education system, on cooperative governance as well as on goal-oriented funding. The final chapter "A proposed higher education transformation strategy" had been added in response to the consultative process on the Discussion Document, thereby reacting to the call for more guidance from the Commission by indicating priority recommendations, possible phases of the transformation and how the whole transformation process could be managed. The commissioners unequivocally expressed that the NCHE report should not be regarded as an implementation plan for the transformation of higher education as "[t]he development of such a plan is the responsibility of the Minister of Education and the Department of Education" (NCHE 1996: 251).

The final report contains three central recommendations for the transformation of higher education in South Africa: firstly, to broaden access to higher education to large parts of the population (increased participation/massification) through a policy of planned expansion in student enrolments in order to improve access opportunities to higher education (equity)[221]; secondly, improving the ability of the higher education system as well as of individual institutions to react to societal needs and interests (greater responsiveness), in respect of the needs of the communities as well as economic growth and technological development in South Africa; and thirdly, improving the cooperation between higher education institutions and society (increased cooperation and partnerships) (NCHE 1996: 4ff). The question to be asked here is where the ideas and the vocabulary for the three main features were borrowed from. It is not necessarily the attempt to provide concrete points of origin but rather to discuss the hybrid character of the concepts.

On increased participation the final report reads as follows: "In the international literature on higher education such expansion is usually described as a transition from an 'elite' to a 'mass' system, or as 'massification'" (NCHE 1996: 5). The report hereby draws on the experiences of other higher education systems mainly in Western countries (e.g. USA, UK, Australia, Finland, Norway and the Netherlands as Cloete and Moja explicated [2005: 695]), which from the 1960s onwards opened up their elite based university systems to mass student populations, including students from minority religious or ethnic groups and most of all from socially less privileged backgrounds (see also Rothblatt 1997; Scott 1998; Neave

[220] A draft version of the final report had already been released to the government two months earlier so that it could start preparing its Green Paper on Higher Education (Moja and Hayward 2001: 116).

[221] The Commission recommended an increase from 21 percent of the 20 to 24 year olds active in higher education in 1995 to 30 percent by 2005.

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2010 and the presentations in Chapter 4 of this work). It furthermore draws on Martin Trow's publication "Problems in the Transition from elite to Mass Higher Education" (1973) and the different models of participation in higher education, but also on the internationally accepted UNESCO definitions to express the participation rate in higher education of a country with the percentage of the 20 to 24 years age cohort (NCHE 1996: 91). Also the World Bank and the OECD used to advocate increasing participation (Maassen and Cloete 2004: 13). The report, however, is very clear about the fact that such an opening would not be possible without accompanying measures and investments, such as quality assurance, as well as the consideration of student numbers in the funding schemes for HEIs (NCHE 1996: 92). The proposal on the massification of the system was intended to reconcile the tension between equity and development with one another, one of the fields of tension mentioned earlier (NCHE 1996: 92; Cloete 2004: 59; Cloete and Moja 2005: 695). With the expansion of the system, of enrolments, feeder communities and programme offers, the call for equity would be met at the same time as more high-skilled people for economic growth would be trained (Cloete 2004: 59).

The focus on a system being responsive to societal needs, the second of the three features, aimed at initiating change in the production of knowledge: "The value of knowledge is assessed not only on scientific criteria but also on utilitarian and practical grounds" (NCHE 1996: 125f). A shift from closed to more open knowledge systems, which is from traditional discipline-based knowledge to more interaction with social interests and to more transdisciplinary approaches in research and in other words: away from academic insularity, is what the Commission propagated. Changes in the environment and problems and challenges in the societal context – be they social, cultural, political or economic – is what higher education, according to the Commission, must respond to. Being responsive to society also goes along with accountability to the taxpayer. Thus, the logic of the market in terms of the applicability of knowledge and the demands of the civil society on higher education were introduced, and the needs of the community as well as socio-economic developments would thereby be granted centre stage in higher education development. However, the report is not advocating research which is reduced to reacting to immediate or short-term problems. Instead, there should be space for higher education endeavours not limited to market demands and societal interests (ibid: 70, 79f, 125f, 129). The argumentation developed by the Commission entail clear features of the theories and arguments developed by Michael Gibbons and his colleagues with their book published in 1994 on "The new production of knowledge: the dynamics of science and research in contemporary societies", which is listed as resource material of the Commission (ibid: 395). Cloete and Muller (1998: 5) admit: "The NCHE report [...] has indeed taken more than one leaf out of the book offered by Gibbons [...]. The report is redolent of the language of 'new modes of production', mode 2, the new responsiveness in science and research, and the democratisation of research."[222]

[222] Also the White Paper 3 and the National Plan on Higher Education would later refer to the central assumptions of Michael Gibbons and his colleagues about new forms of multidisciplinary, applications-based and problem-solving knowledge production in an upcoming knowledge society (RSA NPHE 2001: Section 1.1). According to Kraak (2000) and Jansen (2000), these assumptions and characterizations of new forms of knowledge production have had an immense impact on higher education policy making in South Africa throughout the 1990s and were

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With the last pillar, increased cooperation and partnerships, the NCHE proposed greater participation and accountability through the bringing together of a broader range of constituencies and stakeholders and a close cooperation in governing higher education (NCHE 1996: 7). Reflecting the insularity of the South African science system on the national South African level, the intra-country isolation and the barriers to inner-South African collaboration, resulting from the apartheid period and still in place at the beginning of the 1990s, the promotion of collaboration (e.g. interdisciplinary, on the regional level between institutions that were isolated from one another through the apartheid ideology and between HBIs and HWIs) did not come as a surprise. In developing the cooperative governance model as a new model for South Africa expected to be used on the national, regional as well as on the institutional level, the commissioners drew heavily on international debates and foreign models of higher education. They did so, for example, with a view to academic freedom, autonomy and accountability[223], to models of relationships between government and higher education[224], to differently designed intermediary structures[225] and institutional governance structures[226]. With cooperative governance, the NCHE thus opted for a South African version of the model of state supervision. The role of the government in such a model would be "an arbiter who watches the rules of the game played by relatively autonomous players and who changes the rules when the game no longer obtains satisfactory results" (NCHE 1996: 175). Far-reaching institutional autonomy as well as the inclusion of different societal actors into the decision making process should be guaranteed. "A co-operative relationship between the state and higher education institutions should reconcile the self-regulation of institutions with the decision making of central authorities (Cloete and Muller

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readily accepted by a small and influential group of South African policy makers. Proponents emphasized the innovative and promising potential of Gibbons' theses – especially the applicability of knowledge and its social relevance and responsiveness in developing contexts (Winberg 2006: 160). Therefore, multidisciplinary programme approaches were translated into university structures and research foci and teaching methods, sometimes to the detriment of a solid disciplinary base and against strong resistance from academics (Ensor 2004a: 340). And one wonders why this line of argumentation was bought into so enthusiastically by South African policy makers while there was much scepticism about the emergence of a global knowledge society, the validity of the arguments presented in the debate and especially the danger of implementing the ideas uncritically and out of context (CHE 2007: 30). Criticism was directed against the teleology of the assumptions, the ahistoric approach and mostly against the accentuation of high-tech economic and thereby private sector market forms of knowledge production instead of addressing the basic social needs – especially in developing country contexts. It was also directed against the absence of a political and power discourse in characterizing new forms of knowledge production (Subotzky 2000; Jansen 2000). The author's reading would be that the assumptions of Gibbons et al. became so prominent in South Africa, because they offered the opportunity to reconcile two dominant and partly contradictory paradigms with one another: the call for equity and redress on the one hand and a market ideology on the other. Almost ten years after the passing of the Higher Education Act in 1997, a conference on "Community Engagement in Higher Education", facilitated by the Council on Higher Education, reflected critically upon the influence "The new production of knowledge" had on South Africa: "[T]he idea of applications-driven, new knowledge production was very appealing, and took rapid root. [...] [I]t was rather uncritically taken up and crudely interpreted" (CHE 2007: 30). This illustration exemplifies well the reorientation difficulty of South African higher education after 1990.

[223] Countries and regions referred to are Eastern Europe and Africa, Central Europe, the USA, the UK and Canada (NCHE 1996: 172).

[224] Examples range from the USSR, France, Malaysia, Singapore, USA, Canada, Australia, the UK, the Netherlands, Zimbabwe, Eastern Europe and Africa (NCHE 1996: 174f) and, furthermore, to Latin America (ibid: 179).

[225] References are made to the UK, Ireland, India, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Israel, Sweden; Australia, New Zealand, France, Portugal, Spain and former Yugoslavia, USA, the Netherlands, Belgium and Greece, furthermore Mauritius, Tanzania, Zimbabwe and Botswana (NCHE 1996: 184).

[226] South Africa's close relation to the UK model is highlighted in the report as well as the need to analyse changes in the UK as well as those in the USA, the Netherlands and Germany (NCHE 1996: 198).

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1998: 9). State control and top-down prescriptions were supposed to be avoided through financial incentives and non-central governing mechanisms. Following the idea of cooperative governance, the Commission proposed the foundation of several institutions. Among the most prominent recommendations was the foundation of a Branch for Higher Education in the Department of Education, which had not existed thus far, furthermore the creation of a Higher Education Council and a Higher Education Forum, and finally an Institutional Forum on the level of individual higher education institutions (NCHE 1996: 182ff). The establishment of a single nationally coordinated system of higher education was supposed to form the framework of the transformation (contrary to a binary system of universities and technikons or even a tripartite system, including colleges). This system would work on the basis of national as well as institutional three-year rolling plans, and it would include technikons, colleges as well as private institutions as complementary to the public higher education sector. The Commission argued that a single, nationally coordinated system would be indispensable to manage the envisaged expansion and the resulting consequences (NCHE 1996: 81ff). A National Qualifications Framework (NQF)[227] with flexible entry and exit points and a framework for quality control should accompany the massification of the system. Institutional and national planning as well as institutional monitoring on the basis of performance indicators would be the instruments of quality control.

A further major recommendation of the Commission was the introduction of a consistent, goal-oriented framework of funding for South African higher education institutions. By goal-oriented funding, the Commission proposed the realization of higher education policy objectives through financial incentives (and of institutional objectives deducted from these). The use of funding mechanisms and financial controls in order to achieve a set of policy goals, for South Africa equity and development, but also democratisation, efficiency, effectiveness, financial sustainability and shared costs, had been an internationally observed trend (NCHE 1996: 210ff). The functioning of all institutions was to be organized through formula-based block grants.[228] Another funding feature was the distribution of additional earmarked grants with the major goal to contribute to institutional redress on the basis of specific needs of individual HEIs.[229]

Policy making implies the taking of decisions – in favour of or against some of the proposals and opinions that were uttered throughout the consultation phase, at times also against the opinion of some of the commissioners. The final report of the NCHE also includes a paragraph with alternative views by some of the commissioners on certain aspects discussed in the document.[230] The Commission in its final report was well aware of the tensions in

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[227] External referencing in the report was made to similar systems in Australia and New Zealand (NCHE 1996: 105).

[228] As has been shown in Chapter 5, the system of formula-based funding and block grants had been introduced into South African higher education already in the 1930s.

[229] Countries with similar funding formulae as South Africa that are mentioned in the report are Australia and the UK (NCHE 1996: 238).

[230] Nasima Badsha, for example, expressed an alternative position with a view to the flexible entry points to first degree and diploma programmes. Badsha came from an academic background. She held an Honours degree from London University in Biochemistry, a Master's in Medical Sciences from the University of KwaZulu-Natal and a graduate certificate in Education from Leeds University. She would later become Deputy Director General in the Department of Education from 1997 to June 2006, where she headed the Higher Education Branch. In order to come to terms with the difficulties of some school leavers at the universities, Badsha, in her minority report, was

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policy making by stating that "Policy making (in the new SA) in such a context is bound to be characterized by struggles over hegemony and control, lack of consensus and even conflict around differing interpretations of the common good" (NCHE 1996: 172). This is not only true for higher education but also for other policy fields.

The Role of Globalization, International Models and the International Community

Looking at how globalization and the relation between globalization and higher education are perceived and portrayed in the document, it becomes obvious that globalization, even though generally characterized as "the intensification of worldwide social relations linking distant places and communities in one global 'network'", including "multiple changes in the economy, culture and communications of advanced economies" (NCHE 1996: 53), is most of all interpreted as economic globalization in reference to higher education. A few examples shall illustrate the case. One of the main concerns, as repeatedly portrayed in the final report, is a globally competitive South African economy and South Africa's successful incorporation "into the competitive scene of international production and financial activities" (ibid., 227). By referring to international literature, citing for example Manuel Castells (1993)[231] and Martin Carnoy (1993), an awareness for worldwide changes in the organization and creation of knowledge and the coming into existence of a so-called "knowledge society" (NCHE 1996: 55f) is developed. It is in this context that HEIs are allocated a particular role. "A globally competitive economy depends on an industrial set-up which is characterised by continuous technological improvement and innovation. [...] Higher education institutions are major and indispensable contributors to and participants in such a system" (ibid., 91, 125). They are expected to produce skills and research for innovation while at the same time forming a new

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opting for "a sufficiently strong financial mechanism to institutionalise extended degree and diploma programmes [...] A firmer funding base is needed to meet the challenges of massification, development and quality promotion" (NCHE 1996: 313). She further argued that adequate funding for bridging the articulation gap between school leavers and expectations of higher education programmes should be part of the budgetary allocations to HEIs on the basis of concrete criteria. Even though this would initially accompanied by additional costs, the efficiency of the system measured by higher throughput rates would increase. If massification was one of the goals of the new system, well-funded flexible entry models would be needed. Commissioner Jon File from the University of Cape Town with a background in university planning and management introduced his ideas on the governance of the system with regard to the role of regional planning, coordination and cooperation that went beyond the recommendations of the final report. According to him, regional cooperation between institutions in the same area should be a structured requirement of the planning process rather than a voluntary nice-to-have, as a regional cooperation would be better able to identify regional opportunities and challenges than a national agency or intermediate body. A welcome side-effect would be joint responsibility and cooperation for transformation instead of a competitive stance between institutions (ibid: 315f). The third alternate position was presented by Commissioner Brian Figaji, at that time Rector of a South African technikon, who had been involved in the South African Tertiary Education Sector Assessment, funded by USAID and published in 1992. It addressed the questions of further education colleges and their role in the single coordinated higher education system as well as the fact that any HEI can offer any programme. He expressed strong opposition to colleges of further education encroaching onto higher education turf by offering general education, further education as well as education at the higher education level. Figaji was in disagreement with the notion of differentiation being based on programmes rather than on types of institutions. He recommended that colleges of further education should offer higher education programmes only on a franchised basis together with universities or technikons. Besides, institutions should be allocated funding only on the basis of institutions' current mission statements. "This [proposed] flexibility is not what South Africa needs at present" (NCHE 1996: 318).

[231] The quote "If knowledge is the electricity of the new informational international economy, then institutions of higher education are the power sources on which a new development process must rely" (Castells 1993, quoted from NCHE 1996: 56) had been part of the World Bank publication "Improving Higher Education in Developing Countries" (Ransom, Khoo and Selvaratnam 1993) and would be picked up by several of the following South African policy documents.

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generation equipped with competencies and values that allow them to successfully participate in a global community. The biggest challenge for higher education, the argumentation of the report goes, is to adapt to the changing context in order to fulfil this role. Changing contexts thereby come along with a high degree of uncertainty where the change will lead to. Thus, final answers should rather make way for flexible solutions and continuous adaptation opportunities (NCHE 1996: 165). The central message of the Commission on the role of higher education in a globalizing world was formulated as follows:

> "Only higher education can deliver the requisite research, the training of highly skilled personpower, and the creation of relevant, useful knowledge to equip a developing society with the capacity to participate competitively in a rapidly altering national and global context." (NCHE 1996: 23)

As has been observed in other higher education systems, reforms are rhetorically legitimized with reference to an emerging worldwide knowledge society, in which scientific knowledge becomes indispensable for economic development and growth (NCHE 1996: 56, 77, 125). External referencing to "global trends", "international literature", "international experience", "international practice", "international strategies", "international evidence", "many higher education systems", or "many countries" is another rhetorical strategy, for which there are countless examples in the report on any theme. Often no concrete examples would follow. These vague expressions were rather used to demonstrate, first of all, the Commission's awareness of what was going on in worldwide higher education at the time, to express a willingness to keep with international developments and standards and to make clear that the new South African higher education system aimed at "international recognition" for its academic quality and its qualifications and thus to become globally competitive (NCHE 1996: 70, 73, 85, 259).

With a view to concrete country examples, which were most of all cited by the NCHE to demonstrate the range of alternatives, it is obvious that the majority of models discussed were from countries in the global North, e.g. the USA, UK, Australia, New Zealand and Central Europe. Examples from Africa were merely reduced to the negative experiences on the African continent, e.g. with respect to the state control model (also applied in Eastern Europe), which "despite some of its immediate redress possibilities" had become "discredited globally" and thus should not be followed by South Africa (NCHE 1996: 176). Besides, the intermediary structures between the state and higher education from Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Mauritius, Tanzania and Zimbabwe were mentioned (ibid: 184f). What was absent, according to Sehoole (2005: 145f), were convincing illustrations from the continent, e.g. in regard to the curricula and their emphasis on post-colonial discourses. Examples from other parts of the world include a tiny number of references to Asia (Malaysia, Singapore) and Eastern Europe with a view to state control models in higher education, furthermore one mention of Latin America, Israel and India. Regarding explicit references made in the report to other higher education systems, a geography of space would find the Northern hemisphere as the dominant reference, however not the only one. Because of the inclusion of not only European models into the new South African higher education policy, Cloete and Muller talk about the "globalization of the colonial model" (1998: 16).

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> "[I]t should be obvious that the new framework and associated proposals are eminently contemporary – a combination of international 'best practices'. It incorporates the latest features of European and Australian 'steering through planning and incentives within a framework of autonomy with accountability', a US approach to affirmative action, equity access and programme and student diversification, the latest European Union and US policies for expansion, with flexible, generic skills, recognition of prior learning and life-long learning as prominent curricular features. The proposed new outcomes based national higher education qualification system is similar to that of New Zealand, which is regarded as the most ambitious in the world. Going beyond existing models co-operative governance combines modern co-operative governance practices with experiences from South Africa and other parts of Africa to propose a novel synthesis. […] The Commission had produced a transformation framework that put together a post-modern, international best practice policy framework. The international policy community applauded, at least in part because it was so recognisable to them. Those who wanted to make it more local (African) failed, once again." (Cloete and Muller 1997: 11f)

Some of the proposals, therefore, can be traced back to particular contexts and countries but also to individual interests of certain stakeholders, such as the idea of a National Qualifications Framework (NQF) adopted from the debates in New Zealand, Australia, England and Scotland (NCHE 1996: 105; see also Ensor 2004b: 180; Jansen 2004: 199; GTZ 2005: 12; Johnson 2006: 693). According to Jansen (2002: 203), the NQF was included into the NCHE's final report only under heavy political pressure on the Commission. From Jansen's report it is not clear where the pressure came from, but it can be assumed that business and labour, especially the South African umbrella institution for trade unions, COSATU, played an important role. Two commissioners represented business and labour (Bryan Phillips from the mining firm Gencor and Adrienne Bird, representing COSATU).[232] Another striking example is the proposal to introduce quality assurance mechanisms, as "they have become a priority on the international agenda as a way of ensuring accountability and value for money" (NCHE 1996: 107). The way quality assurance was discussed and later implemented in South Africa can be clearly traced back to sources abroad, most notably to the systems in the UK and the Netherlands.[233] Also the promotion of private higher

[232] Adrienne Bird, member of the NCHE until she took up a position in the Department of Labour in 1996, was one of the key persons in that process and "the single most important force in the redefinition of education and training in South Africa in the next decade" (Jansen 2004: 206). Bird had worked as Transvaal Education Officer of the Metalworkers Union. In 1990 she had been part of a group of South Africans who were invited by the Australian Metalworkers Union (NUMSA) to visit Australia, where she met representatives of Australian trade unions and was introduced to their approach of a qualifications framework. Repeated travelling in both directions led to a close exchange of models and ideas in the field of education (ibid.). Bird had studied in the UK to become a school teacher (Kraak 2004: 256). According to Kraak, Bird in her position as a representative of COSATU and Gail Elliot representing the ANC proposed a "unified multi-path model of education and training built on a nationally integrated curriculum with a single qualifications structure", with a flexible and a modular credit accumulation approach at its core (ibid.), in other words some form of a National Qualifications Framework (NQF) and the integration of training and education. Bird and her colleagues also contributed papers to the NEPI process (GTZ 2005: 11). Their ideas became dominant ANC thinking, and they were adopted by business and labour (ibid: 13) so that they found their way into the ANC Policy Framework (1994: Part 6, section 24), into official policy in the form of the White Paper on Education and Training (1995) and into the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA), established in 1995 in order to operationalize the ideas (Kraak 2004: 256). How the whole process played out in detail and what role international influences have played exactly are presented by a GTZ study "International influences on the evolution of south Africa's National Skills Development Strategy, 1989–2004" (GTZ 2005).

[233] In the UK, quality assurance mechanisms were introduced in 1985. By the 1990s, UK HEIs were faced with the following five externally led processes of quality assurance: "subject-based teaching quality assessment, institutional audit, the research assessment exercise, professional and regulatory body accreditation, and external examining" (Harvey 2005: 268). The Dutch universities agreed in 1985 to have all programmes externally reviewed. Since 1988 the teaching quality is externally assessed. This process would be carried out by the

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education by the NCHE goes along with external referencing. “Internationally, it is one of the major mechanisms that has been adopted by governments to ensure that expansion occurs without crippling the public education budget” (NCHE 1996: 160). This is in line with World Bank suggestions (World Bank 1994: 29f and 2002: 83; Maassen and Cloete 2004: 18). It led to its regulation in the later Higher Education Act (1997) and the definition of requirements for registration of private providers through the DoE, the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) as well as the Council on Higher Education’s Higher Education Quality Committee. The final report also has a special colouring of World Bank rhetoric, e.g. with respect to increasing participation in higher education (World Bank 1994: 40ff; Maassen and Cloete 2004: 13, 18) and to funding higher education institutions through a performance-based incentive system (World Bank 1994: 40ff; Jansen 2004: 199).

Taking these examples together, one could agree with Professor Jonathan Jansen, a critical voice on South African higher education since the 1990s and in 2009 appointed as the first black Rector of the formerly white Afrikaans University of the Orange Free State, that “[i]n a short period, the South African state adopted educational discourses that were intimately and directly linked to current developments elsewhere in the international environment” (Jansen 2002: 205) and that “[a]lmost every national education policy of the post-apartheid government of South Africa has major design elements that originate in another country” (Jansen 2004: 199). This is what Sehoole calls the “triumph of the global perspective” (2005: 139), which he connects to an agenda aiming at protecting the interests and the capital of a white constituency and at paving their way for participation in the global economy. His examples for this assumption would be the engagement of donor institutions, such as the Ford Foundation or USAID, in the area of policy development, which from the perspective of the USA contributed to the implementation of its foreign policy in the form of an advancement of conducive and beneficial ideas and initiatives. Sehoole‘s interpretation of this approach is that of a strategic attack on alternative models of policy arrangements. USAID and the Ford Foundation were, for example, also the main donors for first political activities of the Union of Democratic University Staff Associations (UDUSA). They funded not only the work of the NCHE but later also the Centre for Higher Education Transformation (CHET) (Sehoole 2005: 139; Fehnel 2007). Following Sehoole, the marginalization and individualization of certain voices should, therefore, not be taken as coincidental (Sehoole 2005: 139).

So, some authors took the positive feedback of the international community on the Discussion Document, during and after the Salzburg conference, and the release of the final report without major changes despite the heavy criticism on the local level as a signal that the international expert community played a more important role in the process than the local community. Jansen, for example, noted: “There are few countries in postcolonial Africa that have drawn more heavily on international consultants in its first few years of ‘independence’” (Jansen 2002: 204). However, the commissioners were not merely puppets. They had strong views and they had to balance and see the bigger picture, not just parts of the system or the

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Association of Cooperating Universities in the Netherlands (VSNU) and would be accomplished every six years for every programme by a group of peers and on the basis of self-evaluation (van Vught and Westerheijden 1994: 361).

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stakeholders they represented. With regards to the international advisers and international models, the commissioners stated:

> "We went out and looked at experiences in other parts of the world, but we were careful not to only rely on Europe and America, we went elsewhere. So, we wanted to draw on international experience, but at the end of the day, we had to reflect that it is relevant to us, and we did that quite independently." (Interview 49, 2011)

> "The question that we had to ask ourselves after all was how much value added the international advisers [...]. It was nice to talk to them, but it was also clear that we were talking from different worlds. They probably would have been able to talk much more to the Stellenboschs of the time than to the Fort Hares. [...] Although they did their best to understand the dynamics of South African higher education, it was very difficult from the outside unless you had actually grown up in South Africa." (Interview 47, 2011)

These statements are an indication that, although an indigenous reform met with international expertise, the process and its outcome were considered a national South African issue, in which, from the Commission's perspective, it was necessary to have deep insights into South African society and the system. Cloete and Muller (1998: 7) describe the work and discussions of the task groups and technical committees of the Commission as a highly complex affair. According to them, who were part of the team of researchers, disagreement among international experts was the same as among South African participants. Many of the external consultants represented the policy of their respective home countries, the positions of the South African members varied also in dependence of their specific experiences abroad. Cloete and Muller emphasize that it was most interesting to observe that commissioners sometimes used the advice of those international experts that were in support of their particular position. "Metropolitan influence was thus a two way complicit affair" (Cloete and Muller 1998: 7).

As has been shown, the majority of the commissioners and many of those South African and international experts involved in the task groups and technical committees had deep experiences of internationalization through their respective study or work abroad periods – also during the period of international sanctions and especially the academic boycott. In the final report of the Commission, the inter- and transnationalization of higher education, of teaching, research and community service, however, plays not an important role. While partnerships on the local level are well promoted, international partnerships, international exchange, international cooperation and transnational research hardly feature. They are limited to the national goal to "encourage interaction among institutions of higher education [...] both nationally and internationally" (NCHE 1996: 75), to the coordinating function of the Higher Education Branch in the DoE with a view to international relations and scholarship programmes (ibid: 182) and that "[w]herever appropriate, high quality materials from other countries should be used or adapted to South African needs" (ibid: 121). However, the keeping with international standards, the reference to international experiences with policy formulation and international recognition for qualifications and research from South Africa was considered extremely important and is thus continuously highlighted in the report. To re-enter the international scene through the national policy agenda was one of the underlying goals. It can, therefore, be concluded that, at the beginning of the transformation process in South Africa, the local and national were more exigent for the Commission, yet taking

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cognisance of the international all along. The author, therefore, argues that transnational experiences and transnationalization as object on the agenda can dwindle in importance or are rather separately discussed when the pressure to address local problems and challenges seems to overshadow everything else. Commissioner Nasima Badsha confirmed:

> "We were rightly or wrongly far more concerned about more immediate localized issues [than about debates around globalization and internationalization in higher education, SB]. [...] So, we were obviously reading all those global trends and continental trends but very much focused on the challenges that we faced, framed by the sort of tensions that we had to manage between equity and development." (Interview, 2011)

Time Pressure on the Commission

Looking at the mandate of the Commission, it has to be emphasized that the Commission could not address all aspects of higher education it was expected to comment on. The Commission, for example, did not give any recommendations on the size and the shape of the higher education system, and also the development of a new funding formula had to be excluded from the report. The explosiveness of these issues against the background of the fragility of the transition was the main reason – besides a time constraint. Contrary to the stipulated working period of two years, Minister Bengu brought up the deadline for the final report six months earlier (Sehoole 2005: 140f). Rolf Stumpf, one of the commissioners, retrospectively relates the time pressure mainly to tensions between the Ministry and the Commission:

> "The Department at that stage wanted to exercise more control over the Commission. And they didn't like the fact that the Commission did move out of the Department into the Human Science and Research Council. And there was no other reason for that except that the Department wasn't servicing them quickly enough. In the end, they moved for purely practical reasons, because the civil service was too slow, and the Commission was just an add-on thing." (Interview, 2011)

The time contraction, however, was also connected to political pressure to increase the pace for legislation to overcome the racist, unjust and undemocratic apartheid system on the one hand and on the other to pressures related to a policy vacuum since 1990 that enabled South African HEIs to move in directions without considering implications for the rest of the system on the other (Sehoole 2005: 141). Many traditional contact institutions, to give an example, had started on an ad hoc basis to become active in distance education of poor quality and accountability for income and massification reasons, which led to further fragmentation and missing coordination (Interview 49, 2011). The policy vacuum had also resulted in several situations of crisis at some HEIs calling for the Ministry to intervene, for example, in cases of accusations of corruption or recalcitrant managements unwilling to change (NCHE 1996: 197). There was, furthermore, a completely unregulated growth in the local private sector as well as in international providers of higher education. Overseas institutions, coming to South Africa for presumably altruistic reasons, were looking for new markets in South Africa (ibid: 159ff). There was pressure from the historically disadvantaged universities who were hoping to get a bigger piece of the cake through the ANC government, and there were worries among the already established research universities as public funding was going to shrink (Interview 49, 2011). Finally, the government and the DoE were

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totally dependent on the recommendations of the Commission to further the process. As long as the report wasn't published, their hands were tied and policy formulation could not be instituted:

> "The appointment of a National Commission virtually paralyses the Department from acting on any policy issue in that area. It makes it extremely difficult. You don't want to downgrade the work done by the National Commission by anticipating what they are going to recommend. At the same time the environment was by no means static. It was extremely volatile, to the point of violence on campuses and so forth. […] In a system like this, a highly volatile one, extremely disparate, the National Commission was expected to provide a direction, answers to the questions, a common view or mission for the public sector. So long as that was absent, the Minister's hands were tied, as were the Director-General's." (Reflections T. Coombe, 2001, member of the Minister of Education's Strategic Task Team from May 1994 until May 2000)

Hence, the work of the Commission was of immense importance for the ongoing legislation process which became so urgent because of national pressures on the one hand but also due to transnational pressures, e.g. (for-profit) higher education providers from outside South Africa entering the system.

Final Remarks

Internationally, the NCHE was considered as an outstanding example of transparency, exchange and democratic participation in its formation process. It had initiated an intensive debate about the future of higher education in South Africa and presented a progressive approach to overcome past inequalities. At the same time, it was doubted to what extent the formulated principles of the NCHE report could be implemented. The central weakness ascribed to the document from various angles – especially from within South Africa – was its disregard of the mechanisms to turn the proposals and recommendations into reality. But as noted earlier, the Commission's mandate was limited to creating a framework for the transformation of higher education. The development of an implementation strategy would be part of the Ministry's work. Besides the missing link to implementation, other aspects of the report were criticized. According to Cloete (2004: 64), the roles of individual HEIs as well as that of the market in driving the change, for example, were not adequately considered by the Commission, nor was the "global pressure for increasing efficiency" sufficiently addressed. The consultative and participative procedure had raised high expectations for direct societal participation in decision making. These expectations, however, could hardly be met, and it was obviously not possible to include the heterogeneity of voices into the final report. The final report of the Commission was most of all a consensus document (and it was politically intended as such) and less so an advocate of radical change. Along with its publication, inclusion and exclusion of opinions did occur, and it could be asked, which mechanisms led to some voices being heard whereas others were left aside.

Yet, without doubt, the NCHE and its outcomes contained a strong moment of nation-building. Its report was of immense importance for the cohesion of the higher education sector as it was considered a work of consensus.

> "The Report was a superb piece of work. What it did for the country was [to] ensure, through its members and its chairperson, that it delivered something of high authority, of unquestionable authority, which had

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> been painstakingly negotiated, not just consulted upon, and which would have international recognition. International recognition was consciously worked on right up to the last minute. In all of those respects, I think the National Commission Report is an ornament to our post 1994 dispensation." (Reflections T. Coombe, 2001, member of the Minister of Education's Strategic Task Team in May 1994 until May 2000)

In terms of the equity versus development debate, it has been argued that, despite efforts to reconcile both positions, the report was finally dominated by the development discourse (Scott 1997). Cloete and Muller (1998: 5) critically asked why this was the case. "Is this because the authors of the report saw insufficiently clearly what the implications of the analysis must lead to? Or perhaps because they had a conservative constituency to appease?" There is most probably some kind of truth in both positions.

The tensions between local and international experts and between the equity and development discourse were thoroughly reflected by the commissioners. The final report contains, for example, a passage referring to Mahmood Mamdani's often-quoted article "University Crisis and Reform: A Reflection on the African Experience" (1993) and his arguments on the "destructive conflict between expatriates and locals" and the demise of the university through both parties.

> "According to Mamdani, the expats called for freedom and autonomy, standards and centres of excellence, while the locals demanded that the state give the universities a national character, ensuring Africanisation and training for development. Calls for autonomy were interpreted as defending racial privilege, while simultaneously the long-term interests of the university and democracy were undermined through calls for government intervention." (NCHE 1996: 173f)

This quotation could indeed be read as a signal of full awareness of the hybrid character and the challenges of the whole operation reflecting the South African conflicts of the day. Not that the commissioners were not satisfied with the results of the final report but maybe with the exclusion of certain ideas, such as those of the Venda group. It sounds like an admission that there were serious tensions that emerged during the process, which maybe could neither be avoided nor overcome. But – and this is like an excuse – this did not appear in South Africa for the first time. It was known to many university systems in Africa after African states had reached their independence from the colonial powers (NCHE final report referring to Mamdani 1993). The tensions experienced in the transformation process of South African higher education, therefore, also reflect the tensions in post-colonial contexts.

6.3.2 The State Takes Over Control: Government Green Paper (1996), White Paper 3 (1997) and the Higher Education Act (1997)

The Green Paper on Higher Education

As indicated in the previous section by the former representatives of the DoE, the outsourcing of policy development to the NCHE had caused some form of paralysis in the Ministry followed by a policy vacuum because the hands of the Department were tied until the report from the Commission was handed over to the Ministry. When the final report was available by July 1996 – initially as a draft version as its finalization took another two months (Moja and Hayward 2001: 116) – the DoE eventually initiated policy development by writing a Green Paper on Higher Education, published in December 1996, in preparation of a new law.

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At this point in time, the government was already in office for more than two years, the new DoE had been established and a Higher Education Branch was integrated, following the proposal by the NCHE Discussion Document. The new South African constitution had replaced the interim constitution in May 1996. It had incorporated education for all South Africans as well as redress for past racist discrimination as basic rights in the constitution (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act. 108 of 1996, ss. 29 (2) (c)). Higher education, according to the constitution, became the responsibility of the national government. In May 1996, the National Party left the Government of National Unity, so that the ANC would henceforth constitute the only governing party.

The upcoming legislative process for higher education built largely on the recommendations of the NCHE. The content of the Green Paper can essentially be deduced from the recommendations of the NCHE. Two of the three main propositions, more responsiveness and increased cooperation and partnerships, had been well received and were taken over into the Green Paper. The central proposition of the NCHE, to largely open higher education (massification), however, only made it into the Green Paper in a weakened form. While increased participation in higher education was thoroughly advocated, the Green Paper was rather cautious about unconditional massification: “In a situation of financial constraints, planning and negotiations will have to ensure that wider participation is affordable and sustainable” (RSA Green Paper 1996: 13). Experiences from other African and Latin American countries are cited that South Africa should avoid.

> “While it is possible to achieve rapid enrolment growth without extra expenditure, the penalties for doing so are harsh. Precedents for expansion without investment are to be found in African and Latin American higher education systems where this has resulted in overcrowded facilities, low morale of academic staff, poor quality programmes, a fall in research output and quality, and, ultimately, a loss of confidence by students, employers and funders in the devalued products of higher education.” (ibid: 18)

One of the explanations reads as follows: Because massification is linked to an increase in efficiency (“doing more with the same”), the quality of higher education would be endangered. In that context, the Green Paper reemphasized the strong position of the South African higher education system on the African continent as well as the internationally competitive capacities in teaching and research at some institutions, which served as national assets, therefore, clearly speaking to South Africa’s ambition of being a regional power: “It would be detrimental to the national interest and the future provision of quality higher education if the valuable features and achievements of the existing system were not identified, retained and used in the restructuring process” (RSA Green Paper 1996: 9). Uncontrolled massification could, therefore, be interpreted as a danger to those institutions with good international reputation – an endangerment which obviously should be avoided. This means that the counter privileging of previously advantaged population groups was but one goal of the new higher education system. Equally important were the preservation and protection of existing excellence and current research resources and the system’s international competitiveness.

Additional differences compared to the NCHE recommendations concerned the proposed advisory bodies for the Minister of Education, the Higher Education Forum and the Higher Education Council. Instead of two institutions, the Green Paper proposed the realization of

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only one Council on Higher Education (CHE). One of the reasons given was that too much participation would cut the power of the Minister and his Ministry and that, as a result, it would needlessly lengthen decision making processes:

> "While the Ministry seeks strong independent advice, and is committed to broad consultation as part of the approach of cooperative governance, it must also accept the ultimate responsibility for transforming higher education. To that end the Ministry needs to exercise its statutory authority, consistent with its undertaking to the electorate and with parliamentary accountability, to play its full role in the necessary processes of change." (RSA Green Paper 1996: 32)

Ian Bunting, criticizing the deviations in the Green Paper from the recommendations of the NCHE, tapered the argument:

> "An unstated assumption in the Green Paper is that South Africa's social, political and economic transformation has to be driven by a "strong state." In the case of higher education the underlying assumption was that the transformative process must be driven by the Minister of Education who must have total power and control over the system." (quoted from Sehoole 2005: 165)

This aspect of affirming the power and controlling capacities of the new state and of creating a "strong state" in order to drive the transformation of the country, and in that case establishing an efficient and effective while affordable higher education system, would be accentuated even more clearly in the White Paper 3 to follow.

The Green Paper's underlying definition of globalization is echoed from that of the NCHE's final report meaning "the intensification of worldwide social relations and to multiple changes in the economy, culture and communications of advanced economies" and the "knowledge society" (RSA Green Paper 1996: 11) connected to that process. This changing context of "global opportunities and challenges" coupled with "pressures and demands" requires reorientation and innovation on the national level (ibid.). South Africa's incorporation into the international arena and its ambition to compete "in a borderless world" (ibid: 12) is, therefore, again one of the dominant explanations for the need to restructure and modernize the South African higher education sector (ibid: 4, 12). In order to promote growth and to push the country's economic performance and competitiveness on the global market, higher education has a particular role to fulfil to make that international participation possible and sustainable. "There is a high correlation internationally between quality higher education training and research, on the one hand, and national economic growth and competitiveness, on the other" (ibid: 18). The document – in contrast to the more detailed NCHE framework for higher education transformation – does not contain any explicit references to other countries, to foreign models and ideas. One exception are the earlier cited negative experiences in "African and Latin American higher education systems" regarding the expansion of the system without further investment (ibid: 18). As in the NCHE final report, external referencing in the form of "international standards", e.g. regarding quality assurance or funding for higher education, are present, yet less than in the NCHE report. Internationalizing South African HEIs is not a topic.

The Green Paper concludes with a list of acknowledgements by Minister Bengu to people who had been involved in the prearrangement and writing of the document apart from Trevor Coombe, who was a member of the Minister of Education's Strategic Task Team from May 1994 until May 2000 and acting Deputy Director General of the national Department of

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Education from March to November 1997 (RSA Green Paper 1996: 61). These people included eight South Africans and three international consultants. Among the former were Chabani Manganyi, Director General at the DoE under Mandela (1994–1999) and John Samuel, who had been head of the Education Department of the ANC and Director of the South African Council on Higher Education (SACHED) in the 1980s, who at the beginning of the 1990s headed the ANC's Education Desk in Johannesburg and who during the writing process was Deputy Director general in the DoE[234]. There was also Itumeleng Mosala, head of the Higher Education Branch at the DoE during the Green and White Paper production process and a radical black Africanist from the milieu of the Venda group. The writing team included, furthermore, Jairam Reddy, the NCHE's Chairperson and Colin Bundy, a historian with extensive study and teaching experience in the UK before his return to South Africa in the mid-1980s. In addition, there was Ahmed Essop, Chief Director of the Higher Education Planning and Coordination in the DoE (1997–2005), who had been involved in alternative education during the apartheid era and in the foundation of the CEPD in the early 1990s; Herman du Toit, a PhD graduate of the University of Pretoria and finally Nolitha Linda who had been working for the DoE. The group of South Africans responsible for the creation of the Green Paper were again a mixture of people of different background representing both the old and the new order. With Jairam Reddy being part of the team, a certain form of continuity from the work of the NCHE was to be guaranteed. Parts of the group had gained extensive international experience in other higher education systems, most of all for postgraduate studies: in the UK (Birmingham [Reddy], Oxford [Bundy], Essex [Essop]), USA (Stanford [Essop], Yale [Manganyi]) and Canada (Manitoba [Reddy]) in contrast to those who had less international experience in terms of their postgraduate degrees (Samuel, Mosala, du Toit, Linda).

Among the "overseas consultants" in the Green Paper writing process were Mike Gallagher from Australia; Christopher Colclough, an academic from the UK and Thomas O. Eisemon, representative of the World Bank (RSA Green Paper 1996: 61). Michael Gallagher had worked for the Commonwealth administration of higher education between 1990 and 1994; from 1994 to 1996, he had acted as head of the Department of Employment Education and Training Corporate Services. Gallagher had been on duty on behalf of the World Bank and the OECD.[235] According to an e-mail discussion with Gallagher, it was the South African Minister of Education, Professor Bengu, who had approached his counterpart in Australia requesting support from Australia for the government response to the NCHE's report. Because of Gallagher's position and relevant experiences in heading the higher education area of administration in Australia, he was approached, and he agreed to be sent to South Africa. "I continued to be paid from my Australian position, but I think the South Africans picked up the hotel accommodation costs. This is to say, I was not a 'consultant' from the consulting industry" (discussion with Mike Gallagher, October 2013). Gallagher worked

[234] At the beginning of the 1990s, John Samuel got in touch with Fred Hayward from the American Council on Education (ACE). Hayward was asked to provide information on US American higher education during the early discussions on transformation in South Africa (Reflections F. Hayward, 2001, former Senior Associate to the ACE).

[235] See http://www.go8.edu.au/go8-staff [retrieved 13 August 2013].

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mostly with Trevor Coombe and the small team he had put together. They worked on the Green Paper and the Draft White Paper for higher education transformation.

> "I put together various drafts based on the Commission's report and we workshopped these with various interest groups. My main role was to provide technical assistance in translating big policy ideas into an implementable agenda. I focussed on structural configurations, financing mechanisms, performance-based reporting, and quality assurance (at the time caught up with a New Zealand approach to a National Qualifications Framework)" (ibid.)

The second consultant, Christopher Colclough, had played an important role in advising the government on financing public education. South Africa's school funding policy, for example, was developed with his support (Jansen 2002: 204). In an interview conducted by Jansen in March 1999 Colclough stated:

> "I was at first invited by John Samuel via the Centre for Education Policy Development in 1992/1993 to be involved in education finance and policy discussions. I later played a role in the assessment of existing government positions, including an analysis of conservative reasoning behind budgets emanating from apartheid's officials (like Gert Steyn). This was the period of 'strategic management teams' during the early transition. I later engaged with the Department of Finance which I experienced as conservative and heavily influenced by World Bank thinking, especially among those responsible for social sector projects. I did play a role in influencing the governance debate leading to the White Paper by arguing that we needed to keep white and articulate blacks within the public sector as an arena for state influence." (Colclough, quoted in Jansen 2002: 204)

Colclough had been affiliated to the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex. His publications prior to his engagement in South Africa include many articles on education in Africa, e.g. on the relation between primary schooling and economic development (Colclough 1982), research that had been funded by the World Bank; on external financing of primary education (Colclough et al 1985), on the higher education paradox in African development planning (Colclough 1989) and the book "Public Sector Pay and Adjustment: Lessons from Five Countries" with case studies from Singapore, Korea, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Argentina (Colclough 1997). Tom Eisemon, the third of the Green Paper consultants, had already participated in the NCHE's technical team for the task group on finance (NCHE 1996: 401). He had extensively researched higher education during the 1970s and 1980s, first as professor at McGill University (Canada) and since 1991 on behalf of the World Bank, e.g. on educational transfers and foreign educational assistance (Eisemon 1974), on African higher education (Eisemon 1980; Eisemon 1992; Eisemon et al 1993), on implementing policy reforms in the education sector in Brazil, Jordan, Nigeria, Chile, Vietnam and Hungary (Eisemon and Holm-Nielsen 1995). Eisemon passed away in 1998. In a necrology, his "passionate commitment to improving the educational status of underprivileged people" (Patel 1998: 222) was highlighted. It is interesting to note that even though Tom Eisemon, who was with the World Bank at that time, was mentioned as consultant to the Green Paper process, Mike Gallagher reported that Eisemon was explicitly excluded by the South African Ministry of Education from having any formal involvement in the process (discussion with Mike Gallagher, October 2013). Trevor Coombe was especially cautious to avoid the errors of some other African countries, whose governments got locked into paying back loans for funds to do things that were not their priority.

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The use of international experts was a continuation of the NCHE process and became standard practice also by government departments, without necessarily accepting everything they suggested. The fact that consultants from Australia, Canada and the UK had been approached might be explained with a common colonial link and similar higher education traditions. It can also be seen in light of the struggle against apartheid in these countries, through which certain contacts had been established at different societal levels that could be used after the ANC had come to power (e.g. government, NGOs, the labour movement, trade unions, and individuals), as was the case with the Australian Ministry of Education. The by then Minister of Education, Professor Bengu, identified their role retrospectively as important with a view to a possible distancing from what the NCHE had recommended:

> "Consulting foreign experts gave us confidence and it also gave our opponents some confidence and lent respectability to the process. So, that was a great help. Of course we needed to face a barrage of questions that came, especially from the youth, the students, who thought it was a way of selling out, to take the consultation on South African higher education to a foreign country. And they believed that we were tending to listen more to concerns that were expressed by the international community. But I thought that was not the case. To be honest with you, I think that consultation sharpened our critical approach so that we went back to look at the report critically and even began to see that we could differ with what was being proposed by the Commission." (Reflections S. Bengu, 2001, former Vice Chancellor of the University of Fort Hare and first Minister of Education in the post-1994 government)

As such, the Green Paper writing process was a continuation of the principles agreed upon by the Government of National Unity on the representative and participatory character of policy making in South Africa. Similar to the NCHE process, international influences were present all along, through the biographies of the participating South Africans as well as through the international consultants. The core team for the preparation of the Green Paper, the Draft White Paper and the White Paper had remained the same.

The White Paper 3: A Programme for the Transformation of Higher Education

After consultation the South African Ministry of Education published a Draft White Paper in April 1997. A Green Paper is usually the only draft document published for consultation. However, despite all efforts to develop a unified paradigm for higher education, there were still a lot of particular interests as well as uncertainties about certain aspects. Another interim document, therefore, seemed necessary. It was the Minister himself who was not satisfied with the outcome of the Draft White Paper and who, therefore, decided that it could only be released as a draft (Sehoole 2005: 154). "The practice of attempting to achieve consensus through consultation – and if you don't get it, you consult some more – has now fallen away, but it was still very much with us then" (Reflections T. Coombe, 2001, member of the Minister of Education's Strategic Task Team from May 1994 until May 2000). Contentwise, Moja and Hayward (2001: 118) report that the Draft White Paper had initially left out the principles of equality, justice and redress that were recommended as guiding principles for the transformation of higher education both by the NCHE as well as by the Green Paper – a scandal for all those who had participated in the previous processes. In the final version, however, they were included again.

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The main focus of the Draft White Paper was on creating conditions that would foster the economic development of South Africa and the role of higher education institutions in the process. This seemed to be at the expense of redress and equity measures. The Draft White Paper contained significant departures from the Green Paper – especially as it took less space to reformulate those key values and goals intensively and painstakingly negotiated and consulted upon and proposed by the preceding documents and reports on that consensus basis (Moja and Hayward 2001: 118). It cannot be reconstructed what exactly had led to the downplaying of those values and goals. An explaining scenario developed by Sehoole (2005: 155) would relate the dominance of neo-liberal paradigms over redress and equity to the authors of the report – the Ministry had used external consultants for writing the White Paper 3. The prioritization of economic development, so Sehoole's argument, could have been guided by their neo-liberal thinking. However, the international advisers for the Draft White Paper on Higher Education were the same people that had already participated or advised in the Green Paper writing process (Tom Eisemon and Mike Gallagher). Eisemon had also acted as consultant in the NCHE process. So, their influence would have been already visible earlier and not in the Draft White Paper for the first time. The Draft White Paper writing team consisted of Trevor Coombe, Ahmed Essop and Itumeleng Mosala, Coombe being the overall editor. They were assisted by Tom Eisemon, Mike Gallagher and Piyushi Kotecha[236].

Using the help of external advisers, however, was not unique to the government-led policy making process, as has been demonstrated in previous sections. External advisers and international experts had been involved in the NEPI process and by the NCHE. Ahmed Essop, active in policy writing of the time and at the time of interviewing CEO of the Council on Higher Education, explained their role:

> "[T]he people who contributed came with similar sorts of political backgrounds. We didn't invite everybody to come and participate. The people who came had supported the change process. So, we had a very open policy process, and it was open to ideas from all over the world. The policy influences tended to be from the West, partly because the political elite studied or lived in the West, and it was partly their only reference point as the rest of Africa and the rest of the developing world [were, SB] closed. So, we didn't put so much emphasis on what was probably happening in Asia or South America and so forth. So, there was obviously an influence, and those influences can be mediated. I would not see that any of the policies developed would substantially be influenced by outside paradigms that were not closely aligned with what South Africa wanted to do. And I don't think, it is a problem to have these influences at all. I think, […] it brought people together. And there weren't that many [international consultants, SB]. […] It was a handful of people who participated in some of these processes […]. So, there were obviously influences, but the clear issues were those of concern locally." (Interview, 2011)

On top of the additional draft version of the White Paper, Sehoole (2005: 153) highlights another irregularity in the policy making process as the Higher Education Bill was issued for public comment concurrently with the draft version of the White Paper (see also RSA Draft White Paper 1997: Foreword). The reason for this acceleration of the legislative procedure,

[236] Kotecha held a Master's degree in Education from the University of Witwatersrand and would become Chief Executive Officer of the South African Universities Vice-Chancellors Association in 1998. Previously, she served as National Director of the South Africa Association for Academic Development and as a Director of the engineering academic development programmes at the University of the Witwatersrand.

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by paralleling processes which use to happen consecutively, was once again an ambitious time schedule proposed by Minister Bengu, who aimed at the passing of a new higher education law still in the parliamentary year 1997. This would have allowed to comply with the prescriptions for budgetary negotiations for the year 1998 (Moja and Hayward 2001: 117). To wait until the Cabinet had passed the draft of the White Paper so that the Higher Education Bill could have been prepared, according to Trevor Coombe, in 1997 Acting Deputy Director General in the DoE and overseeing the drafting of the White Paper 3 as well as of the Bill on Higher Education, would have delayed the process by a whole year (Coombe, quoted from Sehoole 2005: 153). Linked to this was the desire to finally come up with new legislation for higher education that "for the first time in its history, be governed and developed in terms of a single national law" (RSA Draft White Paper 3 1997: Foreword) and to start regulating the many aspects of higher education that needed regulation in a situation of a policy vacuum that had existed since the beginning of the 1990s (Interview 49, 2011).

While the White Paper 3 and its Draft Version were formulated by department officials[237] supported by external advisors, the Higher Education Bill was prepared by legal advisors of the state[238]. The simultaneous writing process thus inhibited that the Higher Education Bill would profit from an officially accepted White Paper 3. Thereby, it became an enormous challenge for the various stakeholders of society to comment on two documents simultaneously (Sehoole 2005: 153).

The national government, at this point in time, had limited the policy of redistribution and had put the economic competitiveness of the country into focus. In 1996 the ANC had adopted its macro-economic "Growth, Employment and Redistribution" (GEAR) strategy, which was based on the reduction of debts and the inflation rate, the avoidance of new debts and on creating jobs through increasing foreign direct investments. Muller, Maassen and Cloete (2004: 294) state that "the Minister of Finance, to the great surprise of many ANC supporters, declared that it was 'not open to consultation or negotiation'". Consequently, the Ministry of Finance occupied a special position by formulating policies for different departments and emphasizing fiscal austerity and thus limiting government spending and redistribution (Jansen 2002: 208). The strategy obviously bears traits of an international neo-liberal macro-economic policy following the principles of the World Bank (ibid.; Kraak 2004: 245). GEAR can be considered as the counter project to the "Reconstruction and Development Programme" (RDP), the ANC's economic dogma in preparation of the elections in 1994, which was based on reconstruction, development and poverty reduction (Barnes 2006: 160; Ntshoe 2004: 203f). The ultimate goal of the ANC's RDP – being rooted in its traditional socialist economic ideas going back to the 1960s – had been the elimination or reduction of poverty, coupled with the attempt to reduce the enormous income differences in the country. The RDP, however, was faced with financial and structural problems of legitimacy within a rather short period of time and was replaced by "[o]rthodox international macro-economic

[237] The core writing team with Trevor Coombe as chief editor, Ahmed Essop and Itumeleng Mosala had remained unchanged (discussion with Ahmed Essop, October 2013).

[238] They included Brendan Barry (attorney), Eberhard Bertelsmann (advocate) and Solly Sithole (advocate). "The departmental officials involved were Trevor Coombe, Ahmed Essop, Eben Boshoff (advocate), and I think Itumeleng Mosala and Nasima Badsha also participated" (discussion with Ahmed Essop, October 2013).

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policy" (Kraak 2004: 265). Even though the basic needs approach of the RDP had been kept in the GEAR strategy and the Post-GEAR policy (Lundahl and Petterson 2009: 6), Kraak (2004: 245, 266) comes to the conclusion that the GEAR approach had fundamentally reduced the ability of the state to reconstruct and transform – especially in the field of higher education, also during the policy formulation process. Jansen added that this policy put a cap on all government expenditure so that no new money could be allocated to the education sector (Jansen 2002: 209). This is, of course, but one view on the process. Ahmed Essop, at that time working for the DoE, argued a little differently:

> "The two processes actually didn't parallel policy making in higher education. […] People who were writing social policy in the country were not really involved in the economic policy. In fact, they were writing social policy almost as if the economic policy debate didn't exist. […] Even the restructuring of the higher education system, quite frankly, had nothing to do with it. Funding was a concern in as far as we knew that it would cost a lot, but we did not want to create an efficient system because of the economic policy. Our system was inefficient, it is still inefficient. And there were broader social and political goals to restructure higher education." (Interview, 2011)

According to him, GEAR is all too easily interpreted as having introduced the language of efficiency into higher education. However, there were calculations that the system was wasting R1.5 billion annually because students entered the higher education system without graduating. Essop found this was a waste of resources. "Efficiency means getting young people in and out with an appropriate qualification. And in that process you would also free up resources" (ibid.). The language of efficiency, following Essop's argumentation, therefore, had nothing to do with GEAR but with the state of the higher education system in general. Interestingly enough, the White Paper 3, published in 1997, still makes a link between higher education and the RDP; the RDP was still being cited after GEAR had already been introduced (RSA White Paper 3: 7), which can be read as a confirmation of Essop's analysis. The question whether without GEAR the opportunities for a fundamental restructuring of higher education would have been easier cannot be addressed here.

The "Government White Paper 3: A Programme for the Transformation of Higher Education", unveiled in August 1997 as indicator for the soon to be passed Higher Education Bill, finally also remained close to the recommendations of the NCHE and the Green Paper. The transformation of higher education was put into the wider context of political, social and economic transition and its embeddedness in a global context. The document listed the by then still existing deficiencies of the system of higher education, besides the obvious strengths and achievements regarding internationally competitive research. The deficiencies – and this is hardly surprising – at the time of the White Paper 3 were still very similar to the ones identified by the NCHE final report in 1996. The White Paper 3 extensively addressed the purposes, principles and goals of the transformation of higher education. Equity and redress; democratization; effectiveness and efficiency; development; quality, academic freedom; institutional autonomy and public accountability (RSA White Paper 3 1997: 11f) were reaffirmed as guiding principles. Chapters on the structure and growth of South African higher education, governance and funding would follow.

The White Paper 3 contains a clear commitment to a single coordinated higher education system as well as to the three central features proposed by the NCHE: increased and

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broadened participation, responsiveness to societal interests and needs as well as cooperation and partnerships in governance (ibid: 10). While strongly in favour of the expansion of the system, the Minister rejected the massification proposal and opted instead for a planned gradual expansion of the system (with a focus on equity and development) in the decade to come (Cloete and Moja 2005: 696). This rejection had already been indicated and explained by the Green Paper and related to fears of quality losses and threats to existing centres of research excellence that were internationally competitive. A protection of existing strengths and achievements had to be guaranteed.

> "[S]ome higher education institutions have developed internationally competitive research and teaching capacities. Their academic expertise and infrastructure are national assets. It would be detrimental to the national interest and the future provision of quality higher education if the valuable features and achievements of the existing system were not identified, retained and used in the restructuring process. [...] [E]xisting research capacity, in particular the nation's centres of research excellence, must be sustained." (RSA White Paper 3 1997: 9, 32)

The further development of the sector as per White Paper 3 was supposed to be based on careful planning, with the help of a National Plan on Higher Education and institutional three-year rolling plans. The three-year rolling plans had to be developed on the institutional level, including enrolment planning, a central institutional mission, plans for quality improvement, equal opportunities, the development of students and plans for academic as well as research development. It was hoped that this kind of planning would allow for better adaptation of the system to changing external conditions, that they would, furthermore, improve the relation between higher education and society and that they would ensure the sustainability of the system (RSA White Paper 3 1997: 19). Colin Bundy, one of the architects of the Green Paper, noted the similarities of the planning approach to the UK Robbins Report (1963) and their optimistic takeover by the South African government, coupled with goal and performance-oriented funding (Bundy 2005: 86). The introduction of a national institution for quality assurance, the extension of national scholarship programmes, the promotion of research and the development of programmes for capacity development are further elements of the paper (ibid: 17ff) and, therefore, an implementation promise of the government.

The White Paper 3 defined the role of the government regarding higher education as proactive, guiding and coordinating and allocated it a more powerful role than the previously published documents had recommended. In the report it is written "Ministers have a duty to provide leadership. When all the appropriate investigations and consultations have been completed, a Minister must decide, and must take responsibility for the consequences of the decision" (RSA White Paper 3 1997: 35). This is against the background that there were ongoing "struggles for control, lack of consensus and even conflict over differing interpretations of higher education transformation" (ibid.). Instead of a diagonal dialogue as the model of cooperative governance would have suggested, Cloete (2004: 56) anticipated decision making to increasingly become unidirectional: from the centre to the periphery, and top down respectively. The White Paper 3 did not allocate HEIs a particular role in the transformation nor did it address the mechanisms of the market for transformation in higher education. Instead, it was the state that should act as major agent of change. Increasing state interference and direct interventions would, as a result, replace the participative and

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consultative approaches which were envisioned in earlier documents and would also cut institutional autonomy. “[T]here is no moral basis for using the principle of institutional autonomy as a pretext for resisting democratic change or in defence of mismanagement” (RSA White Paper 3 1997: 13).

For the period 1998 to 2000, the improvement of completion rates, the improvement of research and development capacities, the extension of postgraduate education, the development of planning capacity and regional cooperation were defined as goals (Sehoole 2001: 9). Similar to the predecessor documents, the White Paper 3 did not include concrete measures and activities for the implementation of the overarching goals.

Regarding processes of globalization and their relation to higher education, the White Paper 3, in line with the argumentation of earlier documents, limited the perspective most of all to an economic interpretation. The transition in South Africa took place under the influence of processes of globalization. Economic growth was increasingly dependent on knowledge. Therefore, the higher education sector had to work in a way so that it was able to support the South African economy by producing skilled graduates capable of integrating the South African economy into the global economy, to strengthen international cooperation and retain international competitiveness.

> “[Transition] includes political democratisation, economic reconstruction and development, and redistributive social policies aimed at equity. This national agenda is being pursued within a distinctive set of pressures and demands characteristic of the late twentieth century, often typified as globalisation. The term refers to multiple, inter-related changes in social, cultural and economic relations, linked to the widespread impact of the information and communications revolution, the growth of trans-national scholarly and scientific networks, the accelerating integration of the world economy and intense competition among nations for markets. […] These economic and technological changes will necessarily have an impact on the national agenda given the interlocking nature of global economic relations.” (RSA White Paper 3 1997: 9)

Higher education had to be restructured “to face the challenge of globalisation, in particular, the breaking down of national and institutional boundaries which removes the spatial and geographic barriers to access” (White Paper 3 1997: 9f) and “to equip a developing society with the capacity to address national needs and to participate in a rapidly changing and competitive global market” (ibid: 10). The White Paper 3 extensively referred to worldwide changes and the challenges that came along.

With a view to explicit references to other countries, foreign concepts and paradigms, the White Paper 3’s explanations are, similar to the Green Paper, limited to general “international experiences” without specific country examples. But as both documents are largely rooted in the findings and recommendations of the NCHE, international references are implicit. Internationalizing higher education, e.g. the promotion of international mobility and cooperation, do not feature in the White Paper 3.

The Higher Education Act

The passing of the new Higher Education Act, based on the Higher Education Bill, did not take place smoothly. Various political parties and numerous individuals did not agree with the central principles of the Act as the legal framework for the principles and visions of the White

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Paper 3. They were, most of all, against performance based funding and indicated that a number of goals formulated in the Higher Education Act would be in conflict with institutional autonomy and academic freedom (The Star, 6 and 7 October 1997; Cape Times, 9 October 1997, in Barnes 2006; The Star, 29 and 30 October 1997, in Moja and Hayward 2001: 118; Sehoole 2001: 10). Students of the white Afrikaans universities, representing the right-wing Freedom Front Party, objected the perceived dominance of the Minister regarding the determination of the language question at HEIs by singing Die Stem and Sarie Marais[239] in the National Assembly. Their major concern was that their right to be taught in Afrikaans on the post-secondary level would be violated if powers over language issues would be concentrated in the hands of the Minister (Barnes 2006: 162; Moja and Hayward 2001: 118; Sehoole 2001: 10; Sehoole 2005: 170f; Reflections S. Bengu, 2001, former Vice Chancellor of the University of Fort Hare and first Minister of Education in the post-1994 government). The Minister, however, assured that institutional autonomy would be saved and that he would only intervene in cases in which language would be used to exclude people (Sehoole 2005: 171). The Act was passed.

The positions which were formulated in reaction to the recommendations of NCHE in the White Paper 3 were to a large extent confirmed by the government in the Higher Education Act 1997 (Sehoole 2001: 10). With the passing of the law, the transformation of higher education was finally passed to the Minister of Education and his Ministry. It was there that all decision making power would be concentrated in the future.[240] The law prescribed the installation of a Council on Higher Education (CHE) (RSA Higher Education Act 1997: Chapter 2) with multi-constituency participation and a range of sub-committees, as recommended by the Green Paper. It was an advisory body to the Minister that had to be consulted during decision making and which additionally acted as implementation body for higher education policy. The duties of a permanent committee of the CHE responsible for quality assurance, the so-called Higher Education Quality Committee (HEQC), are also regulated by the Act. The law contains guidelines on the establishment and closure of higher education institutions for public as well as private institutions (ibid: Chapters 3 and 7), on the institutional governance structures of public institutions (ibid: Chapter 4) as well as on the funding of public higher education in South Africa (ibid: Chapter 5). One section is dedicated to the appointment of an independent assessor in cases of serious maladministration of an institution of higher education or the undermining of its effective functioning (ibid: Chapter 6).

[239] Die Stem van Suid-Afrika was the official national anthem of South Africa between 1957 and 1994 ("The voice of South Africa"); Sarie Marais is a traditional Afrikaans folk song, whose origin goes back to the South African War (1899–1902).

[240] The power of the Minister to make regulations was extended once more with the Higher Education Amendment Act (2002): "These amendments seek to ensure that policies are contained in regulations. This is important in order to implement policies at the level of both individual public and private higher education institutions as well as across the system" (RSA Higher Education Amendment Act 2002: 12).

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Final Remarks

After the quasi-industrial production of knowledge on higher education through the NCHE and after its establishment during the 18 months of its existence as *the* think tank for higher education policy in South Africa, the Ministry, on behalf of the state, had to re-establish its role after the Commission had completed its work. During the process of policy writing in the form of the Green Paper (1996), the White Paper 3 (1997) and the Higher Education Act (1997), the principles of broad-based consensus-seeking and consultation with stakeholders had been retained. However, as this was a time-consuming endeavour, which did not always lead to an immediate outcome and favoured those with a stake in preserving the status quo, the process was also limited as it had to fit into parliamentary time constraints (Sehoole 2005: 155ff). Jansen remarked:

> "[...] the NCHE report which, as it moved from 'discussion document' status, to Green Paper, to draft White Paper, to White Paper, became less and less open to participatory and consultative inputs as a government document. This may reflect the changes in and micro-politics among key officials coming into the Department of Education since the publication of the NCHE report. And it almost certainly reflects the demise of the NCHE as an organization following the release of its report." (Jansen 2002: 207)

In terms of content, the government and the Ministry largely followed the proposals of the NCHE as stated in their final report. What needs to be highlighted though is that, throughout the process of policy formulation, the powers transferred to the Minister, the DoE and its Higher Education branch increased. According to Sehoole (2005: 160), this rise in state control mechanisms against the cooperative governance pillar advocated by the NCHE must be interpreted with respect to a state in transition and its ambitions to control the higher education system in order to realize the set of goals defined in the consultative process (see also Hall and Symes 2005).

Also the years that followed the adoption of the Higher Education Act (1997) were termed by some as implementation vacuum (NPHE 2001; Cooper 2001: 8; CHE 2004: 26; du Toit 2007: 113). Ahmed Essop expounded that this was mainly because the structural prerequisites for many of the envisioned goals had to be put in place.

> "There was an implementation gap after the White Paper. But it was a conscious decision. [...] It was quite clear for some of the policies that were the planning parts [...]. So, there was a necessary period of time between the policy and the release of the National Plan and there were bigger policy issues like the size and shape that hadn't been resolved. So, if you had immediately implemented then people would have said, you are rushing into implementation, you are not doing your homework before doing it. So, it's the question of what you do first. I am sure, if you look back, I don't think that there was such a big gap." (Interview, 2011)

A colleague of his in the Ministry added:

> "So, before the National Plan came out [...] we established the CHE, we established the branch, we put together the HEMIS [the Higher Education Management Information System, SB], we had the new funding framework for higher education, we had to repeal the Private Acts of universities and make sure they were all compliant with the Higher Education Act. So, we had to review the composition and constitution of the Councils, [...] we had to put in a regulatory framework for private higher education, [...] we had to put in funding arrangements, new higher education quality system planning framework, a new quality assurance system – all at the same time." (Interview 49, 2011)

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During the phase of the negatively connoted policy vacuum, many processes were prepared and brought into being so that at the end of this process the implementation plan could be written.

6.4 The Development of a National Higher Education System (1999–)

Since 1998 HEIs were required to hand in three-year rolling plans to the Ministry, initially however without being embedded into a national plan with concrete guidelines of implementation and funding. Yet, with the help of these plans, it became possible to collect encompassing statistics on new enrolments, on student numbers as well as on future scenarios. The figures made clear that enrolments of new students – contrary to the predictions of the NCHE – fell in the second half of the 1990s. While there were 605.000 students enrolled in 1996, the number had shrunk to only 564.000 three years later. The level of study fees, the decline in achievers of a further education certificate, high drop-out rates, a perceived loss of quality in public institutions as well as the growth of (local and international) private suppliers in South Africa were considered as possible reasons for the decline in head count enrolments (NPHE 2001: 2.1.2; Kraak 2004: 268f).[241] The envisioned massification, finally, had not materialized.

The Report "Towards a New Higher Education Landscape"

In May 1998, the set up of the Council on Higher Education (CHE), as recommended by the White Paper 3, had taken place. Its first task – conveyed by the new higher education Minister Kader Asmal[242] – was to determine the optimal size and shape of the South African higher education system, with the work of the NCHE and the White Paper 3 as points of departure, and to come up with concrete proposals "and not a set of general principles which serve as guidelines for restructuring" (CHE 2000: 4). The CHE's Size and Shape Task Team was constituted by different representatives of labour, business, universities and technikons, the DoE and the CHE itself (ibid.). The emergence of its report "Towards a New Higher Education Landscape: Meeting the Equity, Quality and Social Development Imperatives of

[241] The situation changes slightly when looking at individual HEIs. The attraction of the previously advantaged white Afrikaans institutions as well as of the white technikons resulted in the "vote with feet" especially by black students from the previously disadvantaged institutions. Therefore, the numbers at the Afrikaans institutions rose by 36.000 enrolments while those at HBIs declined by 22.000 in the years between 1995 and 1999 (Kraak 2004: 268f).

[242] Kader Asmal had served as Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry in Mandela's Cabinet, before he was appointed as Minister of Education under Thabo Mbeki in 1999. After his graduation from UNISA, he became a school teacher. In 1959 he left for the UK. This was the year when the Extension of University Education Act was passed (Lissoni 2009: 11). There he enrolled at the London School of Economics and Political Science to study Law. His degrees from the London School of Economics and of the Trinity College in Dublin allowed him to become Professor of Law at Trinity College for 27 years that he spent in exile. He was the initiator both of the British and the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement in the 1960s and served as rapporteur of UN international conferences on apartheid. After having been a founding member of the ANC's constitutional committee in 1986, Asmal finally returned to South Africa in 1990, first as visiting professor and from 1994 as full Professor of Law at the University of the Western Cape. In 1992 he became an ANC delegate to the before mentioned Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) and was elected to the National Assembly in 1994. He resigned from Parliament in 2008 and died in 2011. His time as Minister of Education could be titled "the implementation frenzy phase" as his term was characterized by turning into action what was discussed and what had been negotiated in the first post-apartheid years (see http://www.uwc.ac.za/index.php?module=cms&action=showfulltext&id=gen11Srv7Nme54_6735_1235656946&parent=gen11Srv7Nme54_6375_1235551974&menustate=faculty_law [retrieved 30 January 2012]).

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south Africa in the 21st Century" (CHE 2000), which came to be known as the Size and Shape report, was financially supported by USAID (CHE 2000: 5). Particularly highlighted in the report were the contributions and activities of Dr Stephen Khehla Ndlovu and Mr. Patrick Fine, at that time both working for USAID (ibid.). Ndlovu was a South African with degrees from the University of Zululand and the University of Natal, and Fine was American with degrees from the University of Massachusetts and Missouri State University.

The 60 page final report had been released in June 2000 after the unveiling of a Discussion Document in April of the same year for consultative purposes (CHE 2000: 8). The document is split into four chapters (South African Higher Education: Goals, Problems and Challenges; The Case for Higher Education: Democracy, Knowledge and Skills; Reconfiguring Higher Education: Towards Differentiation and Diversity within an Integrated and Co-ordinated National System; National Steering and Planning Towards Reconfiguring the Higher Education System). According to the report, the system was still characterized by a huge fragmentation, by a spatial marginalization of individual higher education institutions, high drop-out rates and low throughput. The dispersion of students according to disciplines revealed a strong imbalance in favour of the Humanities and the Social Sciences and at the expense of the Natural Sciences. Low research output and missing equity among scientific as well as non-scientific staff members at the institutions were further problematic areas. This situation, the fragmentation, inefficiency and missing planning and coordination, endangered important policy goals and required, according to the report, immediate action (CHE 2000: 16ff). The CHE report thus identified three major challenges for South African higher education: efficiency, effectiveness, equity (ibid: 21ff). According to Cloete and Moja (2005: 704), this was the first time after 1990 that a South African national policy document mentioned efficiency and effectiveness earlier than equity.

As a consequence of the system's state, a central recommendation of the CHE report was to establish a highly diversified system of higher education on the basis of institutional differentiation (instead of programme differentiation as the NCHE had proposed) and to subdivide the landscape with regard to teaching and research capacities into three kinds of institutions. The bedrock higher education institutions, according to the report, should focus on undergraduate training. Comprehensive institutions should form the opposite pole with significant research capacities, a focus on the production of knowledge as well as on the education of future high-skills workers in an excellently equipped postgraduate training area. The category of extensive master's and limited doctoral institution was supposed to be in between the two: better equipped than the bedrock institutions with far reaching programme offers on the master's level, though with limited research resources (ibid: 36ff). In that context, one of the central proposals of the report was to combine institutions against the backdrop of a decline in enrolments as well as limited financial and human resources (ibid: 47), so that the absolute number of HEIs would be reduced (ibid: 9).[243]

[243] The feedback to this report was extremely controversial. The technikons supported the approach "because it would facilitate more effective responses from institutions to the various social needs of the country" (quoted from Kraak 2004: 263). The South African Universities Vice-Chancellors Association (SAUVCA) criticized most of all two points. On the one hand, there were serious concerns that the racial differentiation of the apartheid era would

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Processes of globalization are similarly referred to as in the predecessor documents. It is most of all South Africa's entrance into the global arena, and to "proactively participate in a highly competitive global economy" (CHE 2000: 12) that are mentioned. In order to reach that goal, "globally equivalent skills" (ibid: 13) were deemed necessary as was the participation in "international communication systems" (ibid: 21). Higher education institutions, so the report, are the places where the knowledge necessary for a successful involvement in a globalized economy is generated and which contribute to the development of so-called knowledge societies (ibid: 26). As in the documents preceding the Size and Shape report, the challenges of the global condition are confronted with the transformation efforts of a society in transition.

References to other countries appear in the report under the headline "Key Characteristics of Public Higher Education". With a view to the viability of institutions, examples from Australia and the UK are cited, in particular how these countries calculate quantitatively which institution may be recognized as a university (CHE 2000: 35). The higher education systems of Australia and New Zealand (ibid.) are suggested as reference points regarding how to possibly measure institutions' research involvement. On the size of higher education systems worldwide, the participation rates of the United States of America, OECD countries, and middle and low income countries are contrasted with South African reality. Apart from the general remark that "[n]o country has succeeded in generating sustainable socio-economic development without long-term investment in human resource development" (ibid: 29), no further international referencing occurs in the CHE's Size and Shape report. Under the headline "Higher Education, Economic Growth and Development", Manuel Castells is again cited (with the same quote that had already been included in the NCHE's final report[244]) as are the Brazilian President Fernando Cardoso[245] and John Douglass[246] (ibid: 26ff).

What must be stressed is an increasing focus on international collaboration, mobility and exchange. The report draws the conclusion that "South Africa is not focusing sufficiently on promoting its higher education system internationally" and suggests that "[a]n appropriate framework and infrastructure that draws in various relevant government departments should be created for this purpose and internationalisation should be promoted" (ibid: 46). It emphasizes "[l]ong-term relationships through higher education contact" (ibid: 38), the potential of international students for income generating purposes and by enrolling African students, "giving expression to our commitment to African development and the African renaissance" (ibid: 46).

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be replicated with such an approach, on the other hand did the proposed breakdown clash with the goal to establish a single coordinated higher education system (SAUVCA's Response to the CHE's Report 2000).

[244] "If knowledge is the electricity of the new informational international economy, then institutions of higher education are the power sources on which a new development process must rely" (Castells 1993, quoted from CHE 2000: 26).

[245] "Those countries that cannot gain access to knowledge and information technologies will continue to be dominated by countries that can adapt to its demands. Unequal access to knowledge and power reinforces inequality both globally and within countries. In the words of Brazilian President Fernando Cardoso, these countries will 'not even be considered worth the trouble of exploitation, they will become inconsequential, of no interest to the developing globalised economy" (CHE 2000: 26).

[246] "As the global economy becomes more competitive, those states and nations that invest the most time and energy in expanding and nurturing their higher education systems, will likely be the big winners of tomorrow" (CHE 2000: 28).

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Both documents, the CHE's Size and Shape report as well as the soon to follow National Plan on Higher Education (NPHE) would finally put an end to symbolic policy making with the declared intention to break with the past, to address the implementation vacuum and to pave the way for concrete guidelines for implementation and resource allocation.

The National Plan on Higher Education and the National Working Group

In March 2001, the National Plan on Higher Education (NPHE) was released, whose evolution had been foreseen by the White Paper 3. The overall responsibility for its coming into existence was with Ahmed Essop, Chief Director of the Higher Education Planning and Coordination in the DoE (1997–2005), who was writing the plan with assistance from Ian Bunting, professor at UCT, Angina Parekh with an academic and administrative background from the former University of Durban-Westville and study experiences in the USA, and Erica Gillard, Planning Coordinator at UCT during the 1990s – all of them South Africans.[247] The NPHE was also a response to the CHE's Size and Shape report. The six sections[248] of the 90 page document formed the framework as well as the mechanisms for the implementation and realization of the political goals developed in the White Paper 3, with the provision of context, the definition of outcomes and the presentation of strategies at its core. The NPHE reacted to the missing implementation and the policy vacuum as well as to unintended consequences since the release of the White Paper 3. These were, first and foremost, the competition of public higher education institutions in South Africa for students, in the context of a growing private sector and in a situation where the number of first year students as well as state resources were declining (RSA NPHE 2001: Section 1). These developments had resulted in further fragmentation and aggravating inequalities in the system (ibid.) as well as, according to the CHE, in

> "lack of institutional focus and mission incoherence, rampant and even destructive competition in which historically advantaged institutions could reinforce their inherited privileges; unwarranted duplication of activities and programmes; exclusive focus on 'only' paying programmes; excessive marketisation and commodification with little attention to social and educational goals; and insufficient attention to quality" (CHE 2000: 17f).

The main focus of the NPHE was on raising the number of graduations within the next five years, which would be inevitable for the social and economic development of South Africa. Further goals the plan envisaged were the promotion of equity and diversity, the promotion of research as well as the restructuring of the higher education landscape. The report especially elaborated on two sectors that had not been addressed adequately in previous policy papers: institutional differentiation via the differentiation of missions, academic offerings and the development of niche areas (and not with regard to the rigid trinary divide that was recommended by the CHE report [CHE 2000]), under the provisional retention of the binary structure, as well as an increase in efficiency through the amalgamation of institutions. With

[247] Discussion with Ahmed Essop (October 2013).
[248] These are: 1. Introduction, 2. Producing the Graduates Needed for Social and Economic Development in South Africa; 3. Achieving Equity in the South African Higher Education System; 4. Achieving Diversity in the South African Higher Education System; 5. Sustaining and Promoting Research; 6. Restructuring the Institutional Landscape of the Higher Education System.

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the latter point, it followed the general recommendations of the Council on Higher Education around combining institutions, e.g. through mergers.[249]

The NPHE highlights the quality imperative in higher education and the foundation of the Higher Education Quality Committee (HEQC) (RSA NPHE 2001: Section 2), since 2002 one of the CHE's independent standing committees tasked with the promotion of quality assurance, audits of the quality assurance mechanisms at the individuals HEIs as well as with programme accreditation at the HEIs (HEQC 2001). The NPHE also confirmed incentive-based funding tied to results as steering mechanism for South African higher education, as proposed by the NCHE as well as by the White Paper 3 (RSA NPHE 2001: Section 1).[250]

The NPHE signaled anew that the government would take over the leading role in the transformation process. In addressing this issue, the NPHE elaborates:

> "[T]he Ministry will not […] hesitate in certain limited circumstances to intervene directly in the higher education system in order to ensure stability and sustainability […] Equally, the Ministry will not hesitate to intervene to ensure the implementation of national policy and transformation goals should this prove necessary […] The Ministry is acutely aware of the delicate balance that requires to be maintained between institutional autonomy and public accountability. It is committed to maintaining this balance. The Ministry believes that the solution to finding the appropriate balance must be determined in the context of our history and our future needs. The Ministry will not however, allow institutional autonomy to be used as a weapon to prevent change and transformation" (RSA NPHE 2001: Section 1).

The interests of the state were in competition with the power of individual institutions and their institutional self-interests; voluntary changes in some institutions were not to be expected to the politically desired extent. The last phrase of the previous citation was thus directed against those HEIs, which were resisting the transformation line of government, which were not open for real collaboration (Kraak 2004: 271) and which had taken routes and developed initiatives that the state wanted to regulate. Institutional voluntarism, so the argumentation of the CHE, had not resulted in transformation, which had led to the renunciation of the state from the cooperative governance model (du Toit 2007: 107f).

Also the NPHE echoed Castells' quote from the World Bank publication "Improving Higher Education in Developing Countries" (Ransom, Khoo and Selvaratnamabout 1993) on the link between an "information international economy" and the role that is played by HEIs to nurture and sustain that economy (RSA NPHE 2001: Section 1). This shows that the ideas about the international knowledge society had remained unchanged since the release of the NCHE final report, where this quote had first been utilized, to show the interaction between

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[249] The rationales that went along with the merger process, as outlined in the CHE Size and Shape report (2000: 58f) and in the NPHE (RSA NPHE 2001: Section 6), were enhancing access and equity, enabling economies of scale through more efficient uses of facilities and human resources at multi-purpose institutions. Mergers could, furthermore, help to overcome dysfunctionalities regarding student numbers, income and expenditure patterns as well as management capacities; and they could help transcending an institution's past through creating new identities and cultures. Thus, one of the major official goals was overcoming the apartheid legacy.

[250] Goal-oriented funding was introduced in the year 2005 as part of the new funding formula. So-called block grants formed the basic resource allocation from the state to the HEIs. The block grants are rooted in enrolment figures, throughput rates as well as research outputs. In addition, the so-called earmarked grants contain, for example, the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) and funding for the implementation of development programmes for students. Analyses of the old and new funding formulae are provided by Pillay (2004), Steyn and de Villiers (2006) and de Villiers and Steyn (2007). The "redress" aspect is addressed in particular by Moja and Hayward (2005) and Barnes (2006).

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knowledge and economy in a "global environment" (ibid.). In referring to the White Paper 3 and the role of higher education and its challenges as developed there, the NPHE goes:

> "These challenges have to be understood in the context of the impact on higher education systems world-wide of the changes associated with the phenomenon of globalisation. The onset of the 21st century has brought in its wake changes in social, cultural and economic relations spawned by the revolution in information and communications technology. The impact of these changes on the way in which societies are organised is likely to be as far-reaching and fundamental as the changes wrought by the industrial revolution in the 18th century. At the centre of these changes is the notion that in the 21st century, knowledge and the processing of information will be the key driving forces for wealth creation and thus social and economic development." (RSA NPHE 2001: Section 1)

It is thus the level of participation in higher education and "professionals and knowledge workers with globally equivalent skills" (ibid.) and the participation in the production of globally relevant knowledge through a "national research system" (ibid: Section 5) that are the key to a successful economic performance – and this relation can be observed internationally (ibid: Section 1, Section 2). It is in this context that the World Bank Study Higher Education in Developing Countries: Perils and Promise (2000), which had changed World Bank thinking on the contribution of higher education towards development, is cited on world-wide participation rates in higher education, indicating that South Africa is far behind also other middle-income countries (ibid: Section 2).

The NPHE sections that deal with private higher education refer to international providers that had shown the greatest interest in establishing private HEIs in South Africa. These were institutions from Australia and the UK (RSA NPHE 2001: Section 4). Apart from that, no other countries are explicitly referred to by the document. However, also the NPHE extensively uses formulations such as "international experience", "international evidence" etc. as a strategy to make popular change. To give an example, also the NPHE, in advocating the merging of institutions, drew on international experiences as a means towards legitimizing its decision:

> "It should also be noted that the merging of higher education institutions is a global phenomenon driven by governments to enhance quality and to strengthen national higher education systems in the context of declining resources. The international experience also indicates that successful mergers in higher education are dependent on a variety of factors, not the least of which is the will, commitment and dedication of all parties to change." (RSA NPHE 2001: Section 6)

In that context, it also cited a paper from the Commonwealth Higher Education Management Service (CHEMS) on Learning Lessons from Mergers in Higher Education (Fielden and Markham 1999).

What was highlighted for the first time in the NPHE was the role of the SADC region and South Africa's membership in the regional economic organization. Interestingly enough, the National Plan recommended as a measure to increase the participation rate in higher education, amongst others, "that the participation rate should also be increased through [...] recruiting students from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries as

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part of the SADC Protocol on Education"[251] (RSA NPHE 2001: Executive Summary) – for postgraduate studies in particular (ibid: Section 2). This should also contribute to the human resource development in the SADC region (ibid.). With a view to subsidizing SADC students, the Ministry, according to the NPHE, had announced to treat them like South Africans (ibid.). The NPHE furthermore encouraged the increase in – especially postgraduate – students from the rest of the continent as well as from other developing countries in order to uplift the continent's research capacity. It stated that the Ministry was ready to also subsidize postgraduate students from Africa the same way as South Africans (RSA NPHE 2001: Section 5). In addition to this expression of regionalizing higher education, the NPHE makes further reference to the promotion of international collaboration. It recognized that the procedures for work permits and immigration had put a barrier to recruiting "international skills" to South Africa (RSA NPHE 2001: Section 3).

The NPHE, in conclusion, has outlined in detail how the change in South African higher education should be implemented. Minister Kader Asmal and the NPHE were clear that the plan is "not open for further consultation. [...] [T]he focus must now be firmly on implementation" (RSA NPHE 2001: Section 1). The Ministry thus ended a more than six years long consultative process, which had been "one of the most wide-ranging and all encompassing that has taken place anywhere in the world on higher education" (ibid.).

Cooper (2001: 9) noted that in contrast to earlier documents, which emphasized equity and redress, the NPHE had shifted its focus towards stressing the "efficiency and globalization and the knowledge economy", thus downplaying the former. Cooper argues that, as a result, "South African higher education policy is coming more into line with international higher education discourses about the "market university"" (ibid.). Others argued that the perceived change in discourse resulted from the ANC's macro-economic strategy GEAR (Fataar 2002: 31, 37).

Directly after the passing of the NPHE, in April 2001, the government appointed another commission, which was charged with advising how to restructure the system and how to merge institutions, thus reducing their total number.[252] The proposals of the so-called National Working Group (NWG) favoured a binary system of universities and technikons and introduced a new category, so-called comprehensive universities. Comprehensive universities would be those institutions that would evolve out of a merging process of universities and technikons. Comprehensive universities would be predominantly teaching oriented and would award degrees up to the PhD level (RSA NWG 2002: 5). The NWG report also included concrete recommendations for all of the South African Provinces how to reduce the number of institutions and how to rationalise programme development and delivery.[253] The report evoked hostile reactions, especially among the management of higher

[251] The protocol, signed in 1997 by members of the regional economic organization SADC (South African Development Community), encouraged students to study at the universities of SADC members on the same conditions as national students (SADC 1997: Article 7: 7).

[252] Members of the Commission were Saki Macozoma (Chairperson), an ex-convict and ANC member of parliament, Gill Marcus (Deputy Chairperson), Hugh Africa, Jairam Reddy, Malegapuru Makgoba, Hennie Rossouw, Murphy Morobe, Stuart Saunders, Wiseman Nkuhlu, Joyce Phekane, Maria Ramos (RSA NWG 2002: 3).

[253] With a view to Stellenbosch University, for example, the report recommended the merging of SU's dentistry school with that of the University of Western Cape into one institution (RSA NWG 2002: 53). This merger did

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education institutions (Kraak 2004: 272). A major fear was that the voice of the historically disadvantaged institutions would be downplayed or even eliminated through mergers (ibid.). Minister Kader Asmal, however, accepted the proposals made by the Working Group. He instigated the reduction of HEIs from 36 to 23 without, however, reducing the number of learning sites (Kraak 2004: 272).[254]

The years after the release of the National Plan on Higher Education have seen a period of stabilization and implementation, especially under the Minister of Education Naledi Pandor (2004–2009). She was succeeded by Blade Nzimande, who became Minister of the in 2009 newly established Department for Higher Education and Training (DHET). Over time, the merger process was carried out, and the implementation of a system of quality assurance had taken place, with programme accreditation and first institutional audits. The new funding formula had been developed and introduced in 2005, and the planning approach, as advocated by the NPHE, was put in place. Since then, no major policies encompassing the whole higher education sector were developed.

6.5 The Size and Shape of Higher Education in 2010

In 2010 the system consisted of 23 public universities, among which there were eleven universities, six comprehensive universities and six universities of technology.[255] According to the CHE[256], these institutions had serviced a total of 892.936 students in 2010, 726.882 on the undergraduate and 138.610 on the postgraduate level. The HEIs produced a total of 153.741 qualifications at all levels, with the distribution according to subjects as follows: Human and Social Sciences: 48.5 percent; Business and Commerce: 27.2 percent and Science and Technology: 24.3 percent. Among the total of qualifications, there were 8.618 master's and 1.423 doctoral degrees.[257] 46.579 academic staff members were employed at the public HEIs.[258] A survey on the private institutions, conducted by the CHE at the end of 2010, with a response of 94 private providers operating in South Africa (out of a total of then

materialize, and the new dentistry school is located at UWC. Apart from the dentistry school, SU was the only Afrikaans HWU that finally did not merge with a weaker institution. However, the researcher was told during interviews that there had been rumours that the UWC and SU campuses should be merged and that there had existed draft documents. According to one discussion, SU deans had been rather open to such a process, it would have been an opportunity to get rid of the legacies of the past earlier by better representing the South African population in terms of numbers and statistics. It was UWC, according to this interviewee (Interview 22, 2011), that had a very strong standing against the idea, which finally did not make it into the recommendations of the NWG.

[254] A comprehensive and critical analysis of the merger process in South Africa coupled with case studies from merged institutions is provided by Jansen and Bandi (2002).

[255] At the time of writing (2013), two further HEIs were about to be established.

[256] See http://www.che.ac.za/media_and_publications/monitoring-and-evaluation/higher-education-south-africa-data-2010 [retrieved 18 September 2013].

[257] The master's and doctoral degrees awarded at South African HEIs had soared to 9.699 and 1.587 in 2011 (see http://www.che.ac.za/media_and_publications/monitoring-and-evaluation/higher-education-south-africa-data-2011 [retrieved 18 September 2013]).

[258] See http://www.che.ac.za/media_and_publications/monitoring-and-evaluation/higher-education-south-africa-data-2010 [retrieved 18 September 2013].

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close to 110 registered and provisionally registered institutions[259]) revealed 94.487 headcount enrolments (not audited).[260]

However, in spite of some positive quantitative effects of the reforms (better access and opportunities for black students and women, a general increase in enrolments at the undergraduate as well as at the doctoral level, a moderate increase in graduations as well as growing research outputs [CHE 2012]), the high expectations that accompanied the transformation process in higher education and the goals set up by the White Paper 3 and further developed in the NPHE could only be partially fulfilled. Until 2010, the old fragmentation of the system, the white male dominance, especially among senior academics, and the under-representation of women and African students in some scientific fields continued to exist (ibid.). The poor academic preparedness of many school leavers remained a burning issue that kept universities busy with organizing support services for first year students. According to a 2013 CHE report, an alarmingly low percentage of black and coloured students (less than five percent) graduated from university, and it was estimated that more than 50 percent of those entering universities never completed their studies (CHE 2013: 15). Even though access to tertiary education could be improved, the high drop-out and low completion rates overshadowed these gains, and the inefficiency of the system persisted. Besides, South Africa was struggling to increase the overall participation rate of the 20 to 24 years cohort of the general population, following the UNESCO standard. It had remained almost constant at around 15 percent throughout the first decade of the 2000s (Cloete and Moja 2005: 698), in 2010 it was up to 18 percent and in 2011 back to 17 percent (CHE 2012: 3)[261]. The goal was to increase the participation rate to 20 percent within 10 to 15 years after the release of the NPHE in 2001. The 23 universities in South Africa were still deeply divided in terms of material resources, research capacity and academic credibility (Green Paper 2012: 11): “While our leading universities are internationally respected, our historically black universities continue to face severe financial, human, infrastructure and other resource constraints.” According to Ahmed Essop, at the time of interviewing CEO of the CHE, many of the challenges continued to be the same as during the period of policy preparation and writing (Interview, 2011).

The South African higher education sector was still exposed to enormous internal challenges of transformation and overcoming the inequalities of the past. Because of the pursuit of the national agenda and the national goals, the South African state still considered it important to play a significant regulatory steering role. In January 2012, the South African government had published a Green Paper for Post-School Education and Training, which made way for discussing the expansion of the sector by further education and training colleges (IEASA 2012: 14; RSA Green Paper 2012), to create alternative educational paths for South African youths in order to lift the burden from the public HEIs of incredibly high numbers of school

[259] See http://www.che.ac.za/media_and_publications/monitoring-and-evaluation/higher-education-south-africa-data-2008 [retrieved 18 September 2013].
[260] See http://www.che.ac.za/media_and_publications/monitoring-and-evaluation/higher-education-south-africa-data-2010 [retrieved 18 September 2013].
[261] Among white students the participation rate was 57 percent, for Indian students 46 percent, for Coloureds 15 percent and for African students 14 percent (CHE 2012: 3).

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leavers that aim to continue with tertiary education. It remains to be seen into what direction the process will shift.

6.6 The Internationalization of South African Higher Education and Science

As we have seen from the discussion of the key documents in restructuring South Africa's higher education sector between 1990 and the beginning of the 2000s, the promotion of international collaboration and mobility initially did not play a major role. Bits and pieces of the topic appeared in the NCHE final report (1996), however, in a marginal position[262]. International cooperation and networking were emphasized again much later in the Council of Higher Education's Size and Shape document (CHE 2000).[263] It was only with the publication of the NPHE in 2001 international collaboration, especially on the African continent and most of all in the SADC region, received a major push.[264] It can thus be concluded that the transformation of South African higher education had to address local South African problems and challenges resulting from the apartheid history first and foremost and that internationalization became an add-on after the sector had been stabilized; it did, however, not constitute a necessity.

Scholars and institutions that have analysed the phenomenon of internationalization in post-1990 South Africa agree that a coherent national South African policy on internationalization did not exist (Rouhani and Kishun 2004; CHE 2004; Rouhani 2007; Jansen et al. 2008; IEASA 2011; RSA Green Paper 2012), e.g. regarding immigration regulations for foreign nationals by the Department of Home Affairs or regarding the government subsidizing international students (Rouhani and Kishun 2004: 238; discussions with Gert Steyn and Robert Kotzé, August and October 2013). Internationalization had been "handled on an ad hoc basis: with no long-term vision or strategic considerations" (Rouhani 2007: 473) and was thus pursued as a decentralized process. Despite the absence of a national policy framework, all South African HEIs had dealt with internationalization in one way or another, which was also represented in institutional mission and vision statements (Jansen et al. 2008: 396f) and which can be read as an expression of a high degree of institutional autonomy (du Toit 2007: 107). And that internationalization had been considered important already in the 1990s is manifested in the establishment of IEASA in 1997, the International Education Association South Africa (Kishun 2007: 456). What varied on the institutional level was the extent of policy direction, of how processes and guidelines for the different expressions and elements of internationalization had been developed, institutionalized and implemented on the institutional level, which largely depended on the financial situation of the individual HEIs as well as on the administrative capacity (Jansen et al. 2008: 390, 395f). Maharaj (2011: 47), for example, observed that the "old" and established South African universities displayed a higher degree of internationalization with respect to international students and staff than those HEIs created as a result of the merger process at the beginning of the 2000s. Internationalization, as a consequence, had been differently understood and promoted at public South African universities.

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[262] See Chapter 6.3.1 on the National Commission on Higher Education.
[263] See Chapter 6.4.1 on the CHE's Size and Shape Report.
[264] See Chapter 6.4.2 on the National Plan on Higher Education.

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Following the works of Jane Knight, internationalization is usually promoted for various reasons (Knight 2004). Drawing on her works, Jansen et al. (2008: 390) highlight that for South Africa the rationales include 1) overcoming the isolation of the apartheid years; 2) aspiring after compliance with international best practice, globally accepted norms and standards; 3) developing human resources and building capacity; 4) producing knowledge through research and development and 5) developing the region and the continent. According to this group of authors, other rationales, such as "economic rationales linked to market orientation and privatization [...] or socio-cultural rationales" (Jansen et al. 2008: 390), were less pronounced in South Africa than in other countries. South Africa's refusal to sign the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) is an indicator, at least on the surface, for the former (Kishun 2007: 459). Yet, the picture appears to be a little different at the level of individual universities. The diversification of institutional income, for example, was an important rationale for internationalizing Stellenbosch University, as will be shown later.

Jansen et al. (2008: 399), furthermore, observed that some activities and practices in the realm of internationalization were not given the same priority as in other countries. Study abroad for domestic students, area studies programmes as well as internationalized curricula or the establishment of transnational universities and branch campuses were not that common[265]. The focus was rather on international agreements and contracts, both on the institutional as well as on the national level[266], on the mobility of (mostly graduate) students and staff as well as on the development of the region and the continent.

From their analysis of international agreements on the national as well as on the level of selected HEIs, Jansen et al. (2008: 403) came to the conclusion that the majority of partnerships were run with European institutions, followed by US institutions and, therefore, represented historical ties as well as after 1994 the patterns of economic trade relations (Sehoole 2006: 10f). In contrast to the prominent role of Africa, as represented in mission and vision statements, and the national policy goal of contributing to the region's development, Africa was, however, rather under-represented among the collaborative partnerships as of 2008 (Jansen et al. 2008: 403).

A look on the international student development at South Africa's public HEIs shows that the percentage of international students among the total student body had remained largely

[265] After South Africa's entry into a democratic dispensation, the international interest in establishing private higher education in South Africa and the demand for internationally accepted qualifications were immediately there. However, as the South African state perceived these contributors as lowering national quality standards it enacted strict regulations through the Higher Education Act (1997) and the Regulations for the Registration of Private Higher Education Institutions (2002) and in particular through statutory Council for Higher Education (CHE) and its standing Higher Education Quality Committee (HEQC). Registration, accreditation and quality systems came into being (Naidoo et al. 2007: 72). As a result, the number of private providers went down again. Only four transnational providers were entitled to operate in South Africa: Bond University (closed in 2004), Monash University (both Australia), the Business School of the Netherlands, and De Monfort University (UK) (which also closed its South African campus in 2004) (Jansen et al. 2008: 415). In July 2011, there was a total of 114 private providers operating in South Africa; in 2007 the applications for getting registered had outnumbered 440 (IEASA 2011: 18). Monash University, for example, is Australia's largest university and a large provider of transnational education with a considerable number of enrolled students at its campuses in partnering countries, e.g. Malaysia, Hong Kong and Singapore. Monash had received permission by the South African government to establish a South African campus in 2001 (McBurnie 2000: 23).

[266] Bilateral intergovernmental agreements in 2008 had been signed with 15 countries: China, Egypt, Belgium, France, Germany, Hungary, India, Italy, Namibia, Norway, Poland, Russia, Sweden, the United States and Zimbabwe (Jansen et al. 2008: 401).

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constant in the first decade of the 2000s: between 7 and 7.5 percent (IEASA 2011: 9). However, in absolute terms the figure went up from 12.600 international students in 1994 to 33.149 in 2000 and 66.794 in 2010 (ibid.). This shows that the relative growth in international students was about as high as the general growth in students, which confirms international trends in higher education[267]. Approximately a quarter of them were postgraduate students. South Africa was internationally ranked among the ten major host countries in the world (UNESCO 2009: 36f). These figures, provided by the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET), make clear that among international students those from Africa formed the large majority (2000: 25.581; 2010: 57.482). Among the African students was a large share of SADC country origin (2000: 21.318; 2010: 46.496) – in 2010 with a majority from conflict-ridden Zimbabwe, followed by Namibia and Botswana (IEASA 2011: 9). Graduations of international students amounted to 12.452 in 2010; 8.922 were of SADC country origin (and another 2.079 from the rest of the African continent) (CHE 2012: 5). This trend was in line with the national South African development goals. It reflected its involvement in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and its Protocol on Education and Training, according to which the mobility of staff and students within the SADC region should be encouraged (SADC 1997: Article 7: 7), as well as the content of the NPHE, which also encouraged recruitment from the SADC region (NPHE 2001: Executive Summary).

Breaking the figures down according to HEI reveals that they differed tremendously with respect to the percentage of international students as part of the whole student body. In 2005, for which Jansen et al. (2008) have provided a detailed overview, Rhodes University (26.5 percent) and UCT (22.4 percent) ranged on top. At the lower end of the scale were the Mangosuthu Technikon (1.4 percent) and the University of Venda (0.8 percent). Looking at international students in absolute terms, the list was topped by South Africa's distance institution, the University of South Africa (18.442 international students), followed by UCT (4.860) and North-West University (3.278). Mangosuthu and Venda formed the bottom of the list (Jansen et al. 2008: 406). This finding was largely confirmed by IEASA for the year 2010 (IEASA 2011: 9). The distribution of international students between different South African HEIs thus indicates different degrees of attraction to foreign students and different degrees of capacity, still reflecting the institutions' apartheid history.

With a view to overseas persons at South African HEIs, Maharaj's article on the "Patterns of academic inflow into the South African higher education system" (2011) gives some indications. Drawing on the DHET's Higher Education Management Information Systems Database, she observed an increase in foreign academics at all public South African institutions between 2000 and 2008, from 2.546 between 2000 and 2002 to 3.167 between 2006 and 2008. With a total of 41.738 academic staff employed by South African HEIs in 2008[268], the share of international academics was about 13 percent. Among them, a majority of more than 40 percent was of European origin (2005 to 2008), followed by Zimbabweans (20 percent), other African nationalities (30), Asians (6) and Australians (2). UCT was found at the top of the recipient universities, with a total of 833 foreign academics employed by the

[267] See also Chapter 4.2 on international mobility patterns in academia.
[268] See http://www.che.ac.za/media_and_publications/monitoring-and-evaluation/higher-education-south-africa-data-2008 [retrieved 18 September 2013].

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University between 2005 and 2008. It was followed by the University of the Witwatersrand, the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal, Pretoria and Rhodes (ibid: 45f). While students from Africa had the largest share in South Africa's international students, Africans only formed the second largest group among international academics.

Another indicator of South Africa's internationalization in the field of higher education and science is the extent to which research is carried out internationally and is internationally visible. The works of Johann Mouton are enlightening in that regard. Mouton, for example, studied publication trends in local South African and foreign journals, trends in international co-authorship activities and their impact, and thus the international visibility of the Social Sciences in South Africa. According to his data analysis, a general increase in international collaboration in the Social Sciences could be found. The number of co-authored papers (including at least one non-South African author), for example, had significantly increased between the period 1990 to 1992 and the period 2000 and 2004, starting, however, from a low point of departure of less than three percent to less than ten percent (ibid: 252)[269]. Furthermore, the number of co-authored papers represented in the Citation Indexes of the Institute of Scientific Information (ISI) – either from two South African institutions or with at least one foreign author – is evidence of an increase in national as well as international collaboration (ibid: 255). Also the impact of these papers, according to the field-normalized citation score, reveals a growing internationalization of the Social Sciences in South Africa (ibid: 257). What the increasing aspiration of publishing in internationally prestigious journals outside of South Africa does to the research of local problems is yet another question.

Rouhani (2007: 474f) argued that the process of internationalization in South Africa went through different phases: early euphoria, reactive phase, formative, consolidative, competitive and regulatory phase. It was during the formative phase, and thus paralleling policy development for the transformation of higher education after 1990, that the International Education Association of South Africa (IEASA) was founded in 1997. It had since been instrumental in promoting internationalization in South Africa and in developing a vision for international collaboration and mobility even though that engagement had not resulted in formally binding regulations. This was, according to Rouhani (2007), expected for the regulatory phase, during which the government could provide minimum standards applicable to the whole sector and – important in the South African context – to enable all HEIs to partake in processes of internationalization, regardless of their financial standing. With the 2012 Green Paper on Higher Education and Training, the government recognized the many expressions and forms of internationalization in higher education as a reflection of globalization (RSA Green Paper 2012: 51) and proposed the writing of a national internationalization policy (ibid: 53). However, as IEASA (2012: 9) knew to report, such a policy had already been debated for quite some time, yet without significant outcomes.[270]

[269] See also Chapter 5.2.4 on the publications by the social scientists of Stellenbosch University.

[270] The DHET and its international office proposed the following activities in the 2012/2013 Annual Performance Plan and Budget: to develop and approve an International Relations Operational Framework Strategy for implementation; to develop and implement plans with priority countries and multilateral agencies; to produce a publication on international cooperation; to maintain a database on international activities of all public post-school institutions. See http://www.pmg.org.za/report/20120509-department-higher-education-and-training-their-strategic-plan-and-bud [retrieved 18 September 2013].

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Comparing the internationalization trajectory of South Africa with that of Germany and the USA, Rouhani (2007: 475) draws the conclusion that South Africa had been a latecomer in international education. While this may be true for a large scale process of internationalization on the national level after the demise of the apartheid regime, the author begs to doubt that this is true for the whole South African higher education landscape. Given the findings of this study for the period prior to 1990 and the elements and many instances of internationalization that were presented for Stellenbosch University (see Chapter 5.2.4), this argument must at the very least be challenged and put into context. To shed light on internationalizing SU and related policy developments after 1990 will be the aim of Part IV of this study.

6.7 Conclusion: University Politics in South Africa under the Impact of Societal Transformation and Global Processes

Societal transformation after the demise of the apartheid state in South Africa formed the context in which the country's higher education system had to be reconstructed. South Africa had to free itself from what was perceived as an international isolation during the apartheid era, resulting from the international boycotts against the country. After 1990 South Africa officially re-entered the global arena, and it had to find new ways to perform in the global economy. Instead of a gradual development, the country embarked on an enormous effort to accelerate policy development in the field of higher education. Higher education reconstruction, in comparison to other post-revolutionary scenarios, happened within a short period, with a new legislation, the Higher Education Act of 1997, being passed only three years after the first democratic elections in the country in 1994. It was initially assumed by the author that the urgency to quickly come up with a new framework for higher education was due to intensifying processes of globalization and the perceived pressures on the nation-state to re-enter the international arena as an acknowledged competitive economic player. This hypothesis, according to the results of this research, however, is only partly true. There were, first and foremost, internal, local South African necessities that made quick action indispensable. They concerned inequality and racism, the perceived inefficiency of the higher education system and related high costs as well as pressures from the individual HEIs in a situation of high uncertainty. The fact that the Education Minister Bengu reduced the available time of the National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE) while it was about to deliver its work has well illustrated the point.[271] In addition to the local – and this is an obvious reflection of globalization processes – there was a huge international interest in South Africa quickly becoming a model state for countries in transition. This interest was mirrored in large-scale foreign financial support and in a number of (sent and invited) foreign advisers in the policy development processes throughout the 1990s. Transnational reasons for the pace of policy development after 1994 thus went along with national ones.

Six documents from the policy development process in higher education throughout the 1990s and early 2000s have been analysed in this chapter. They included the ANC Policy Framework (1994), the final report of the National Commission on Higher Education (1996),

[271] See Chapter 6.3.1 on the National Commission on Higher Education.

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the Green Paper (1996) and White Paper 3 on Higher Education (1997) as well as the CHE's Size and Shape report (2000) and the National Plan on Higher Education (2001). Their analysis was guided by the following questions: How was the global referred to in the documents? How did South Africa react to international developments in higher education: Which models from which countries and which time periods were explicitly cited and to what extent did such external referencing legitimize particular reform processes? What role did international advisers and internationally experienced South Africans play in the formulation of policy? And finally, to what extent was the internationalization of higher education promoted?

What has been shown is that the phenomenon of globalization, translated as the intensification of different kinds of relations on a global scale, had been addressed by all documents with the exception of the ANC's Policy Framework (1994). The ANC document (1994) did not use the term "globalization" explicitly, but it nevertheless referred to the "world-wide advance in knowledge and skills", to the "world economy and universal knowledge base", the "world market" and "the context of a rapidly changing and dynamic global economy and society" (ANC 1994: Part 1, Chapter 3; Part 2, Chapter 4; Part 3, Chapter 6; Part 4, Chapter 13). Hence, already the ANC document was in line with competitive thinking. As the Green Paper and the White Paper 3 were to a considerable extent rooted in the findings of the independent National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE), all three documents were akin in their conceptualization of globalization. As both the CHE Size and Shape report (2000) as well as the National Plan on Higher Education (2001) used the White Paper 3 as point of departure, they repeated the links between processes of globalization and higher education. All five documents located South Africa's transformation in a context of intensifying processes of globalization in an increasingly borderless world. In analysing the local South African higher education system and in proposing measures and strategies for its reconstruction, the global was omnipresent. In all documents, South African development, economic growth and international competitiveness were among the main motives for reforming and modernizing the higher education sector. The link between higher education as the supply side of skilled people and relevant research for participating and being competitive in the global knowledge society/economy had repeatedly been made. As such, the global was utilized along with the apartheid legacy for legitimizing the recommendations that were brought forward by the documents to restructure the higher education system. Thus, globalization with an economic imperative had provided the context in which this exercise had to be undertaken. This is a manifestation of the conviction of all role-players involved in policy development and the writing of national social policy that the theoretical notion of the nation-state as a closed container could not be maintained any more, that national borders had increasingly become permeable and transnational developments relentless and that state and society were part of this global condition and had to act accordingly. Jansen (2001: 166) concluded that post-1994, South Africa started voluntarily and actively to participate in processes of globalization; it was a conscious effort of the state to seek incorporation within this powerful discourse.

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Many have argued that over the years the major motive for change in South African higher education was no longer related primarily to increasing equity but to the financial and economic competitiveness of South Africa. From the documents, we have to conclude that equity at least rhetorically had played an important role as guiding principle throughout all six documents. The same goes for the economic implications of a good-working higher education system, which were addressed in all six documents under analysis. It is true that the economic imperatives and the call for efficiency became stronger throughout the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s. But this, the author argues, was less a result of the alleged influence of the international community and international consultants pushing South Africa in a certain direction (as, for example, Sehoole [2005: 139] has argued) but merely a result of a complex situation and a number of influences. They included, for example, South Africa's financial situation, the perceived waste of money through the higher education system as a consequence of the doubling of programmes, low retention and high failure rates, which reflected the inadequacy of secondary schooling. In the author's reading, the turn to international best practice, and Nash (2006: 5, 10) would even go further in saying the turn to the American model that had developed in the period after the Second World War, was South African made. It was encouraged by those individual actors who were exposed to international and global trends while they had been in exile, and they finally dominated over those who focused on internal South African challenges, on redress and equity only.

In addressing the second question, the analysis has unveiled that some of the discourses on and rationales for the transformation of higher education in South Africa were coloured by international rhetoric and models that had their origins outside of South Africa. In light of South Africa's international opening after years of suffering from the international boycotts and a certain form of isolation in the later years of the apartheid era, higher education should be reconstructed according to international "best practice" and "lessons learned". International trends in higher education were thus reflected by South African higher education policy in a number of aspects. External referencing and the argumentation with international experiences and standards in order to initiate reform processes first occurred in the NCHE final report (1996) and reappeared throughout the whole process of policy development and writing, yet to different extents. As a comprehensive framework, the NCHE report, in particular, is full of external references to other countries, and points to the set of alternatives. Positive as well as negative examples, from which South Africa could learn, were cited. The negative ones referred, most of all, to African neighbours and Eastern European experiences. The Green Paper (1996) and the White Paper 3 (1997) did not argue with specific country references (with one exception in the Green Paper from African and Latin American countries and their expansion of higher education systems without appropriate accompanying measures and investments that South Africa should avoid). Yet, as the content of both documents originated from the NCHE report and as the government had invited international consultants from Australia, Canada and the UK to advise in the process, the references had to be read between the lines. Concrete country examples in the CHE Size and Shape report (2000) and the NPHE (2001) were limited to a few examples from Australia, New Zealand and the UK. Taken all reference points together, the global

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North is the dominant reference. Only a limited number of references to some Asian, Latin American and African countries appear in the NCHE final report. Mostly – and this is true for all five documents subsequent to the ANC Policy Framework (1994) – no concrete country examples would follow. Only the indefinite expression "international evidence suggests", to name but one example, appeared as a rhetoric strategy to make the change in South Africa happen that elsewhere had proven successful, often irrespective of different historical legacies, political forces as well as a different fiscal basis.

The following policy outcomes represent examples of international trends. There was, for example, the introduction of the National Qualifications Framework (NQF) that can be traced back to the COSATU environment of the early 1990s and their close relations to the worker movement in Australia, as well as to similar debates in New Zealand, England and Scotland. The NQF had become one of the most important government reforms relevant to South Africa's attempt to catch up with international trends. It standardized university qualifications and ensured greater harmonization with cross-border qualifications. The same goes for the Quality Assurance Framework that South Africa had adopted from experiences in the Netherlands and Australia. It forms part of the new public management paradigm and its regime of accountability and assessment, which started in Europe in the 1980s with the UK, France and the Netherlands as pioneers (van Vught and Westerheijden 1994: 357). Another case concerns the implementation of teaching and learning strategies on the level of HEIs that were discussed and introduced in South Africa in the first half of the 2010s. According to Leibowitz and Adendorff (2007: 112), they can be traced back to the Netherlands, the USA, Australia and the UK. The three-year rolling plans as part of institutional strategic planning go back to the UK (van Wyk 2004: Chapter 4). These examples are strong indicators of South Africa's attempts to respond to international trends. They also apply to the establishment of a "coherent policy framework" and the creation of an "enabling regulatory environment", furthermore to the terms of funding higher education and of appointing academics as well as to contracting and the expansion of higher education. The same holds true for the themes of lifelong learning, South Africa's participation in the alleged knowledge society and the market ideology, an increasing dominance of the economic imperative, the merger process and not least the public debates about the role of universities in society (Jansen 2002: 205, 2004: 199, 2006: 17; Kraak 2004: 264; see also van Wyk 2004; World Bank 2002 83).

With regards to the third research question, the analysis revealed that it is impossible to ascribe the ideas to particular individuals, be they South Africans with certain international experiences or international experts that were sent or invited as consultants to accompany the policy development process. The use of foreign advisers had been common practice already in the early years of developing principles and values for policy development as there was a general "willingness to learn both from our mistakes and from the successes of others, whether in our region or internationally" (ANC 1994: Part 1, section 1; see also ANC 1994: Part 3, section 8). International researchers were involved in the different NCHE working groups to establish a broad knowledge base on current international trends in higher education in the world, with a focus on higher education systems from the West. Foreign advisers continued to be invited by the government to help with formulating the Green Paper

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(1996) and the White Paper 3 (1997), also because there was not enough expertise and policy writing experience in the Ministry yet. The CHE Size and Shape report had been largely written by South Africans representing different national stakeholders; it had, however, been financially supported by USAID with one American being specifically highlighted in the report. USAID's contributions to the text, however, could in this research not be reconstructed. Similarly, the NPHE was composed by South Africans.

So, no evidence could be found for the argument that it was the foreign advisors and the international community that have influenced policy outcomes in South Africa (Sehoole 2005: 139), favouring the international jargon to the detriment of local approaches and thus inducing a shift in focus from the principles of equity and redress to economic imperatives. The statements of the former commissioners in the NCHE have demonstrated, in particular, that the writing process was finally in the hands of South Africans only and that they had a hard time in thinking about the broad picture and giving recommendations that would benefit the whole South African higher education sector. The commissioners interviewed for this research also made clear that it was the local problems and national challenges, first and foremost, that were in the focus of policy development. Values, principles and goals for the transformation of higher education had to be defined before procedures and implementation strategies were determined.

To respond to the last of the questions that were guiding the document analysis, internationalizing higher education in the form of promoting international mobility and collaboration were not yet on the agenda during the 1990s. International mobility and collaboration played a marginal role in the NCHE final report (1996) and were only addressed again by the CHE Size and Shape report (2000). The CHE report bemoaned that the internationalization of higher education had not been sufficiently promoted yet. It envisioned an increase of students from Africa in order to show responsibility for the region and income generation through internationalization. The NPHE (2001), in addition, brought the SADC region to the centre of attention, especially its potential to expand the South African system through increasing the share of African students. To that end, the Ministry had announced that SADC students would be treated like South African students in terms of the subsidy formula. Yet, up until the time of writing (2013), South Africa did not have a national internationalization policy for higher education with enabling structures for internationalization on the level of the nation-state. The Green Paper for Post-School Education and Training (2012) at least announced to soon change the situation. This could lead to the conclusion that internationalization on the national level is only consciously promoted when the higher education system is more or less stable; it is conceived as an "add-on" but not as the essence of higher education.

Summarizing the relation between the state and HEIs in South Africa, it can be concluded that the first decade after the end of apartheid was characterized by a steady rise of state control. The whole transformation of the higher education sector could be described as state-driven in policy formulation and implementation. Even though academic freedom has been guaranteed under the Constitution and institutional autonomy, being subject to public accountability, under the Higher Education Act, the state appeared as increasingly

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interventionist after the release of the White Paper 3 (1997). The above mentioned steering instruments (planning, funding and quality assurance) as well as the homogenous regulatory environment for higher education are clear indicators that the state reserved the right to intervene directly in higher education matters in order to influence the outcomes on behalf of (their reading of) the national interest and the national competitive capability while protecting the system against influences from outside, e.g. through the regulation of transnational providers of higher education. It thereby pushed the public HEIs to contribute to the process of nation-building. To speak of the deregulation of the whole higher education system in South Africa as a consequence of processes of globalization, as the literature has suggested (see Chapter 4.3), therefore, does not reflect South African reality. In the "spatial turn" language, this is an example of the nation-state aspiring after omnipotence over its territory in order to protect the nation-state in a potentially endangering situation of worldwide transnationalization. Islands of autonomy, such as individual HEIs, however, were tolerated to a certain extent. In South Africa, there was space for individual HEIs to follow their own agendas of addressing the challenges of transformation and transnationalization within the given framework of national legislation. The initial rudimentary status of the framework resulted in a growth in transnational engagements at some South African HEIs. In line with the documents that repeatedly referred to the keeping of research excellence and argued to not destroy what is working well, a certain form of transnationalization was tolerated at internationally successful research universities and, as such, transnationalization in order to protect the national. Muller, Maassen and Cloete (2004) conclude that many changes after 1994 happened on the institutional level before they were dealt with on the national level.

> "Given the rudimentary stage of policy evolution [...] it was, in practice, up to the higher education institutions themselves to interpret the policy innovations announced in and after 1994. Institutions were, however, not only attending to national government policy; they were also casting an eye on global developments. [...] A number of institutions transformed rapidly in the direction of a predominantly outward orientation." (Muller et al. 2004: 297)

What the presented developments in South African higher education from its origins in the 19th century to its transformation and transnationalization meant to an individual university and how much manoeuvring room existed in regards to internationalizing a university and approaching new forms of international collaboration on that level shall be looked at in the following Part IV of this study.

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PART IV: UNIVERSITY POLITICS IN THE CONTEXT OF TRANSFORMATION AND TRANSNATIONALIZATION: STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY BETWEEN NATIONAL OBLIGATION AND INTERNATIONAL ASPIRATION

The way higher education reform was approached on the national South African level has been shown in Part III of this dissertation. By means of a case study, it shall now be explored to what extent these general patterns are reflected, maybe even contradicted, on the level of an individual South African institution of higher education (HEI).

The following chapters thus constitute the main empirical part of this study. They will describe how Stellenbosch University (SU) and especially its management dealt with processes of globalization and international trends in higher education in a context of societal transformation in the period from 1990 to 2010. These chapters explore the extent to which the discourse on globalization and the references to international trends were utilized on the different levels of a university to initiate change. How change was managed, how this management was perceived by different institutional stakeholders (e.g. professors, students, administrators and managers) and what role a process of internationalization (and a beginning transnationalization) played in that regard will be the focus of this study.

An overview on the University's challenges with regard to institutional transformation and self-renewal between 1990 and 2010 will be given in Chapter 7, which shall be understood as an elaborated institutional background approaching the sections to come. This chapter will be organized along the terms in office of the Rectors and Vice Chancellors.[272] It will delineate the meandering of SU's management between attempts to protect the institution as an island of the Afrikaner people, national obligations and being relevant to society, being and becoming part of the African continent as well as efforts to reach global visibility by adapting the organization of the University and its core functions (research, teaching and service/knowledge transfer) to changing environments in a context of globalization. In so doing, it will identify SU's main rationales for internationalizing the University. Chapter 8 will specifically focus on the internationalization and transnationalization of the University and their development, formalization and institutionalization between 1990 and 2010. It will outline the coming into existence of the International Office and its approach towards internationalization. It will introduce the perspective of management on internationalization as well as that of individual academics. The chapter will thus demonstrate how internationalization has been conceptualized and understood on the various levels of the University. It will, furthermore, discuss the increasingly important role of Africa in SU's

[272] The author is aware that this is but one possibility to organize the chapter and the developments at SU in the period from 1990 to 2010. It has been preferred over alternative models of historical writing, such as "people's history" or history from below, also to illustrate the hierarchical top-down organizing principle which is so characteristic of SU (and many other South African universities), especially in the 1990s but lasting to a considerable extent until the end of the period under investigation. The position of the Rector is powerful, and the Rectors influenced all those aspects that are of interest for this dissertation research. In order to not create a one-sided picture of institutional development, the narration will be infused with material from the qualitative interviews conducted for this research. They comprise not only representatives of SU's management but also representatives of the faculties, of SU's administration as well as of the students.

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international relations. The role of Africa as represented in institutional strategies and official speeches will be confronted with selected statistics of SU's internationalization process, namely international students and staff, partnership agreements and collaborative projects.
Chapters 7 and 8 rely on a broad sweep of institutional documents and statistical information[273], newspaper articles as well as qualitative interviews. They were analysed in order to develop a chronological narrative of institutional developments at SU between 1990 and 2010 with a focus on institutional transformation, SU's international opening and a beginning transnationalization. Important developments beyond the period under investigation will be referred to in footnotes.

Stellenbosch University – Presentation of the Case
Stellenbosch University has been selected as a case, because it possesses a number of particular properties that do not necessarily follow the general patterns of higher education development in South Africa post 1990, as portrayed in Chapter 6. There is, firstly, the role SU has played as an exclusively white and Afrikaans institution at the heart of the apartheid establishment that resulted in its advantaged and well-resourced background. Secondly, SU in comparison to other South African universities started rather late to critically and officially deal with its institutional past and institutional transformation in the 1990s, including the role that Afrikaans as a language of tuition should play in the future of the University. And thirdly, according to a number of performance indicators, SU has developed quite successfully during the decades of the 1990s and the 2010s in terms of becoming a leading African research-intensive institution and by becoming internationally visible. SU is, therefore, a good example to study an institution of higher education in the field of tension between national higher education trends and challenges resulting from the South African apartheid past on the one hand and perceived international trends in higher education on the other and its institutional responses to these internal as well as external stress factors.
At the time of writing (2013), SU was a medium-sized and since 2010 multi-lingual (Afrikaans *and* English) public institution. With offerings in the Humanities, Natural Sciences, Engineering and Health Sciences, it is a broad-based university. Between 1990 and 2010, SU had developed into one of the top research universities in the country besides the University of Cape Town, the University of the Witwatersrand, the University of Pretoria and the University of KwaZulu-Natal. In 2010 there were more than 27.000 students enrolled at its five campuses and in its ten faculties.[274] The faculties were organized into departments,

[273] They include source material from the archive of the University (e.g. the minutes of decision making bodies, such as the Senate and the Council, on matters related to the internationalization of the University), institutional publications, such as brochures, flyers, annual reports, yearbooks, rector's speeches as well as sources provided by the International Office (IO) and the Postgraduate and International Office (PGIO), the Division for Institutional Research and Strategic Planning and the Division for Community Interaction.
[274] They cover Arts and Social Sciences; Agricultural and Forestry Sciences; Economic and Management Sciences; Education; Engineering; Health Sciences; Law; Military Sciences; Science; and Theology. Eight of the faculties are located at the Stellenbosch campus. The Faculty of Medical and Health Sciences is at the Tygerberg campus, the Faculty of Military Sciences is situated at Saldanha Bay, where the South African Defence Force is based, and SU's Business School can be found at Bellville Park campus. The fifth campus is in Worcester, where in 2012 the Ukwanda Rural Clinical School of the Faculty of Medical and Health Sciences was opened in order to give students of Medicine the opportunity to do their clinical training in a rural context.

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which were based on disciplines.[275] The student body in 2010 was comprised of more than 16.500 undergraduate students and more than 10.000 postgraduate students, among the latter more than 1.000 PhD students (SU Factbook 2011, Part 1: 15). In 2010 there were 891 academic staff and 1.864 support staff members (SU Fact Book 2011, Part 4: 16).

SU is one of the oldest South African HEIs. Its history goes back to the Theological Seminary of the Dutch Reformed Church, established in 1859, to the founding of the Stellenbosch Gymnasium in 1866, which was renamed Victoria College in 1887, and from which the University evolved in 1918. The institution originated to serve the Afrikaner people in a period when British imperialism dominated South Africa politically, culturally and linguistically. After the National Party ascended to power in 1948, the University was closely linked to the government and became an important intellectual and cultural home of the Afrikaner people. SU was the place where the intellectual origins of the apartheid policy had emerged, and it had helped to supply the intellectual elite that planned, developed and maintained the injustices of the past. Four of the six Prime Ministers, who served during the 40 years of Afrikaner dominance, plus a number of heads of state and Ministers of the apartheid establishment were educated in Stellenbosch. In the 1960s, under then Rector Hendrik B. Thom (Rector from 1953 to 1969), the University was understood as a "volksuniversiteit" ("people's university") with the promotion of the needs and the wellbeing of an ethnic minority, the Afrikaner people, as one of its main aims. For quite some time, according to the interpretation of the former Rector Chris Brink (2007: 17), the University's identity politics in terms of its service to the Afrikaner people and its close relation to the apartheid government were more important than academic matters. The University's self-image, therefore, is said to have developed within a self-referential system determining own standards in an insular and isolationist way and without much comparison with other institutions. "[T]he volksuniversiteit was a parochial teaching-based community college with little research activity of any significance" (ibid.) and with a focus on undergraduate teaching. At the same time, however, and this has been discussed for SU in previous chapters, many representatives of the intellectual elite during the apartheid era went to universities in Germany, the Netherlands, the UK and the USA, most often in order to do their PhD. Thus, they were exposed to international trends in higher education and brought back experiences from other academic systems, so that the insular and isolationist character was not as absolute as repeatedly mentioned in the literature (see also the findings in Chapter 5.2.4).[276] It was only when the academic boycott intensified at the end of the 1970s and during the 1980s, which led to South African professors and graduate students not being welcome any more at many universities outside South Africa, that their number had decreased.[277]

[275] Following the national trend subsequent to the adoption of the National Qualifications Framework (NQF) in 1996, SU had chosen a programme approach in its academic offerings to students, many of them cutting across the departmental structures.

[276] Stating that many of SU's professors got their PhDs at European, UK and American universities, however, is not unique to SU; this was true of almost all formerly white South African universities.

[277] A more detailed account, including figures of the internationalization of SU's professoriate prior to 1990, is provided in Chapter 5.2.4 on SU's internationalization during the apartheid era.

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SU played a critical role in the creation and maintenance of the apartheid system.[278] Therefore, it has quite some ideological and political baggage to carry, and it is still not at ease with its own past and its history of oppression. “Not many universities had such a bad standing. Even to this day SU is suffering from its apartheid legacy” (Interview 2, 2010). Since the early 2000s, the University is officially acknowledging this role. In the document “A Strategic Framework for the Turn of the Century and Beyond” (SU 2000) it is stated under the headline “Redress”: “The University acknowledges its contribution to the injustices of the past, and, therefore, commits itself to appropriate redress and development initiatives” (SU 2000: 16). Since 2002 so-called “courageous conversations” had been organized in order to face up SU’s role during apartheid and to reflect topics of continued concern, such as inacceptable discriminatory practices, from which a number of research projects emerged (SU Annual Report 2008: 13). However, besides efforts for redress through “achieving equity” and “a readiness to serve” (SU 2000: 16), the dealing with this part of history continued to remain only selective. One example, where this selectivity is well illustrated, was the official website of SU as of 2011. Under the headline “Some Historical Notes: A University in the Making” a relatively detailed description on the coming into existence of the institution in 1918 was only followed by “The decades since then have seen its student numbers grow fortyfold and more, from about 500 to some 22 000”[279] – just as if nothing of importance had happened during “the decades since then”. The final paragraph denotes the contributions the University has made and some of its developments:

> “The University, for its part, has been setting up new and adapting existing faculties, departments and other academic organs in response to the ongoing shifts and changes in the country's needs for student training. Thousands have studied at Stellenbosch and gone on from here to make a valuable contribution in practical life. Stellenbosch alumni fulfil an important part in numerous areas of society. Without them, South Africa today would be much the poorer.” (ibid.)

The observation of the leaving out of large parts of SU’s history and to officially stand at arms’ length from apartheid (as many Whites in South Africa do) was confirmed by a professor:

> “[…] this University does not want to be remembered as a university that has perpetuated an apartheid ideology. So, because you don’t want to be associated with that perception any longer, this University has decided to completely break with its apartheid legacy. So, the University has embarked, I would say, fairly non-controversially. […] I would expect more robust, more deliberative, more rigorous discussion and conversation.” (Interview 13, 2010)

Given SU’s recently hard-won international profile of academic success, this observation is comprehensible. It might be representative of the institutional uncertainty how to come to terms with recent history and to avoid that a “more rigorous discussion” affects its good reputation. It may also be read as expression of the difficulty to get an institution-wide agreement on how to handle the situation. It seems as if the University in 2010 only played with the extremes: On the one hand, it activated its tradition of being one of the oldest and most international universities on the African continent (but hushing up decades of its existence). On the other hand, it narrated a history of institutional success and reinvention

[278] See also Chapter 5.2.2 on the role of the universities in support of the apartheid system.
[279] See http://www.sun.ac.za/university/history/history.htm [retrieved 8 May 2011].

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after 1990. This is especially true for the glossy brochures the University has been publishing regularly, such as the official annual reports, but also for many of the rector's speeches. It certainly remains exciting to observe how the University with regard to its centenary anniversary in 2018 (or in 2016 for the 150 years of the foundation of the Stellenbosch Gymnasium that later became the Victoria College) will be dealing with its history and what types of conflict may emerge in that context.

Another dimension of recent developments at SU deserves special attention. This is the continuing under-representation of black, coloured and Indian staff and students at SU in comparison to the racial demographics of the South African population. Berté van Wyk, by the time of writing (2013) Associate Professor in Philosophy of Education at SU, stated that despite increasing efforts to overcome the legacy of inequality and the role the University played in founding the apartheid ideology, the perception of SU being a largely white-, male-, Afrikaans-, Christian-dominated and conservative institution continued to persist (van Wyk 2009: 341; see also Interviews 5, 15, 2010 with SU professors). "More than a decade into a democratic dispensation in South Africa, Stellenbosch remains as the institution with the smallest number of African student enrolments in the country" (Audit Report of the Council on Higher Education 2007: 11). At the end of the period under investigation, SU was still far behind other South African institutions in terms of the transformation of its institutional culture and of its student and staff population as to better represent the South African society. According to the University's Factbook and the section on student enrolments, 67.1 percent of the total student population in 2010 were white students (compared to less than nine percent of their share in the South African population). The picture was slightly different with regards to postgraduate enrolments (53.4 percent white students). The majority of the non-white students had a nationality other than South African and was mainly coming from the rest of Africa, especially from the SADC region (South African Development Community) (SU Factbook 2011, Part 1: 26).[280] A similar picture holds true for the staff composition: 82.3 percent of the C1 personnel (instruction and research) was white as well as 56.5 percent of the C2 personnel[281] (SU Factbook 2011, Part 4: 16).[282]

By presenting the case, it is also worth to highlight that SU used new opportunities and directions in research and academic cooperation, resulting from the regime change in South Africa, to its advantage, well before most other universities in the same context. Many of these activities were built on international experiences among SU's professoriate, existing international contacts on the individual level as well as on institutional ones established prior

[280] The role of Africa in SU's international relations and the role of the SADC region for South Africa will be discussed in Chapter 8.3.

[281] C2 personnel is comprised of professional executive, administrative and management personnel; specialist support professionals; technical personnel; non-professional (administrative) support personnel; craftsmen and tradesmen. The distribution of C3 personnel positions (which are service workers) according to race in 2011 was as follows: 87.3 percent Coloureds and 12.7 percent Blacks (SU Factbook 2011, Part 4: 16).

[282] In April 2013, SU's Council adopted the "Institutional Intention and Strategy" (2013 to 2018), with which SU aimed at changing its diversity profile even faster. According to Rector Russel Botman, SU would present itself as a transformed university by the year 2018, with 50 percent of all enrolled students being black. This increase in black students should be made possible through Afrikaans and English offerings in all programmes (see http://www.sun.ac.za/english/Lists/news/DispForm.aspx?ID=113 [retrieved 2 July 2013]). Such a planned quota system has provoked new concerns and conflicts among different stakeholders, as it certainly has implications for the quality of those students being admitted on the basis of quotas.

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to 1990.[283] With its journey towards re-establishing international contacts in the early 1990s and related developments of institutionalizing a more comprehensive process of internationalization at the University, SU has played a pioneering role in South Africa with regards to a number of aspects. They include, amongst other things, the early creation of an International Office in order to facilitate international academic exchange and international research cooperation and furthermore the creation of the Stellenbosch Institute for Advanced Study (STIAS) to foster international research collaboration with a focus on Africa. They also include the introduction of an international registration fee as well as SU's activities at the end of the 2010s in the framework of joint teaching and joint degree awarding, involving non-South African HEIs.

Over the period under investigation, SU has constantly sought to adapt to new environments and changing conditions. The way the University has tried to bring about change, however, remained highly contested among the different stakeholders of the University, including former stakeholders, such as the alumni. This was especially true of the role that SU's alumni organized in the convocation[284] had played since 2002, their role in electing the Council members "to fight for Afrikaans" and their conservative opposition against opening the University towards the new South African reality (Interviews 15, 20, 40, 41, 42, 48, 2010). Opposition against institutional change and transformation came mostly from outside SU and not necessarily from within, viz the staff and the students. As one Senate member stated: "If the University would have been left to its own devices, I think, we would have moved much further" (Interview 15, 2010). Other areas of dispute were how institutional procedures were organized and the interaction between the different arenas of an institution, e.g. of central and decentralized processes. As a university is made up of individual academics with diverse and diffuse opinions, perceptions and visions as well as competing ideas about university development and how change should be designed, and against individual career perspectives, the university should not be constructed and treated as homogenous actor.[285] To empirically shed light on situations of tension, on intra-institutional conflicts and struggles, clashes of values and underlying motives, learning and adaptation processes with respect to transformation and internationalization shall be the underlying red thread of Part IV.

[283] They resulted, inter alia, from an approach of SU's management towards increasing international academic liaison in the 1970s and 1980s by supporting outgoing international mobility of academics financially as well as a visitor's programme, which makes SU unique in South Africa in that regard (see also Chapter 5.2.4).
[284] The convocation includes all current academic staff. It is thus broader than the group of alumni only.
[285] See also Weick 1976; Meier 2009.

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Chapter 7: Transformation and Strategic Approaches to Renew and Reposition Stellenbosch University Nationally, Regionally and Globally (1990–2010)

The institutional development of Stellenbosch University after 1990 was strongly connected to the personalities of the three Rectors and Vice Chancellors: Andreas van Wyk (1993–2001), Chris Brink (2002–2007) and Russel Botman (2007–).[286] Each Rector's term in office had produced special characteristics or certain programmes that paved the way for a particular institutional development. This is why the transformation process of SU is, first of all, reconstructed along the terms of the three Rectors.[287]

The term transformation has probably become one of the most disputed words – in South Africa as well as at SU – as it means different things to different people. The narrower meaning of transformation in the context of higher education implies the changing of the racial composition of the staff and student bodies, "to be more inclusive" (Interview 5, 2010), "to make the University more accessible" (Interview 6, 2010), "staff diversification" (Interview 16, 2010) and "to get more black scientists" (Interview 7, 2010) – in short "getting the numbers right" (Interview 30, 2010). A more comprehensive approach towards transformation, however, would include a clutch of other aspects, most importantly the elimination of any unfair discrimination, e.g. based on gender, creed, age, disability or social background. It would also cover "changing the culture of the institution so that it becomes more welcoming" (Interview 39, 2010), "knowing your environment and doing what is best to serve that environment" (Interview 35, 2010) and changing "the institution so that it reflects more closely the nature of the broader society, in which it operates" (Interview 45, 2011). Hence, transformation in general, according to the different interviewed professors and university managers, is not only about equity (Interview 44, 2011) but also about values (Interview 16, 2010) and attitudes (Interview 2, 2010).

What transformation should imply for SU was only spelled out at the end of the 1990s. Since then transformation for SU connoted the realization of the goals as formulated in its "Strategic Framework for the Turn of the Century and Beyond" (SU 2000). Among the underlying assumptions of this document were that transformation had to be managed strategically, that targets had to be defined and policies needed to be written in order to set up an institutional frame for the dealing with specific aspects of transformation.[288] Even

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[286] According to the Higher Education Act, "[t]he principal of a public higher education institution is responsible for the management and administration of the public higher education institution" (RSA Higher Education Act 1997: Chapter 4). SU's Institutional Statute (2004) describes the position of the Rector as follows: "The Rector is the chief executive officer of the University and is in that capacity a member of each committee of the Council and the Senate" (Statute of Stellenbosch University, April 2004: 10; see also Private Act of the University of Stellenbosch, RSA July 1992: Paragraph 6).

[287] As has been explained in the introduction to Part IV, this is but one opportunity to organize the chapter, and the author is well aware that there are alternative ways of narrating SU's institutional development between 1990 and 2010.

[288] In April 2013, SU's Council approved an explicit transformation strategy for the University, for which the following definition has been agreed upon: "Transformation at Stellenbosch University is conceptualized as a combination of intentional demographic changes and a shift in the institutional culture. This shift implies a change towards becoming a more accessible, inclusive, participatory and representative institution capable of achieving its vision of academic excellence while demonstrating its relevance. It is also considered to be a crucial factor in

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though transformation is strongly linked to overcoming the legacy of the South African past and, thereby, also to coming somehow to terms with the University's institutional past, there is one dimension of transformation that, in the case of SU, has been a matter of ongoing struggle throughout the 20 years covered in this study (1990 to 2010). This dimension is the language question. How should SU deal with the Afrikaans heritage of the institution in a new and inclusive South Africa, with many South Africans not being able to understand Afrikaans and, therefore, being excluded from this University? And how should SU deal with Afrikaans in the context of globalization and its efforts to find a place in the global university system, in which a local language would maybe hinder the further internationalization of the institution?
In the following sections, it will be examined, firstly, what kind of candidate the University was searching for the post of the Rector in order to manage the internal and external challenges the University was facing. Secondly, it will be shown how those finally elected as Rectors had responded to the University's advertisement in their applications.[289] Thirdly, general developments, the discourse on Afrikaans and especially strategic planning in the different periods will be presented in light of their reaction to processes of globalization and international trends in higher education. And finally, on the basis of rector's speeches and documentation of the University's Senate and Council meetings, it will be demonstrated how the University's development constantly meandered between addressing the local Stellenbosch context, the national South African one, the regional African perspective and global processes and how it swayed between protecting the University against the changing environment in South Africa and becoming an inclusive and open, but at the same time internationally successful research-intensive university. It will be explored to what extent the reference to internationalization and globalization has been utilized to legitimize institutional change (or non-reform).

7.1 Rector and Vice Chancellor Andreas van Wyk – The Late Development of a Transformation Approach with The Strategic Framework for the Turn of the Century and Beyond (2000) and SU's Early International Opening

The 1990s at SU were depicted by some professors, former student representatives and a representative of management in 2010 as the "decade of wait and see" (Interviews 8, 36, 39, 2010) while continuing with "business as usual" (Michaels 2007: 234). Of course, we cannot know about the whole University, but it seems as this constituted the dominant perception at the time of interviewing. While there was an immediate focus on improving the research function of the University and on purposefully internationalizing the University, transformation in the narrower and wider sense and overcoming the institutional legacy of the past were no immediate priorities. Contrary to many other South African universities that had established a Broad Transformation Forum to actively debate power relations, democratizing higher education and institutional change, "the creative energy unleashed in the higher education

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moving the university to a more flexible and responsive 21st century higher education institution that caters for a diverse learners market" (SU Transformation Strategy 2013).

[289] However, in the case of Andreas van Wyk, the University had neither advertised the Rector position externally nor could an application letter or vision statement be found in the Senate and Council documents; these aspects are thus excluded in Chapter 7.1.

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sector after 1994 largely passed SU by" (Brink 2006: 3). An explanation must be searched for in the specific characteristics of SU as a white Afrikaans institution, closely linked with the government during the era of apartheid but also in a special situation of uncertainty after the political change in South African. After a period of privilege and a good financial situation, the Afrikaans institutions in South Africa, in particular, were afraid of their future.

Stellenbosch University in a Changing Societal Context

Within the first year after the first signals of political change in South Africa, the future of SU was on the agenda of its Council. Especially the large dependence on state funding became a serious concern, as it was not at all predictable at the end of 1990 how the state would be dealing with the higher education sector in the new dispensation. Therefore, the use of alternative non-state revenue, e.g. from international sources, such as international companies operating in South Africa, American philanthropic organizations or German foundations, was repeatedly debated in the Council as were possible rationalization processes within the institution in order to reach greater cost-effectiveness (SU Council, 13 December 1990; 18 November 1991). In 1994 the Afrikaans institutions were even more afraid that money would be taken away from their reserves, that they would suffer under financial expropriation in the framework of the countrywide discussions about redress for previously disadvantaged institutions and that redistribution would lead to the damage of the white institutions. The institutions knew that they could build on Afrikaner capital and that it was not only possible but increasingly necessary to search for alternative income in a situation of the imminent reduction of state subsidy (Reflections N. Ndebele, 2001, then Rector of the University of Cape Town). Remembering a discussion with Andreas van Wyk, Rector and Vice Chancellor of SU in the mid-1990s, Brian Figaji, at that time Rector of Cape Peninsula Technikon and member of the National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE), sharpened the argument:

> "[I]t was when subsidies to institutions were moved from 68% to 60% in Minister Bengu's time, which was a huge drop, and then moved back to 64%. And, of course, I was arguing for redistribution, and I said, "Look, I can't take this knock either". And here are Andreas van Wyk's words: "I understand there is a need for a redress. I don't mind it being done, as long as we don't damage the fabric of what we have. So if you want to take 3 or 4% away from me and give it to somebody else, that's fine, but don't take 9% away; that doesn't allow me to continue what I am doing". So in his head he was accepting redistribution. Our government didn't have the guts to do it. In this case, it was the DG [Director General of the Department of Education, SB]. And of course, we didn't have a Minister who was strong enough to say, "This is how it is going to be done"." (Reflections B. Figaji, 2001, then Rector of Peninsula Technikon)

This statement relates to what has been indicated in previous sections. The South African higher education system had well-functioning institutions and centres of excellence. They were considered national assets by the policy-writers of the time and should better not be destroyed by policies of redress and redistribution. The statement also stresses the fact that those in power were uncertain about the right recipes and that the South African solution applicable to all institutions was not at all so obvious. Finally, it highlights an important aspect characteristic for the 1990s: the increasing need of and search for alternative income sources in the context of shrinking state subsidy. The South African government, for

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example, had announced an a-factor[290] of 62.4 percent for the year 1995, which in real terms meant a loss of R14 million for SU compared to 1994 (SU Council, 21 November 1994).

SU's Executive in the 1990s

Looking at historically white Afrikaans institutions and their engagement with transformation in the early 1990s, one must also not forget that they were organized in a male-dominated and hierarchical way (as were the white English universities), which applied to SU for the whole of the 1990s. Julian Smith, at the time of writing Vice Rector for Community Interaction and Personnel, remembered: "Ten years ago when I joined as the first black member of the executive [by then as Vice Rector for Operations, SB], the rest were 24 white male managers, no white woman affirmed either" (Interview, 2010)[291]. This brings us to the executive of the University in the 1990s.

Andreas van Wyk officially became the Rector and Vice Chancellor of SU in July 1993, succeeding the chemist Mike de Vries, who had held the position for more than 20 years, from 1970 to 1993. Van Wyk had studied Law in Stellenbosch, Bonn and Leiden. He was appointed as professor to the Faculty of Law, whose dean he became in 1978. In 1981 he received a fellowship from the German Alexander von Humboldt Foundation for a research stay at the Max Planck Institute for Comparative and International Private Law in Hamburg. In the 1980s, he had served a couple of years as Director General of constitutional development in the South African state (Claassen 2001: 114). Before he was appointed as Rector and Vice Chancellor of SU, van Wyk had acted as Vice Rector (Operations) since July 1991 (ibid.). Van Wyk's appointment as Rector took place in June 1992, and he started to lead the University as acting Rector already in mid-1992 as de Vries went on vacation for his whole last year in office.

The procedure of van Wyk's appointment as Rector, according to the Senate minutes of 14 September 1992, was questioned by his predecessor Mike de Vries, especially because the post was not advertised outside the University. The Senate had only nominated three candidates from within the institution to the members of the Council, which finally had elected Andreas van Wyk.[292] This example is a manifestation of the insular character that especially this institution was continuously rumoured to have. The way van Wyk was appointed as Rector and Vice Chancellor gives an interesting insight into the institutional culture of SU (and all other Afrikaans universities) at that time. The University was characterized by a narrowly defined Afrikaans inward rather than outward looking institutional culture (Interview 16, 2010). It focused on the Afrikaner community to the detriment of others.

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[290] Funding arrangements for higher education institutions in South Africa were calculated on the basis of a set of criteria, which were part of a funding formula, such as student numbers, graduation rates, subject groupings as well as course level. As the calculated sums usually exceeded the available budget, a so-called a-factor for adjustment was introduced. It indicated the percentage of the calculated amount that was finally paid as subsidy to the universities (Bunting 1994: 129ff).

[291] The author does not indicate the number of an interview in those cases in which the interviewees had agreed to be referred to by name with regards to certain passages of the interview. This is in order to pay respect to the generally promised anonymity of interviewees.

[292] The records only contain van Wyk's CV while a proper application, including a motivation letter for the post and a vision on the development of the University, was not included in the Senate and Council minutes.

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The Vice Rectors during van Wyk's first term in office were Walter Claassen (Academic and later Research, 1993 to 2007, reappointed in 1997 and again reappointed in 2002) and Christo Viljoen (operations, 1993 to 1998, reappointed in 1996). Claassen played a significant role in the development of the research function of SU in the 1990s and early 2000s and in establishing an international office. At the end of the 1990s, the post of the Vice Rector for Academic Matters was split into the teaching and the research functions (SU Council, 19 April 1999: 45f). Claassen got the post of the Vice Rector for Research in January 2000 until 2007. As Vice Rector for Teaching, the former Commissioner at the National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE) and president of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) Rolf Stumpf was appointed. Stumpf had already been asked to come to Stellenbosch in 1998 to act as Vice Rector for Operations for one year (Interview, 2011); his successor as Vice Rector for Operations became Julian Smith (according to the then official South African racial classification the first coloured member of the University's management), who had a background in the struggle against apartheid at UWC in the 1980s.

The Beginning of Van Wyk's Term in Office under the new Dispensation

Van Wyk's term coincided with the time of South Africa's transition and the first democratic elections in 1994. It was also the time when the higher education sector in South Africa was under close scrutiny.[293] Andreas van Wyk in his inaugural speech on 17 September 1993, therefore, posed the following question: "hoe gaan [...] die postsekondere onderwys, en heel in die besonder die Universiteit van Stellenbosch, reageer op hierdie verskuiwing van fundamentele belang, en hoe gaan ons deur hierdie tendense geraak word?" (How will [...] postsecondary education and more specifically Stellenbosch University respond to this important change, and how will we be affected by these trends? [SB]) (van Wyk, 17 September 1993). In this speech, van Wyk made clear that for the international competitiveness of South Africa the education sector had a key role to fulfil. In his view and by repeatedly making reference to international tendencies in higher education ("wêreldwye tendens"), institutional autonomy and institutional diversity were prerequisites "in the sense that we have to accept that institutions are positioning themselves according to their own mission to serve the national interest at different levels" [SB] (ibid.). Remaining as independent as possible from the new South African state, therefore, was one of the underlying principles of van Wyk's term in office.[294]

What is important to know is that in the early post-1994 period, SU was to some extent protected politically. In the context of political compromises that were made, also to appease the Afrikaner community in the new political dispensation, SU was given assurances both by Nelson Mandela and later also by Thabo Mbeki that they would not interfere too much with the institution, especially not with its language policy (Interview 45, 2011). This became also

[293] See also Chapter 6 on higher education after the end of apartheid.

[294] "Die meganismes om institusionele verantwoording af te dwing, moet egter steeds in die universiteitsstelsel as sulks geskep word. Dit moet nie die resultaat van sentrale beplanning en owerheid ingryping wees nie" (The mechanisms to enforce institutional accountability as such must be created in the university system. It should not be the result of central planning and government intervention [SB]) (van Wyk, 17 September 1993).

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recognizable during both of their addresses on accepting an honorary doctorate of SU (Mandela 1996; Mbeki 2004).

> "Let me put it to you simply and bluntly: within a system comprising more than twenty universities, surely it must be possible to reach an accommodation to the effect that there will be at least one university whose main tasks will include that of seeing to the sustained development of Afrikaans as an academic medium." (Mandela, 25 October 1996)

> "In this context I must make the point that Afrikaans has already proved itself as a national asset, side by side with other linguistic assets. The use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction is part of the institutional diversity of which I have spoken. And certainly the government has no intention and will not do anything to eliminate diversity of cultures, values and languages in our universities, as long as this diversity serves a common national purpose." (Mbeki, 20 February 2004)

Yet, what both speeches clearly emphasized was that the use of Afrikaans as a language of instruction and administration was backed in the sense of nation-building and national identity, but undoubtedly not in support of an exclusive group identity (Brink 2006: 109f). The University, however, abused these statements by defending their position as a (solely) Afrikaans institution. The University management utilized the comments to legitimize a passive approach of "wait and see", and the so-called language activists fighting for the exclusive protection of Afrikaans repeatedly misinterpreted them to make their case (ibid: 107). What happened was that a lot of the other formerly Afrikaans institutions lost students to the not so fast changing Stellenbosch.

First discussions about how SU should position itself as an Afrikaans institution in the changing South African environment, however, had already started in the early 1990s, then still under Rector Mike de Vries. In the Council documents one finds, for example, the following statement: "Die Universiteit het 'n verantwoordelikheid om die denke van sy studente en van die gemeenskap in die algemeen op so 'n wyse te help rig dat die belange van die Universiteit en van die land in die toekoms ten beste gedien kan word" (The University has a responsibility to help to guide the thinking of its students and the community in general in such a way as to best serve the interests of the University and the country in the future [SB]) (SU Council, 13 December 1990: iii). Based on this starting point, the Council decided that the Rector should develop a strategy for the University in the new environment and present it to the Council. According to the Council minutes, exceptional attention also had to be paid to how certain decisions about the University's development would be passed on to former students and members of the (Afrikaans) community in order to ensure that the University's image would not be hampered and that fundraising activities would not be negatively affected. The Council finally agreed to position SU "as a commentator and innovative leader in the quest for solutions to the problems of the South African society in general and to ensure that this position would be accepted and widely respected" [SB] (ibid: iv).

All of this gives an idea about the delicate situation in which the institution suddenly found itself after the release of Mandela and the unbanning of the liberation movements. It aimed at retaining the status quo to the highest possible extent, in particular, to not lose its traditional community of the Afrikaner people. At the same time, it was prepared to enter the new dispensation, as represented in the formulations "to serve the interests of [the University and]

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the country" or "responsibility for the community at large". From the Senate minutes, it is not clear whether all members of the Senate had a common understanding of this statement. Three interpretations are conceivable. Firstly, the statement could be read as a rhetorical rather than a sincere commitment to change. Secondly, it could be interpreted as a positive commitment towards a regime change in South Africa (for which, however, it was most probably too early and the situation too uncertain). And thirdly, the "community at large" in the statement could be equated with the Whites in South Africa and, as a result, be limited to a fraction of the population only. A University representative recalled that SU's position was to serve the country's broader interests by serving the Afrikaner interests (discussion with Jan Botha, August 2013) – in the manner that many Afrikaners back then thought about apartheid as such (Giliomee 2012). At that point in time, the institution was far away from an open dialogue to address the various dimensions of transformation, and also internationalization was not yet on the agenda.

Prevention of Change under van Wyk's Rectorship?

On the one hand, Andreas van Wyk is remembered as a clever man, who had strongly advanced the expansion of research at the University as well as its internationalization (Claassen 2001: 120; see also Interview 11, 2010). His management style, however, is recalled by some professors as "autocratic, [as] he had a few people he consulted" (Interview 31, 2010) and as "management by principle" (Interview 35, 2010) of "either yes or no" (Interview 20, 2010). "Van Wyk was one people were scared of, but he was true to his word" (Interview 33, 2010). As a member of the Broederbond, an Afrikaner institution and secret organization behind the National Party[295], he was considered by some professors, students and staff as belonging "to the people who wanted to keep the place [the University, SB] white" (Interview 43, 2011) "and to keep it Afrikaans" (Interview 36, 2010; see also Interview 4, 2010). Looking at how van Wyk and his management team had been portrayed in the media in the second half of the 1990s, there was a sense that for them the protection of their positions and status was more important than to initiate a change process. For example:

> "Claassen and the administration do not see transformation in the same way that a number of their students and lecturers are perceiving it – a revision of policies, programmes, curricula, staffing and culture – nor has topbestuur (top management) responded to the demand for a campus-wide debate on change, which would take place in a "transformation forum" including all university stakeholders." (Edmunds, Mail & Guardian, 8 March 1996)

Temperamental reactions by van Wyk as well as by the Vice Rectors Claassen and Viljoen, when criticized publicly and when challenged for their agenda and vision for the University, were reported by students and employees (Edmunds, Mail & Guardian, 17 February 1997). And: "Van Wyk has ties with many powerful political and financial figures in the Afrikaner community. He has built a reputation as a staunch defender of the Afrikaans language"

[295] The Broederbond was a protestant, exclusively male and white secret institution, devoted to the development of Afrikaner interests. When the National Party took office in 1948, the Broederbond became the centre of racial oppression and apartheid in South Africa. In 1994 the Afrikanerbond replaced the Broederbond. The League is active in promoting Afrikaner interests in South Africa until today. Nowadays, membership is open to anyone above 18 years in support of the Afrikaner community (Wilkins and Strydom 2012).

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(ibid.). By the end of 1997, there was a strong lobby of lecturers and students calling for van Wyk to step down as Rector of SU, mainly because of his autocratic leadership and the missing efforts for transformation at the University. “Stellenbosch is still ruled by a white clique controlled by van Wyk, who is a relic from the past and is considered by many open-minded people at the university as the major stumbling block for change”, a representative of the group said (Thiel, Mail & Guardian, 21 November 1997). However, less than two months later, in February 1998, the University’s decision making bodies reappointed him for a second five-year term (Duffy, Mail & Guardian, 13 February 1998). This is indicative of a strong support base among those in the University who elected the Rector that van Wyk enjoyed in spite of the upcoming turmoil.

Van Wyk himself justified the need for SU to remain an Afrikaans-medium institution as follows: “The university's language policy is based on educational and demographic realities and constitutional norms. But it is not a political statement. If others wish to treat it as such, it will be a great pity” (Edmonds, Mail & Guardian, 18 October 1996). This statement was an official reaction by SU’s Rector to the proposal by one of the members of the University’s Council, ANC MP Jannie Momberg (a Stellenbosch alumnus), that English could be used as medium of instruction in more popular classes and that all postgraduate courses should be offered in English in order to increase access to the University from other racial groups. SU’s reaction to and total rejection of Momberg’s proposal was interpreted as “a sad indictment of the selfish level of colonial exclusivity which still exists in a section of our higher education community” (ibid.). The struggle about the language issue is representative of the debate to whom SU essentially belongs, to the whole of the South African population or to one community. This struggle would be fought well beyond the next decade and was spiced up with additional arguments, most notably around the issue of internationalizing the University. Van Wyk, even though strongly in favour of internationalization, did not regard the keeping of Afrikaans as a language of instruction as contradicting SU’s internationalization efforts.[296] The decade of the 1990s, it can be concluded, was marked by little to no transformation and by trying to retain Afrikaner interests while nationally everything was negotiated anew.

The Relation between SU and the State under van Wyk’s Rectorship

The absolute protection of Afrikaner interests and the distinction of SU as an exclusive Afrikaner place were challenged by a speech of Education Minister Bengu at SU in May 1997 on the achievements in South African higher education transformation. He provoked the University community by critically asking:

> “Over the last three years, has this institution changed? Has its staff complement, student composition and mission changed? […] Is there even a glimmer of hope that there are plans or intentions to change? […] if the opportunity [to examine change and renewal] has been wasted, who is responsible and what are their motives?” (Bengu, 28 May 1997)

After presenting the way ahead of the transformation of South Africa’s higher education he asked: “When this reality dawns, will this institution be part of it? Will you hold hands with us

[296] How SU dealt with international students in a predominantly Afrikaans environment will be discussed in Chapter 8.1.1.

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as we march to the future, or will you lead a march back to the past?" (ibid.). The Bengu quote entails an aspect that had already been addressed in van Wyk's inaugural speech: the relation of institutions of higher education with the nation-state. The conflict that is indicated here is a classic example of the state, represented by the Minister, aspiring after control over its HEIs and, therefore, the omnipotence of the state over territoriality on the one hand and pockets of autonomy in the institutions themselves on the other.

Illuminating with regards to how van Wyk interpreted the relation between the state and the universities are his ideas, as presented in an address on the occasion of the 84th Lustrum of the University of Leiden on 9 June 1995. In that speech van Wyk referred to developed countries and observable trends towards the Anglo-Saxon corporate model granting universities broadened autonomy. With the reference to the supposed general trends in Europe, he developed his defence of autonomous institutions by saying that in situations of crisis, such as the present one, governments tend to over-regulate and control through laws, new regulatory bodies, external control organs. What was necessary instead, according to his point of view, were structural reforms that come "from within the university sector itself and, most important of all, from within each individual university itself" (van Wyk, 9 June 1995, in SU Council, 1 August 1995: 101). Thereby, he argued for a corporate private model for South African universities and a professionalization of university managers, as it was a worldwide trend that modern universities "must be managed with the greatest possible efficiency" (ibid: 102). An elaborated system of checks and balances would have to accompany the scenario. These ideas were already presented in van Wyk's inaugural speech in September 1993.

SU cautiously followed the developments in the South African higher education sector under van Wyk and injected itself into the debates about policy development and transformation. It made, for example, an official and early submission to the National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE) in August 1995 (SU Council, 20 October 1995: 61ff). The paper alludes that it would be essential for the whole South African higher education system to retain and protect existing universities and build them up as centres of excellence on an international level. Furthermore, it argues for a differentiated higher education sector, with different functions being fulfilled by universities, technikons and colleges, and universities and technikons remaining a national government responsibility. Two further aspects in the report shall be highlighted: Firstly, strong arguments were remade in favour of far-reaching institutional autonomy from the state and, secondly, SU supported the continuation of the South African tradition of additional individual private Acts for each institution, which would regulate internal governance structures besides a general Higher Education Act. The reference points used in the argumentation in favour of such a division were again developments from the Anglo-Saxon environment and Germany (ibid: 83). The protection of scientific and academic autonomy through individual Acts can well be linked to the desire to retain old structures and aspirations. The first point relates to the representation of the whole South African population among students and staff members, to a potential loss of quality and the lowering of standards by opening up to large parts of different student groups. It also relates once more to the special language situation in the Western Cape region, where large

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parts of the population were native Afrikaans speakers or second-language Afrikaans speakers.

> "The University is of the opinion that ideally the university system in South Africa should broadly reflect the proportions of the national population. It is clear, however, that regional and cultural differences could lead to understandable and legitimate variations between institutions." (ibid: 79).

The second part of this quotation could also be interpreted as taking the regional language situation as a justification for the exclusion of people from one university, namely SU (while arguing with Mandela that there are 22 other South Africa universities). In essence, this quotation surely invites the following line of thought: exclusion is aimed at protecting quality (based on the racist assumption that Whites are equalled with quality and Blacks with the lowering of standards).

The majority of the presented statements and strategic moves from within SU reveal a particular and not-so-hidden agenda, namely to pool all the institution's strengths in order to not only survive in the new environment, but to develop as independently from national control as possible, thereby, inter alia, paving the way for a successful international outreach. International visibility and a conscious process of internationalization, at the same time, became a promising means towards increasing institutional autonomy, by growing institutional income from non-South African sources (see also SU Council, 18 November 1991: ii). A few examples shall illustrate the argument: Marketing material was produced, including brochures and a video for people from abroad to advertise studies at SU. The film, released in early 1993, was titled "The gift of knowledge". It was an introductory video focusing on overseas academic liaison. A Corporate Design was developed in the same year, including letter heads, logos and cards. The opening of a Communication Unit under the Vice Rector for Academic Matters, which was recommended and accepted by the executive committee of the Senate by the end of 1993, is another example. This is evidence for a beginning strategy of internationalization and (international) marketing, to which reference will be made in subsequent sections, as well as for increasing competition for students in the national South African higher education market.

Furthermore, a long-term financial plan was debated at the end of 1994 in the Senate, given the general expectation that state subsidies would rather decline than rise in the years to come (SU Senate, 7 December 1994); the idea of long-term strategic development plans would follow soon. At SU this implied also strategies to increase the number of paying black students via distance education methods, which started in mid-1998. The planning aspect is particularly interesting as central planning was one of the major recommendations made by the NCHE in its final report (1996) that would be translated into the Green Paper (1996), the White Paper 3 (1997), the Higher Education Act (1997) and finally also into the National Plan on Higher Education (2001), as outlined in Chapter 6. SU realized longer planning horizons much earlier.

SU not only submitted a statement to the National Commission on Higher Education, the Green Paper and White Paper 3 (and later also on the recommendations made by the CHE to restructure the South African higher education landscape [SU Senate, 28 April 2000: 5]). It also published a detailed schedule on when the University community should discuss how it

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would deal with and react to the changes expected to be realized after their being passed by government. Faculties, departments as well as individuals of SU were requested to start thinking about the implementation of the new policies – especially the National Qualification Framework (NQF) – and to report possible implications and challenges with regard to strategic planning and the formulation of a trendsetting institutional mission and vision in light of a successful positioning of the institution, nationally as well as internationally (SU Council, 4 December 1996: 699ff).

The Delayed Dealing with Transformation at SU

Until the end of the 1990s, SU had remained unchanged with regard to the racial composition of staff and students and for large parts of its functioning, most of all due to an unwillingness of the management and the Council to change. Needless to say, there were exceptions, such as the mentioned outcry against van Wyk as Rector of the University at the end of 1997. Also Rolf Stumpf was jokingly referred to as the first affirmative action appointment at SU, when he came in 1998 as Vice Rector for Operations, because he had not studied at SU and because his progressive political positions were well known.

Retrospectively – and this has to be particularly highlighted – even some of the proponents of change consider it wise that SU did not rush into transformation as other South African universities had done in order to become politically correct. Thereby, so the point made, the University retained a lot of what became more important in the next phase. “In the end you will be measured by what happens on the global level […] it is very important if you want to be a university to retain the core of what makes a university and that is excellence, not exclusive but an open excellence” (Interview 42, 2011). All universities in South Africa were required by the government to transform, and SU’s management “understood that they must [...] be a university for the whole South African and wider community” (ibid.). So, the important questions were:

> “How do you assist in a very unequal social situation and to promote the quality and the reach of higher education [...]? How do you maintain if you are on a certain academic level, how do you do that without losing the focus on excellence? And of course you have to do both, but it’s a difficult situation.” (ibid.)

The University initiated a couple of projects in that context. For example, when the government insisted in the second half of the 1990s that all courses at South African universities should be formally registered with the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA), Bernard Lategan, at that time Dean of the Arts Faculty, was nominated to manage that process at SU. He remembered:

> “We did decide why don’t we use this opportunity to rethink what we are doing? Why are we teaching this, why are we doing these courses? What are we expecting of this and of that course? There were many considerations, but it was an opportunity to rearrange things, and at the end it became a very healthy exercise, because people had to rethink and say why we are doing this, and that led to a lot of interdisciplinary programmes.” (Interview, 2011)

Another idea in the realm of transformation was the creation of an Institute for Advanced Study at Stellenbosch. SU wanted to create a place where high level and innovative research could be carried out, where burning problems be solved and new themes be brought up,

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where scholars could meet and where scientific frontiers could be crossed through nurturing one another across the traditional borders of disciplines (Interview 42, 2011). It was again Bernard Lategan who was asked to facilitate the process. He did research on similar institutions worldwide, such as the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, as the first of its kind, or the Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin, amongst others, in order to get inspiration for a comparable unit at Stellenbosch (Interview, 2011; SU Council, 20 September 1999: 543). According to Lategan, who became the founding Director of the institute, the idea of a Stellenbosch Institute for Advanced Study (STIAS) was special in many respects. First of all, it covered all the disciplines. And secondly, and in the context of SU's transformation, it was supposed to be different from other Institutes of Advanced Study, as STIAS would have a unique developmental character with a special focus on and relevance for South Africa and Africa (ibid.). Right from the beginning, STIAS was supposed to become a national and not only a local Stellenbosch asset. To create a national facility was regarded a way to give something back to the country, given SU's history. At the same time, STIAS had the potential to contribute to SU's strive towards becoming a world-class research University, to an effective worldwide positioning of the University and its further internationalization (ibid.). The concept of the first Institute of Advanced Study on the African continent to be established at Stellenbosch, with a fellowship programme for South African and international academics at its core, was accepted by SU's Senate and Council in June 1999.[297] From the beginning, the rule was kept that no funds allocated to the normal research function of SU should be used for STIAS; financial means had to come from sources outside of the University (SU Council, 20 September 1999: 550). In 2005 STIAS received a major grant from the Swedish Wallenberg Foundation[298], which sponsored a conference and research centre and made possible the inauguration of the fellowship and research programme (Interview 12, 2010).[299] As a national asset, STIAS brought people to Stellenbosch that, according to Lategan, would otherwise not have come in this concentration and this variety. Among them were South Africans as well as international academics who would never have considered being associated with the University, given its past. All of that added also to the internationalization of the University.

> "It certainly was part of internationalization, of the long journey for Stellenbosch to turn around and to move into a different direction, not to leave focus on itself. So, yes, it is part of the wider, let's say

[297] In the early days, from 1999 to 2007, STIAS was part of the University and had to report to the Vice Rector (Research). In 2007 STIAS became independent from the University, after it had been turned into a not-for-profit (section 21) company. According to its Memorandum of Company, the main objective of STIAS had remained largely the same: "[t]o independently enable, conduct, promote and fund innovative research in the international context with emphasis on matters of particular importance for South Africa and the African continent in all fields, including (without limitation) the fields of science, technology, engineering, medicine, agricultural sciences, social sciences and humanities" (SU Council, 15 December 2006: 44). STIAS now had to report to its Board of Directors, in which the University was represented. The relationship to the University as the initiator of the project was very intimate as can be seen, for example, in the fact that SU's library or IT services were shared. The independence of STIAS from the University allowed the research fellows to remain committed to their university of origin. Interaction with campus was encouraged and relationships were developed with the departments of SU, which also profited from the fellows' research.

[298] The foundation portrays itself as "the largest private financier of research in Sweden" (see http://www.wallenberg.com/Kaw/en/foundation/knut-and-alice-wallenberg-foundation [retrieved 19 December 2013]).

[299] Further donors included, for example, the National Research Foundation of South Africa (NRF) as well as the Department of Science and Technology (DST) (Interview 42, 2011).

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> internationalization of the University, and I am sure it had been consciously in the minds of somebody like Walter Claassen, Andreas van Wyk [...], but it was not planned from the beginning [that this should be, SB] internationalization." (Interview 42, 2011)

Apart from these projects, it was only at the end of the 1990s that a group of academics gathered under the leadership of Professor Bernard Lategan, who was tasked by van Wyk to initiate a process of self-examination and self-renewal with the aim of repositioning the University as a national asset in the new South Africa. The coming into existence of this process and the struggle how the University should enter the next millennium is remembered by Andreas van Wyk as follows. By the year 1999, he had come to the conviction that SU finally had understood where to position itself and that before it was too short after the South African political change to start such a process. He was convinced that, from the viewpoint of SU, part of such a process was to become as independent from the government as possible – less for political reasons, but rather for financial ones. He said he had achieved great support for trying to increase the third stream income of the University, but that there were critics as well (Interview, 2010). Van Wyk's tentative appraisal of the process already exhibits some of the typical intra-institutional conflicts and struggles over how a university in the context of transformation and transnationalization at best should develop.

The consultation process around self-renewal and self-examination can well be interpreted as a departure from the previous top-down decision making to a more democratic approach. It was followed by an intensive planning process, coordinated by a strategic planning committee, in which the University community participated through appointed members for about a year (SU 2000: 4). The result of this planning process was the 22 page "Strategic Framework for the Turn of the Century and Beyond" that was adopted by the three organs of institutional governance, Senate, Council and Institutional Forum[300], in the year 2000 and that was announced to be the framework for all future strategic planning at SU. "Transformation" was defined for the first time at SU. It came to be understood as the realization of the goals set out in the Strategic Framework. The document became the most important manifestation of what SU was trying to achieve until 2012.[301] Thus, it can be considered a prime source for this study with respect to how SU conceptualized the challenges and uncertainties under which the University was operating and how it attempted to address them.

The document opens with designing the trends in worldwide higher education. Their analysis is in line with what had been outlined on the national South African level, as presented in Chapter 6. The central role of knowledge for economic growth and societal development is emphasized as is an "increasing internationalization [which, SB] is promoting the worldwide

[300] According to the Higher Education Act (1997, Section 31(1)), the Institutional Forum is an advisory body that advises the University Council on policy matters, including the implementation as well as the execution of the act and national higher education policy.

[301] It was with Russel Botman's reappointment as Rector and Vice Chancellor of the University for the term from 2012 to 2016 in May 2011 that the University Council in consultation with management decided that the Strategic Framework should still form the basis of the strategy for SU, including its mission and vision statements, commitments and values as foundation for the University's continuous journey of transformation. See http://blogs.sun.ac.za/news/2011/05/04/Council-appoints-su-rector-for-second-term/ [retrieved 8 May 2011]. Yet, in April 2013, SU's Council accepted a new vision and mission statement in the framework of the "Institutional Intention and Strategy".

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mobility of people, of knowledge and of ideas" (SU 2000: 5). Interestingly enough, the term "internationalization" is used here as a synonym for what this work considers as globalization, meaning the intensification of worldwide social relations. The term "globalization" does not feature in the document. International trends, furthermore, included the revolution in communication technology, changed management practices in higher education towards more participation and flat hierarchies, knowledge production that is relevant to the community and new forms of partnership and collaboration resulting from the demand for a more efficient utilization of resources. The presentation goes on by highlighting the challenge of higher education expansion (on the condition that quality is maintained), the changing composition of students and an increasing conceptualization of students as being clients. It furthermore discusses competition between HEIs, the changing relationship between the state and higher education, with the state exercising more control over higher education, and finally increasing institutional differentiation and diversity (ibid: 5f). Next to the worldwide trends in higher education, the Strategic Framework displays the particularities and realities of the local South African context. For example, there is, first of all, the reference to the market, which requires universities to prepare their students in accordance with (South African) market needs and to offer respective programmes and qualifications. It is, secondly, repeatedly stated that it is necessary to work in compliance with the national government, its approaches and priorities in order to address national and global challenges; governance in partnership with institutions of higher education is supported. This latter point is somewhat conflicting with the statements Rector Andreas van Wyk had made in several of his speeches. It exemplifies that van Wyk was but one representative of the University and also that after the releases of the NCHE report in 1996, the White Paper 3 and the Higher Education Act in 1997 "cooperative governance" had become the flavour of the day. By including the partnership approach between HEIs and government, SU at least paid lip service to a comprehensive strategy of preparing South African higher education for the future. Further national aspects mentioned in the Strategic Framework are financial pressures against the background of shrinking public funding for higher education; the increasing expectation towards HEIs to become more accountable and responsive to society; to overcome national and institutional cultures of intolerance and disrespect for human rights; and finally the difficulty for students from disadvantaged backgrounds to start tertiary education and to pay for their university degrees (ibid: 6f).

This dual challenge of global and national trends had consequences for the future planning of the University. But – and this is not unique to SU – there were no convenience products ready for immediate consumption. Rather, there were plenty of possible ways and solutions that had to be carefully balanced against one another in order to find a direction that would suit the character of the University, its financial means as well as the goals the institution wanted to realize. A look to the outside, to international "best practices" and to how other universities had addressed some of the challenges deemed promising in that context. However, besides the compilation of worldwide higher education trends, there are no explicit references to countries, from which SU attempted to learn. In the style of national higher education policies, higher education in the global North was the implicit reference system.

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In the Strategic Framework the University initially "commits itself to an open, broad process of self-scrutiny and self-renewal. This process involves, not just the making of projections, but a serious and critical reassessment of the University's institutional character" (ibid: 7). Against the desire of certain people to conserve SU the way it was and to keep it exclusive, the document also contains a commitment that SU would be willing to serve the whole of the South African community and to also open the University up to more than one language, "with Afrikaans as the point of departure" (ibid: 9). These were considered key phrases in terms of changing the University's institutional culture.

> "The phrase "for the whole of the South African community" was a long discussion, because people wanted to keep that out […]. There is an older constituency, an alumni organization, which had this ideal type of Stellenbosch, where everything was wonderful, and they want their kids and their grand children to have that same experience, which doesn't understand the realities of the historical change. […] They have a great interest to keep the University the way it was. The document had to undermine these ideas. It's not so visible, it's not a protest declaration, but it is using the dynamics of the University and slowly shifting it into a different direction." (Interview 42, 2011)

In the aftermath of the release of the NCHE report (1996) and the Higher Education Act (1997), HEIs in South Africa were expected to be clear on who they are and what they want to become. Therefore, many of the universities started to work out mission and vision statements. SU's mission statement – developed in the context of the Strategic Framework – was constructed around the notions of knowledge and excellence. It was mirroring the University's ambitions of creating and sustaining a strong academic identity as an excellent research-led institution, applying knowledge to serve the well-being of the community. The teaching and learning function was referred to through "knowledge sharing".

> "The raison d'être of the University of Stellenbosch is to create and sustain, in commitment to the universitarian ideal of excellent scholarly and scientific practice, an environment in which knowledge can be discovered; can be shared; and can be applied to the benefit of the community." (SU 2000: 9)

This mission statement almost exclusively focuses on what a university should be and how it should play itself out. It interlinks with the age-old ideals of what a university is. "I think, part of the framework's goal was in my mind to broaden the University's view and to bring it back to its true calling of being a community of scholars" (Interview 42, 2011). Compared to other mission and vision statements of South African HEIs[302] – especially the ones with a history of disadvantage[303] – nothing is said about the University's place in South Africa or its location on the African continent. In contrast to the commitment to serve a broad South African community in other parts of the document, this specification is left out in the mission statement. Detached from the rest of the document, the reader is left in uncertainty as to what "the community" in the mission statement actually means.[304] On the basis of this mission, the vision statement of the year 2000 for the future of the University stresses

[302] A comparison of different mission and vision statements was done in May 2011 on the basis of the respective institutional websites. The University of Fort Hare, the University of the Western Cape, the Cape Peninsula of Technology and Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, for example, emphasized their African location and their service to Africa.
[303] On university developments in South Africa during the apartheid past see Chapter 5.
[304] As a result of SU's institutional audit in 2005, the Higher Education Quality Committee (HEQC) of the Council on Higher Education (CHE) in their Audit Report on SU in January 2007 specifically challenged SU to define its community (Audit Report of the Council on Higher Education 2007: 10).

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academic freedom, excellence in research, international recognition for research achievements as well as for university graduates, and also being relevant to the country, South Africa and the world in general.

> "In a spirit of academic freedom and of the universal quest for truth and knowledge, the University as an academic institution sets itself the aim, through critical and rational thought, --- of pursuing excellence and remaining at the forefront of its chosen focal areas; of gaining national and international standing by means of --- its research outputs; and its production of graduates who are sought-after for their well-roundedness and for their creative, critical thinking; of being relevant to the needs of the community, taking into consideration the needs of South Africa in particular and of Africa and the world in general; and of being enterprising, innovative and self-renewing." (SU 2000: 9)

It is striking that both the mission and vision statement give the concepts "excellence" and "relevance" a prominent position. Internationally, these terms had been gaining importance in higher education since the early 1980s. This growing importance that had been taken over by SU might be seen as an expression of a changing institutional sense of order: In parallel to the official and public talks about equal opportunities and equity in the South African higher education sector after the end of apartheid and "of being relevant to the needs of the community", the term excellence opens up the opportunity of creating a new logic of the system, of thinking a higher education system that is rather differentiated instead of equal and of thinking a system that is divided into those institutions at the top and the rest. To strive for excellence is the symbolic attempt to demarcate the institution from the rest of the system and the written revelation of a competitive system, in which SU aims for a position at the top to also become internationally recognized.

The Strategic Framework, finally, makes reference to various aspects of university development: the core processes of the University – research, teaching and service (at SU since 2007: community interaction) together with a vision for these areas and a list of indicators for their development; furthermore strategic focuses; growth; redress; human resources; student development; organization and management; accessibility; finance; infrastructural development; assurance and improvement of quality and of performance.

The process initiated by the Strategic Framework was supposed to be accompanied by "sensitive change management that will accommodate the expectations and concerns of University role-players, but that will be able at the same time to cope with reactionary resistance to renewal" (SU 2000: 22). This management should be guided by "Strategic Plan[s] in accordance with the Higher Education White Paper and other relevant policy documents", "Institutional Plans, as required by central government", "one-year Business Plans" and "a system of strategic management approaches and mechanisms" (ibid.).

The Strategic Framework is a case in point for the meandering of a University between different spatial configurations. SU aimed at working up the University's past in the national South African transformative setting by aligning itself with government policy and agendas in building up a single national system of higher education. And it also searched for strategic reorientation in order to become not only nationally, but internationally competitive, thus treading an autonomous, largely self-determined and independent path into the future. The simultaneous focus on the national, the regional and the global with different accompanying

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rationales is an interesting manifestation of universities being and becoming national and transnational actors at the same time.

All in all, the process had required considerable negotiations among the University community in order to produce well-consulted content and a text broadly shared among the role-players of the University. As reported in the Senate minutes, the launch of the Strategic Framework was successful and received wide coverage (SU Senate, 20 October 2000: 5). The real challenge, however, would become the realization of the goals and intentions of the document, "which some regard[ed] as the 'bible'" of SU in transformation (Yoyo 2007: 193). To that end, an implementation proposal was written, and Professor Johann Groenewald, a sociologist who had been active in searching for South African alternatives to apartheid[305] and who at that time held the position of a Senior Director (Research) at SU, was appointed as project leader (SU Council, 26 June 2000: 4). At that point in time, there had been only limited signals for real and far-reaching transformation at SU. The University, after Andreas van Wyk's second term at the helm of the University would end in 2002, was in the thinking of some influential Council members and professors in need of somebody from outside to lead the transformation as displayed in the Strategic Framework.

7.2 Change Management in the Era Chris Brink

Chris Brink, Rector from 2002 to 2007, came as a "transformer" and "change manager" to Stellenbosch University from a previous management position as Vice Rector (Research) at the University of Wollongong in Australia. Prior to that, Brink had been involved in the restructuring of the University of Cape Town (UCT) as professor and Head of the Department of Mathematics and Applied Mathematics and as Coordinator of UCT's Strategic Planning. Brink held a PhD in Logic from Cambridge University, an interdisciplinary DPhil from the Rand Afrikaans University and Master's degrees in Philosophy and Mathematics as well as bachelor's degrees in Mathematics and Computer Science. His A-rating by the National Research Foundation (NRF) was proof of his international renown as an excellent academic and as one of South Africa's leading scientists. Brink was appointed as Rector at SU without the baggage of a usually long career without interruption at the institution in order to be eligible for the position. Brink, however, did have some knowledge of the University from the time when he had been Senior Lecturer in Mathematics at SU from 1980 to 1985. A statement made by Chris Brink in 2002, when he took office as the 7th Rector and Vice Chancellor of SU, illustrates well his point of departure as new Rector: "[T]he Stellenbosch to which I returned in 2002 still resembled in so many ways – and particularly as regards mindset and outlook on life – the Stellenbosch I had left in 1985" (Brink 2007a: 4).

The Appointment of a New Rector

Before analysing the University's development in the era Chris Brink, we shall look at the advertisement of SU in search for a new person for the post of the Rector. This could give an idea of what the University was expecting of a new Rector. The advertisement was published

[305] See also Chapter 5.2.2 on resistance from the universities against the apartheid regime.

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nationally and internationally.[306] In terms of content the job posting listed, first of all, the responsibilities of the future Rector. He would be accountable for

> "(i) academic leadership; (ii) the formulation and implementation of general policy; (iii) the financial management and control of the university; (iv) the facilitation and management of sound internal relations in respect of staff and students; (v) and the creation and maintenance of sound external national and international relations." (SU 2001)

These expectations are grounded in the South African Higher Education Act (1997), where it is stated "The principal of a public higher education institution is responsible for the management and administration of the public higher education institution" (RSA Higher Education Act 1997: Chapter 4). It should be highlighted, however, that external relations on the national as well as on the international level were obviously considered an extremely important part of the Rector's portfolio by the University, and it can already be indicated that the job advertisement for the post of the Rector and Vice Chancellor in 2006 included even more duties. The 2001 job advertisement contained the following qualifications and criteria a suitable person had to fulfil: Besides a recognized academic career and sound management, leadership and communication skills (in English and Afrikaans), the University had put particular emphasis on the capacity to develop partnerships and alliances. The advertisement was drawn up by the joint Council and the Senate appointments committee constituted in terms of the regulations for the appointment of Rectors and Vice Rectors. Its content is proof of the continued emphasis that had already been allocated to international liaisons and partnerships and a purposeful process of internationalization under Rector Andreas van Wyk in the 1990s.

Nine candidates applied for the post, of whom four were invited for an interview. Three of them finally made it to the short list. These were Chris Brink, Walter Claassen (at that time Vice Rector for Research) and Rolf Stumpf (at that time Vice Rector for Teaching). After the voting in the Senate (with an absolute majority vote for both Brink and Stumpf, with Stumpf, however, getting more votes in absolute terms) and in the Institutional Forum (with a majority vote for Stumpf), and a narrow majority vote for Brink in the Council, the final decision fell on Chris Brink (as the Council takes the final decision, with the Senate and the Institutional Forum only having an advisory role). Unfortunately, there is no documentation available on the discussions in the bodies. What is clear from the Council minutes of 19 May 2001 is that both Rolf Stumpf and Chris Brink, according to the appointments committee of the Council and the Senate, fulfilled all the criteria required and had convinced the stakeholders of the University with their motivation letters and oral presentations during the interviews. After Walter Claassen did not get the support in the Senate, the Senate, consequently, recommended two candidates to the Council. Both of the candidates were coming from outside the University. A brief look on their CVs and their ideas of the future of SU, as represented in some form of vision statement, shall highlight how the two candidates

[306] In South Africa, it appeared in the Afrikaans newspapers Rapport, Die Burger and Die Beeld, furthermore in the Cape Argus, City Press, Finance Week, Financial Mail, Mail & Guardian, Sunday Independent, Sunday Times and Sunday Tribune. It was run online also in the Cape Times, Pretoria News, The Daily News and The Star. Internationally, the post was advertised in the Economist, the Times Higher Education Supplement as well as online in the British Independent (SU Council, 19 May 2001: 87).

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interpreted the needs and challenges of the University, what solutions they considered appropriate and how they would contribute to the institutional way ahead. Looking at the CVs, it is obvious that Chris Brink was equipped with far reaching institutional management and leadership skills. In the transformation process of UCT as well as in his position as Vice Rector (Research) in Australia he had gained experience not only in extensive planning, by writing mission statements and strategic plans for faculties as well as for whole institutions, but also in managing the commercializing activities of a university and creating external linkages of various kinds. The list of university committees he had served on is remarkable and substantiates his capacities in academic leadership. The way Brink's CV is presented combines his knowledge of the particularities of the South African higher education sector and his broad knowledge about the international science system with his experiences as an institutional leader as well as with an outstanding academic record (SU Council, 19 May 2001: 93ff). The CV of Rolf Stumpf focuses on three aspects, namely his academic education as a statistician, his professional career and his memberships. His professional career started as that of a Statistic's Lecturer, continued as planner in the Department of National Education during the 1980s and as General Director and later President of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) in the 1990s and ended with his positions as Vice Rector (Operations) and later for teaching at SU. The length of the list of his memberships mainly in South African science and research institutions speaks for a thorough insight into and leading role in South African developments, not least through Stumpf's participation in the National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE) and the writing of its report (SU Council, 19 May 2001: 129ff).

Even more insightful in terms of their aptitude for the Rector post of SU were the vision statements for the institution that both candidates had developed. Stumpf's presentation starts with his points of view on SU and its future. Thereby, he commits himself to the University "as a leading university in South Africa and in Southern Africa" (SU Council, 19 May 2001: 124). His ideas of SU's development centre on "internationally recognised academic standards", "research on an international standard", "requirements of internationalisation of the practice of science", "the need to attract international students to Stellenbosch and the greater internationalisation of the world of work" and, thereby, a "more internationally oriented language approach" and also on "mutually strengthening partnerships […] both on a national and an international level (including Africa in particular)" (ibid: 124f). With a view to SU's particularity, his vision emphasizes the need for an institutional culture and an institutional profile representing the whole of South Africa and, thereby, extending the community the University should serve and interact with. Planning and strategic management were to be promoted as were financial sustainability and quality assurance. The emphasis on cooperative approaches in governing the University goes not only back again to what the NCHE had recommended in the mid-1990s, but is equally interesting when comparing that with the management style of the previous Rector van Wyk. In his statement, Stumpf, for example, refers to "the present unacceptably high levels of distrust of academics in 'management'" (ibid: 127). Stumpf wanted to position the University internally and externally as a world class university and as an institution dedicated to realizing national

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goals by strategically leading it in a cooperative style, based on partnerships, a common institutional value system, financial sustainability as well as a thorough management of the core functions of the University. He imagined the position of the Rector as a bridge builder. Seen in a broader context, Rolf Stumpf's vision for SU in 2001 reads like that of a man who is well-experienced in the South African higher education sector, exactly knowing the discussions of the time, who possesses the insider knowledge of the institution and can draw on inner-institutional networks and wide support.

The starting point of Brink's vision, on the other hand, is that higher education systems worldwide are in a process of change. In that process, Brink defined four aspects that are of considerable influence for individual HEIs: Firstly, changing relationships between the state and the universities; secondly, demographic changes and the diversification of the student body; thirdly, the rate of development of information and communication technologies and fourthly, globalization and the crossing of national boundaries by human beings, goods, capital and information, which implies that students must get a qualified training in order to become global citizens and to be able to work in such an environment. Therefore, staff members must be able to train their students accordingly by operating on an international level as well. According to Brink, it was because of the processes of globalization that any university was competing with institutions in other parts of the world (SU Council, 19 May 2001: 90f). Thus, in contrast to Stumpf's presentation, in which SU was the point of departure, Brink started from the global, of which SU was but one part. After the general description of international trends in higher education, Brink went a step further and deduced the implications for SU in all four categories before asking the following pointed questions under the headline "What next for Stellenbosch?": "What kind of university is Stellenbosch in the national context? What is it known for in the international university system? What does it stand for? And what does it contribute?" (ibid: 91). Brink's vision of SU was that of a leading institution in the setup and development of a South African knowledge economy. It would be a research-driven university steadily growing in its national and international profile, and it would be the first option for the Afrikaans speaking students, but with a broad demographic profile transcending the frontiers of age, colour, language, financial background and origin. Brink's own contribution to that vision would be his leadership skills, his logical thinking, and his ability to transmit ideas to others. Furthermore, he highlighted his experience in different academic positions, including research management and liaison with industry and business, and his understanding of different international settings. The capability to read global lessons in higher education and to apply them to local conditions and, finally, the drive to implement would be his strengths that would qualify him for the Rector of SU (ibid: 92). Brink put his ability to analyse a situation, to logically deduct implications, to ask questions, to present his priorities as well as a plan how to get there into the centre of his vision statement. This analytical competency coupled with Brink's international experience must have contributed to convincing the members of the Council in particular that he would be the right person to do the job.

Chris Brink became the first Rector who was not an ex-alumnus of SU and not a member of the Afrikaner Broederbond (which would have been equally true for Stumpf). At the age of 50

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only, he also became the youngest Rector the University ever had. After Rolf Stumpf's appointment as vice Rector coming from the outside and Julian Smith's appointment as the first coloured person into the management team, Brink was the third deliberately chosen candidate from outside.

Brink's appointment was described as "the biggest surprise at Stellenbosch over the past ten years" by the press (Retief, Rapport, 27 May 2001, quoted from Botha 2007: 45) as well as by members of one of the faculties (Smith 2007: 236) as "the inner circles of the Afrikaner establishment usually determined this [the next Rector, SB] in advance – [because] it was necessary to ensure that the post would be filled by someone who would maintain the traditions of the University" (ibid). But Brink had been an outsider in the nomination process. This was read as a signal of breaking with the old dispensation and Stellenbosch's "inbreeding" concerning appointments of academics (ibid.). Brink himself stated "I see my appointment also as a message that the University has appreciation of experience brought in from the outside. It shows that the University is open to new influences and that they are keen to utilize this kind of outside experience" (ibid: 46).

The book "Chris Brink. Anatomy of a Transformer" (Botha 2007) contains some of Brink's key documents, views and most important speeches (a total of 11 speeches on various topics and occasions) as well as an introduction in the form of a retrospective reflection about his term in office. Also media reactions to some of the incidents and developments at the University between 2002 and 2007 are included. The last part of the book gives a voice to the people who used to work closely with him at SU and their perspectives on Brink's contribution to the institution. It must be noted that the book was published after Brink had already left the University. It was Brink himself who decided what to include in the publication. Hence, it has to be seen as a *Festschrift* rather than as a complete and critical overview of Brink's five years as Rector. In fact, his role in the selection of the contributions became quite controversial in subsequent Council discussions. The content, therefore, should be handled with care, as it may convey an impression of homogeneity that had not existed at SU during the time. However, it gives valuable insights into the development of the University and some of the controversies as seen from the perspective of the Rector. Based on Brink's speeches and key documents, the way he read and interpreted the University shall be worked out hereinafter. This will be complemented with opinions from other University members and from the outside. What role processes of globalization played in transforming the University and how SU's future development had been negotiated among the stakeholders of the University will be explored.

Brink's Understanding of Stellenbosch University and the Deconstruction of Institutional Myths

Brink's point of departure for his term in office was to understand the institutional history and culture of SU. He did so by continuously deconstructing some of the institutional myths that had been in existence for decades – myths that, according to him, hindered people to leave behind the Stellenbosch of the old days. These myths give a good insight into some of SU's main characteristics in comparison to other HEIs in South Africa. Brink tried to use their

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dismantling to make people change their minds and their consciousness as a basis for changing behaviours.

The *myth of paradise* was addressed in Brink's inaugural speech. This myth, as a metaphor of perfection, was considered by Brink as the most deeply rooted one in people's minds and something quite dangerous in terms of threatening complacency, the exclusion of outsiders, but also in terms of the sustainability of that paradise in changing societal contexts (Brink 2007a: 5). The following statement stems from Brink's inauguration address on 10 April 2002. It does not only illustrate the self-perception of the institution, but also touches upon the idea of Stellenbosch as the chosen place for paradise, thereby, implicitly pointing to the chosen place for the constant reconfirmation of Afrikaner group identity.

> "Stellenbosch is unique – so people tell me. That, in fact, is the single most common phrase I have heard since taking up my position as Vice Chancellor 100 days ago: "Stellenbosch is unique". In Stellenbosch, people say, things are well-ordered. Of good quality. Everything works. Everything is in its appointed place. Everything is beautiful.
>
> But in that, itself, lies the danger. The danger is that we will slip into a comfortable metaphor of Stellenbosch as a small secluded paradise, behind the mountain range of our implicit assumptions, distant from the new world around us. The danger is that we will think of ourselves as the gatekeepers of paradise. The danger is that we will only open the gates, every now and then, ever so slightly, to let a few people in, on the assumption that they should then again close the gate behind them." (ibid.)

Making this myth and the consequences of it explicit appeared necessary for Brink in order to open up people's minds. Brink's inaugural speech was constructed around four questions that were repeated on different occasions during Brink's term in office. They came to be known as the "Brink questions": "Where do we come from? Where are we now? Where do we wish to be? How do we get there?" (Brink, 10 April 2002, quoted in Botha 2007: 67). Relating to the third question, it was again in the inaugural speech that Brink developed the goal "We wish to be a top university in the new world. We wish to be internationally esteemed, and to play a leading role at the national and regional level. We would like the name 'Stellenbosch' to feature prominently in the annals of higher education" (ibid: 68). The passage with its reference to "the new world" clearly highlights changes outside the University the institution had to respond to, to the South African as well as global challenges in higher education. Becoming more visible nationally, regionally as well as internationally was obviously something that was considered advantageous in this process. Internationalization, therefore, became a means towards achieving national and international excellence and reaching a position "in the annals of higher education".

The *myth of excellence* and the historical self-image that SU had always been a place of excellence was a second feature that Brink wanted to put in context in his text "Transformation as Demythologization" (Brink 2007a: 3) as this claim was indeed not true for large parts of SU's history. Not only was the University, constructed in the 1960s around the notion of the "volksuniversiteit", binding itself solely to one ethnically oriented cultural community and, therefore, limiting itself for quite some time to identity politics more so than focusing on academia. Its "identity-driven" insular character additionally resulted in a "measuring by own standards" rather than in comparing oneself to other institutions in terms of the quality and quantity of academic achievements (ibid: 8). Hence, it must have come as

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a big shock to the University when in 1982 one of the first comparative studies regarding research in the Natural Sciences was published by Professor E.C. Reynhardt, a physicist from UNISA, in the South African Journal of Science. In his article, Reynhardt had compared the research output of South African universities with each other as well as with those from industrialized countries on the basis of the Science Citation Index. What the data revealed was, firstly, that South African academics did far less research than academics in industrialized countries. Secondly, they showed that regarding research the English-medium universities in South Africa completely outperformed the Afrikaans-medium universities. Interestingly enough, SU obtained a less favourable position at the bottom of the list (Reynhardt 1982). Therefore, contrary to SU's self-perception as an institution of academic excellence, its research productivity was rather mediocre at that time. A couple of years later, this result was reconfirmed in a study published by the South African Foundation for Research Development (today the National Research Foundation – NRF) (Brink 2007a: 8f). The comparative analysis concerning research achievements and productivity came as a wake-up call. It was in the aftermath of these publications that the University started to gradually develop its research profile. The institution has since nationally been ranked among the top three to five universities in terms of research output (Interview 1, 2010).[307]

Brink was especially eager to change the institutional culture to make it more welcoming to diversity and also to break with (student) traditions that had characterized the University for a long time, but that were never questioned in terms of their respect of human dignity. One example would be the residence culture and initiation rites. An incident in 2001, where a first year student died during an initiation ritual, prompted Brink to make up his mind on initiation, as he perceived it as structural violence and pure power game between older students and newcomers. In his inaugural address he, therefore, strongly encouraged the University community to rethink some institutional practices by introducing his ideas of a value-driven instead of a rules-driven approach for any kind of university-related activity (Brink 2007a: 10). The *myth of power and authority* as a natural element of the institutional character of SU was thereby challenged and deconstructed as the third of the myths defined by Chris Brink. Initiation was soon replaced by a welcome ceremony for first year students. The myth of power and authority, however, was also existent on the management level. At the beginning of Brink's term, there was a prevalent expectation of the continuation of a command and control approach and personal decision making that his predecessors had lived. Brink himself stated that he favoured an approach through which academics would be left free to make their own decisions in order to improve SU's academic performance as well as academic entrepreneurialism (ibid.). Crucial for the retention of the power and authority myth and its constant revitalization, however, was public opinion, as exemplified with the debates and discussions on the language question at SU in the Afrikaans press. When the so-called T-option ("T" for tweetaligheid = bilingualism) or dual-medium teaching was introduced at SU's Arts Faculty in 2004[308], which allowed the lecturer to use both Afrikaans and English in

[307] An overview of concrete achievements, especially in terms of research output, can be found in Brink (4 July 2006, quoted in Botha 2007: 168f).

[308] This was based on a new institutional language policy, which was introduced in 2004 after an independent Language Task Team had been appointed in 2001 by Brink and after a Language Plan had been formulated in

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the same lecture and to repeat parts of the curriculum in English to include non-Afrikaans speaking students, it was unimaginable for the interested public that the academics themselves had brought the idea to the table. In the public arena, this decision had been interpreted analogous to the power and authority myth that the lecturers must have been ordered to use the T-option, either by management or – even worse – by the ANC-dominated government (ibid.).

Related to the power myth was the imminent danger and publicly felt pressure from the government especially against the use of Afrikaans as teaching language. Brink reacted to the *myth of constant government pressure*, as he labelled it, in the following way: "I have to say that as a university manager I felt less pressure from government in South Africa than I did in Australia, and also less than I expect of experience in the United Kingdom" (Brink 2007a: 11). This myth, according to Brink, was probably also nurtured by the assumption that the University was totally dependent on government subsidies, which it was not at all. Such a supposition would in the imagination of some allow the government to impose and assert their will upon institutions. In 2006, however, SU received only around one third of its total income from government[309]. Among this portion of the formula-driven government allocation there was, according to Brink, only six percent of the budget which the government could use to exert pressure in favour of a certain agenda, such as affirmative action. The language policy was not included in the block grant formula.

The *myth that the university is largely dependent on the financial contributions of its alumni* is another story that featured constantly and quite prominently in the controversies, especially with regards to who would have the interpretational and decisive sovereignty over the language issue. In that debate, some alumni repeatedly threatened with the widespread withdrawal of financial support to the University. However, as Brink in his public annual report of 2003 emphasized: In the early 2000s, not more than five percent of the alumni donated to the University. Their contributions usually amounted between six and eight percent of the total donations the University received in a given year. In absolute terms, the alumni's financial contributions in 2002 were at R4.2 million. The potential to financially blackmail was, according to him, rather limited (Brink, 23 July 2003, quoted in Botha 2007: 93).

To set in motion a process of mind changes within the University was already a tedious and time consuming endeavour. To also initiate change among the public, especially among the

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2002. It offered three language options in addition to the described T-option: In the A option, the lecturers used Afrikaans as the dominant communication language in class; the E option was most of all used in postgraduate courses and defined English as prime language to be spoken by the lecturer; the A and E option meant that there were separate classes presented in parallel with one using English only and the other using Afrikaans as language of instruction (Visser 2007: 222). The T-option was bitterly fought over in the public for its opponents saw the protection and further development of Afrikaans as a language of science in danger. There was also a fear that in classes with Afrikaans as the dominant language of communication a non-native Afrikaans student could exercise the so-called "English veto" by asking the lecturer for a repetition in English, which could in the eyes of some lead to the degradation of Afrikaans, only because the lecturer would take his responsibility in trying to accommodate all students in class (Brink, November 2002, quoted in Botha 2007: 73). The Language Plan defined Afrikaans as default medium of instruction at the undergraduate level – if not otherwise motivated. Broad-based parallel medium instruction was not intended to be implemented (ibid: 79f). The Language Plan of SU was reviewed in 2007/2008 and in 2013 the University's Council decided to introduce simultaneous interpretation or parallel-medium instruction in all undergraduate classes.

[309] And in 2013, government funding amounted to 27 percent of the University's total income.

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group of the old conservative Stellenbosch alumni organized in the convocation, was a far more challenging task. From their point of view, they had owned the University for decades, and they had contributed to it being the home of the Afrikaner people. They now feared that the tradition and culture of the University would fall apart, as it would be unimaginable to them that a university and its academics could engage in transformation in order to improve the University. This recognition in itself would already have constituted a mind change.

Strategic Development and Planning as a Means to Achieve Transformation in the Context of South African Nation-Building and International Visibility – The Play with Different Spatial References

Chris Brink continuously emphasized that the "Strategic Framework for the Turn of the Century and Beyond" (SU 2000) served as guiding concept for Stellenbosch's renewal and self-examination. Thus, it remained the basis of what should be achieved and for the implementation of transformation at SU. For the sake of simplicity and better comprehension of the rather comprehensive and complex document, Brink extracted five key elements from the Strategic Framework and summarized them under Vision 2012 in September 2003. The year 2012 had been chosen, because it was expected that Chris Brink would remain Rector of SU for two terms – until 2012. The following text has been termed Vision 2012:

> "With this vision statement SU commits itself to an outward-oriented role within South Africa, in Africa, and globally. SU:
> - Is an academic institution of excellence and a respected knowledge partner;
> - Contributes towards building the scientific, technological and intellectual capacity of Africa;
> - Is an active role player in the development of the South African society;
> - Has a campus culture that welcomes a diversity of people and ideas;
> - Promotes Afrikaans as a language of teaching and science in a multilingual context." (Botha 2007: xiii)

Transformation at SU, therefore, became interchangeable with the realization of these five vision points. Many things had to urgently be addressed against the backdrop of transformation. Just to mention a few headlines related to these vision points: the promotion of diversity regarding lecturers, administrative staff, students, alliances, language and ideas – according to a concept of merit; inclusive access to SU; the transformation of the residence culture, including the adjustment of the residence placement policy to widen access; the development of an inclusive, national community service as well as local Stellenbosch community programmes; the promotion of the previously excluded and disadvantaged; the establishment of SU as a national and international asset, but also as a local asset integrated into the town of Stellenbosch; SU as part of a democratized South Africa; establishing SU not as an Afrikaans cultural institution, but as a multilingual University – but also the promotion of excellence and international competitiveness; positioning SU as South Africa's top research university and defining a number of academic niche areas with a focus on societal problems and challenges (Esterhuyse 2007: 187).[310]

[310] One concrete activity in the context of these headlines and topics was, for example, the renaming of buildings in 2004, which had become necessary as many of the faculty buildings bore the names of key figures during the apartheid regime, which could not be accepted any more. The BJ Vorster building was one such example, which

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Brink's term must be connected to the implementation of an institutional strategic planning process in order to realize Vision 2012, which displayed the characteristics of a real "planning euphoria". The approach was based on an annual planning cycle as envisioned by the White Paper 3 (1997), as started on the institutional level in 1998 with three-year institutional rolling plans and as reinforced by the National Plan for Higher Education (2001). In addition, SU developed a set of so-called Strategic Management Indicators (SMIs). These indicators were supposed to monitor and evaluate progress towards the targets that the faculties should achieve and the realization of strategic objectives and the ideal of excellence outlined in Vision 2012.[311] 16 indicators had been established on the basis of the five-point vision statement to measure performance, financial and strategic contributions of departments, centres and faculties as well as of support units.[312] Strategic Management Indices were calculated for the first time in 2005 and have since been published annually.[313] SU's budget was supposed to be allocated intra-institutionally according to the calculated indices and the internal formula for the funding of departments and faculties (Hertzog 2007: 189; Interviews 3, 2010). In theory, this process should support the strategic objectives of the University, especially in terms of resource allocation.

As a result, also the faculties were run like small businesses with own strategic frameworks, goals and objectives, missions and visions for their part and a performance evaluation. All academic staff members had to go through an achievement evaluation once a year (Interview 10, 34, 2010). They were used "for effectively managing the career development of individual members of staff" and "to "measure" effectively, and give recognition to, the quality of their academic activities in the fields of teaching (undergraduate, postgraduate), research, community interaction and service delivery as well as administration and management" (e.g. Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences 2010). The dean of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences explained:

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had simply changed to the Arts and Social Sciences building (Interview 20, 2010). Other examples included the appointment of a coordinator for diversity (Michaels 2007: 234) or the appointment of the first female dean at the Faculty of Theology (Mouton 2007: 206). To make community engagement a proper core function of SU, through the renaming of the Vice Rector for Operations into Community Interaction and Personnel and, therefore, changing the focus of responsibility from October 2007, is another prime example (SU Annual Report 2007: 10). The international accreditation of programmes, where possible and advisable, discussed and decided for in a 2004 Senate meeting (without, however, replacing national quality assurance), has to be read in the light of international visibility and competitiveness.

[311] This system of measuring performance – not unusual for the business world – with a view to the realization of Vision 2012 was unique in South Africa and had been considered "best practice" by other HEIs. It allowed, for example, determining where in the University profit was made and where losses were produced. In the long run, it allowed comparing performance changes in departments and faculties. The introduction of such a system was related to a changing financial situation in 2003 when the annual subsidy from the state was reduced by R18.5 million marking just the beginning of a long-term effect of declining state allocations. Therefore, sound financial management became was needed in order to grow yet to become financially sustainable (Brink, 23 July 2003, quoted in Botha 2007: 90; see also Interview 34, 2010).

[312] The indicators included the following 16 aspects (14 SMIs and two external indicators) in a given year: publication output (1a), expertise structure of staff (1b), number of evaluated C1 staff (1c), success rates of undergraduate students (1d), percentage of postgraduate students (1e), postgraduate qualifications awarded (1f), percentage of postgraduate students from other African countries (2a), established partnerships in Africa (2b), innovation (3a), community interaction (3b), third money stream (3c), diversity of instruction/research staff (4a), diversity of postgraduate students (4b), diversity of first time entering first year students (4c), utilization of C1 staff (6), relative operating balance (7) (See http://sun025.sun.ac.za/portal/page/portal/Administrative_Divisions/INB/Home/Strategic%20Management%20indicators [retrieved 20 May 2012]).

[313] Detailed information on how they are calculated can be found in SU Factbook (2011).

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> "[W]e have to run our Faculty like a small business, with income and expenditure. And we also need to cross-subsidize all the support services in the University. So, with income we work on the basis of about 50 percent [...], [the other, SB] 50 percent go to the library or to support the Vice Rector (Teaching). [...] [Decision making at the University, SB] is linked to the funding model of the University. It's so centralized that you can't move at the bottom without asking the person at the top. [...] These days, we have this full funding model, it is a business-driven type of institution, where you have to create funds, and departments have to create funds – third stream funding. [...] faculties are more or less operating independently within the rules set by the University. [...] In our Faculty, we work on strategic plans. The departments [...] have to indicate to me the next three years, what they want to do, if they need more staff, or more research support. [...] We have strategic plans, strategic directions, strategic goals, strategic business areas. [...] We have this pressure that we have to perform, because state money is not enough." (Interview, 2010)

New public management and managerialist approaches towards governing universities together with a regime of accountability and assessment were introduced in South Africa at the end of the 1990s, with role models from the UK and Australia (Interview 7, 2010). So, in that regard, SU was no exception in South Africa. The system of Strategic Management Indicators, however, initially was an exception.

The introduction of a system of performance measurement at SU, of course, did not pass by without sparking heated debates. It was very controversial, made a lot of people angry and continued to be an unsolved tension over many years (SU Council, 29 November 2010; Interview 46, 2011). The way it was implemented at SU, it was felt by some professors, was particularly problematic as "they constantly change the criteria they will measure you against" (Interview 10, 2010). It was through managerialist approaches that a replacement of the "culture of trust through monitoring" had taken place "and that's unfortunate" (Interview 7, 2010). Le Grange, professor at SU's Faculty of Education, for example, came to the critical conclusion that, in the context of SU, SMIs and the performance targets were created in order to declare the University excellent, once it had achieved the targets and featured in university rankings.

> "[I]f SU achieves its targets, then it is an excellent university. […] Excellence is viewed only in terms of what is measurable, this serves the needs of university managers who can use the statistics to position this university favourably in an increasingly competitive higher education system in which universities are place on world, continental and national ranking lists. [...] these indicators of excellence conceal the emptiness of the idea(l) of excellence" (Le Grange 2009: 115).[314]

This way of guiding the University involved, furthermore, the writing of business and management plans as well as policy papers on the various aspects of university life, all of them anchored in the institutional vision statement. Consequently, a range of management plans was put in place.[315] A Code of Management Practices would complete the set of policies and plans on the practical level. "[Brink] was eager to see the University as one of

[314] The unease among academics with managerialist approaches towards governing a University and the performance regime that had entered SU will be further detailed in Chapter 7.3.

[315] Among them were a Teaching Management Plan (2003–2007); a Research Management Plan (including the definition of a small number of focus areas for the University); a Community Interaction Plan; a Language Plan; a Diversity Plan; a Human Resource Management Plan (including an Employment Equity Plan and a Staff Diversification Policy); a Commercialization Plan and Intellectual Property Management; a Risk-Management System and an annually updated three-year rolling Institutional Business Plan as well as Faculty Business Plans, on which the internal funding formula would draw in order to allocate money to the faculties.

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the most effective institutions of higher education in Africa" (Piedt 2007: 196), and this was to be reached through stubborn planning and streamlined decision making "based on an annual cycle of information, planning, monitoring and budgeting" (Brink 2007c: 28) as well as on organizational changes in the University.[316]

It is more than obvious that both the developments on the national South African level as well as those at SU were highly influenced by the Australian way to govern universities during the 1990s. In the case of SU, elements from the Australian system entered the University in the person of Chris Brink, who continued and intensified the apparent efficiency approach that was already favoured by the previous rectorate under Andreas van Wyk.

What Vision 2012, the mentioned key areas of change and the concrete examples as well as the increased attention to planning all have in common is that they express a reaction to the dual challenge of national transformation in South Africa as well as to a changing global university context. They show how SU is bound to its national context first of all, but also exposed to developments outside of the national borders. It might have rejected these outside influences. But SU had the opportunities in terms of its wealth, the research achievements during the 1990s and, therefore, the potential to transcend its radius of action across the national borders of South Africa. It would have been irrational to not have attempted to establish itself as an internationally esteemed and valued research university with national, regional as well as international outreach. All of this was also in order to cope with shrinking public funding. Thus, such an enthusiastic adoption of this management style and a certain form of self-control by SU can only be explained with the complex situation and the ambitious claims of the University and its management to simultaneously act in different spatial arenas (and not only with attempts to contribute to democracy or redress).

The majority of the headlines related to Vision 2012 must, therefore, be regarded in the light of South African nation-building and of establishing SU as a South African, but also as an African institution. But this was not enough. Under the condition of transnationalization and globalization, an international agenda was considered an integral part of the institutional strategy from the early 1990s onwards. In other words: Instead of focusing on nation-building before pushing the internationalization of the institution, SU concentrated on different things at the same time.

Looking at all of Brink's speeches as represented in Botha (2007), it becomes clear that they are first and foremost dominated by repeatedly explaining the University's transformation approach and why transformation was necessary in the post-1994 South Africa. Various audiences were informed about the Strategic Framework (SU 2000) as the guiding document for transformation at SU, which had been passed already before Brink's acceptance of the Rector post. The dominant contents of Brink's speeches, therefore, dealt with institutional

[316] This is exemplified in the establishment of a Unit for Innovation and Commercialization to better use the commercial potential of the University's research output (van Huyssteen 2007: 201) or the redesigning and rightsizing process of support units (Botha, L. 2007: 197). Another example is the shifting of the function "Strategic Planning" within the University, which had been relocated several times. In the early phase of Brink's tenure, it was located in the Division for Institutional Planning. In 2007 it was renamed to Division Strategic Planning, which in 2008 was merged with the Division Academic Planning and Quality Assurance into the Division for Institutional Research and Planning. Thereafter, it was relocated into the office of the vice chancellor (See http://sun025.sun.ac.za/portal/page/portal/Administrative_Divisions/INB/Home [retrieved 11 November 2011] as well as Interviews 3 and 16, 2010).

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issues, such as language, quality and diversity, identity or "Whose place is this?" (Brink, 11 April 2004, quoted in Botha 2007: 116)[317]. The speeches focused on how the Strategic Framework could be implemented and very often also on what the University had already achieved in terms of transformation and in terms of the realization of Vision 2012. They seldom dealt directly with processes of globalization or inter- and transnationalization. Indirectly, however, many passages referred to local problems that had to be solved as a prerequisite to participate internationally in academia and to not being denied cooperation anymore because of a legacy of separation and exclusion as the former apartheid University, still deeply ingrained in its past: "We want to rise above a small-town base, a minority language, and an unhappy political history, to international standing. [...] In fact, we have more opportunities than problems. The world lies open before us" (Brink, 23 July 2003 and 29 July 2004, quoted in Botha 2007: 97, 114).

As it is the nature of things that a Rector would focus most of all on the local and institutional challenges, the following citations from some of the Brink speeches and key documents, however, shall illustrate the swaying to and fro between the different spatial layers and their mobilization for the realization of different kinds of institutional goals. Even though not always made explicit, the global context was omnipresent in Brink's argumentation. Global challenges in higher education and the persistent search of universities for their purpose were used to legitimize change at SU as an additional rationale for institutional renewal that otherwise would have been too easily understood as being limited to South Africa.

> "[...] locally and globally, all universities are undergoing a process of transformation. (I am aware that "transformation" is one of those words that easily raise the blood pressure of South Africans, and I therefore hasten to repeat that the process of transformation in Higher Education is a global one.) We are in an era during which the role of the University in society, as well as how Universities should change to fulfil such a role or roles, is being debated everywhere. [...] The first reason is the new role of knowledge as a driver of the economy. In the so-called knowledge economy, the welfare of countries [...] depends on the knowledge that is in people's heads, and putting that knowledge to work. [...] The second reason why the business of universities is being reconsidered has to do with a fundamental change in the nature of the society within which the University operates." (Brink, 23 June 2004, quoted in Botha 2007: 99)

> "A top university is one that deals with knowledge professionally, in the global context, and in the local context. We know now that globally we are placed within the context of a knowledge economy. In the 21st century the economic growth of nations will depend on the professionalism with which they deal with knowledge. This gives to universities a new importance. […] [U]niversities are power sources for the knowledge economy." (Brink, 30 January 2002, quoted in Botha 2007: 57)

As demonstrated in the last passage, the global context was part of Brink's definition of excellence as he regarded universities as part of the global; in his understanding, local excellence (meaning a top position within South Africa) was not sufficient. The argumentation with the knowledge economy and the contribution of universities to the welfare of societies is identical with South African policy papers on higher education.

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[317] Brink developed the dichotomy of the older constituency of traditional Stellenbosch Afrikaner circles, who used to be in control of the place prior to 1994, and that of a newer and broader community not limited to Afrikaans speakers (Brink, 11 November 2004, quoted in Botha 2007: 116).

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References made to the Africanness of SU were present, too, mainly in speeches held on University related occasions, such as the public annual reports in 2004 and 2005.

> "One important part of our vision revolves around the fact that we are Africans. Our work, our aspirations and our contributions must always be seen in that light. There is no conflict between international competitiveness and being rooted in the African soil. Accordingly, it is important for us to have active programs and collaborations in an African context." (Brink, 29 July 2004, quoted in Botha 2007: 107)

> "Our profile on the African continent is steadily rising, with a diverse number of well-functioning centres with an Africa focus." (Brink, 27 July 2005, quoted in Botha 2007: 125)

As the second of the five vision points related to capacity building for Africa, mention of SU's close relation to the continent was made whenever Vision 2012 or the Strategic Framework were presented. Also SU's contribution to nation-building and its moral obligation as a University situated in South Africa to be of service to the South African community were repeatedly highlighted. In order to be of good service to South Africa, SU had to be excellent.

> "A measure of our participation in nation-building is the extent to which our expertise is sought after by organs of state. Here I would like to mention two examples. CREST, our Centre for Research on Science and Technology, is the foremost centre of expertise on the methodology and sociology of science in South Africa., and is regularly consulted by the Department of Science and Technology in relation to policy development. Another prime example is our Bureau of Economic Research (BER). The Bureau focuses primarily on the South African macro-economy and selected economic sectors. (Brink, 29 July 2004, quoted in Botha 2007: 109)

> "We want to be a top university. A university of excellence that is a national asset for this country, and an international role player in higher education." (Brink, 30 January 2002, quoted in Botha 2007: 62).

According to Chris Brink, part of SU's role in society and its self-understanding was doing service to humankind by making knowledge available to different partners at different spatial scales and by using the institution's location on the African continent and the potential of this location for research, partnerships as well as for the generation of additional income to the best of the institution.

> "Our motto is "Your knowledge partner", which expresses both a reality and a goal. Of the total budget of the University no less than 43% comes neither from state subsidy nor from student fees, but in one way or another from our knowledge partners. That money comes to the University via research contracts, entrepreneurial activities, philanthropy, consultation work, international agreements and a number of other activities, all largely dependent on the image of the university in the wider world, and the free choice exercises by other institutions whether to partner with us or not." (Brink 2007b: 20)

It was, for example, in the public annual report given on 27 July 2005 that Brink specifically referred to the discussion around the knowledge society and the changes in society from a so-called Mode 1 to a Mode 2 society as reflected by Michael Gibbons and his colleagues in the 1994 publication "The new production of knowledge".[318] Brink highlighted the increasing permeability of categories and boundaries (institutional and national boundaries) as well as increasing diversity and overlap in a Mode 2 society, as expressed in an article of Michael Gibbons in 2003: "In sum, the major institutions of society have been transgressed as institutions have crossed onto one another's terrain" (Gibbons 2003, quoted in Brink, 23 June

[318] Other occasions included an address given to the Cape Chamber of Commerce in June 2004 titled "The Business of the University" (Brink, 23 June 2004, quoted in Botha 2007: 99ff).

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2004 in Botha 2007: 100). It is in such a situation of crumbling state boundaries that societies and institutions within a given society are confronted with pervasive uncertainty. In order to cope with that uncertainty, according to Gibbons, there is greater readiness to discover alternative solutions, to enter into cooperative projects and to experiment with new models and partnerships (ibid.). Brink admitted that he was running SU within the context of a Mode 2 society (Brink, 23 June 2004, quoted in Botha 2007: 103), which also meant to live and work with uncertainty: "My view is that there are no longer any guarantees, that if you wait for certainty before you move you will not move, and that, if you do not move, you will be left behind" (ibid.). Certain developments at SU, such as the development of an institutional Risk Management Plan, underlined this statement.

The endangerment of SU's successful position as a "knowledge partner" on different spatial scales (local, national, regional, global) through insularity, limited access to the institution and an excluding language policy as well as the need for a more open approach to membership of the University were expressed by Brink in the following statements. They also touch upon the need to attract internationally competitive academics, if the success was to be stabilized.

> "The identity model would jeopardise the academic profile of the University because under this model we would have difficulty in recruiting top academics to Stellenbosch, and may lose the top academics we already have. To maintain and improve a broad-based research-led university requires highly specialised world-class academics." (Brink 2007b: 19)

> "Over the past few years we managed to entice quite a few top academics to join Stellenbosch University, on the promise and reputation of a rapidly-advancing academic profile. They have joined with those top academics already in place to create a vibrant academic atmosphere. Top academics are much in demand, and, like soccer stars, their services can be bought by competitor institutions. If Stellenbosch were to devote too much time and attention to identity issues, more than are warranted in an institution of academic excellence, then top academics will simply lose interest and start walking away – irrespective of their own mother tongue." (ibid.)

English as an international language would thus be needed (besides the promotion of Afrikaans at the University), "and we need it not only to communicate amongst ourselves, but also to be internationally competitive" (Brink, 27 July 2005, quoted in Botha 2007: 128).

Numerous strategies were employed in these speeches at the rhetorical level to electively construct the University as a local, a national, a regional, an African or an international institution of higher education. This is indicative of the erosion of the national as *the only* appropriate frame of reference for the analysis of social processes in the field of higher education. The underlying rationales for the observable variation of scales, the author argues, were related to the search for the role and the place of SU in (an African) society as well as in the upcoming international knowledge society. The different scales should also remind people that the isolationist era of exclusive identity needs to be overcome. And they were also utilized for fundraising matters. Which scales were highlighted, thus depended on the occasion and the target groups of the speeches, e.g. alumni, international foundations, the South African government. Especially during Chris Brink's term as Rector, this variation must also be seen as a strategy to surmount the language struggle and the seclusiveness of the institution, as explained in the *myth of paradise*.

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Chris Brink and his Term in Office as seen by the University Community

While the presentation so far has been centred on the person Chris Brink, his perspectives and initiatives as represented in his speeches, we shall have a look at how transformation and the way it was led was seen by other stakeholders at the University, as covered in the third part of the book "Chris Brink. Anatomy of a Transformer" (Botha 2007). As these voices and opinions form part of a book project and as the people behind the statements were invited to participate, criticism and directness may be limited. Some of the statements, however, give telling insights into the life of SU, the negotiations around transformation, about how and where to go and not least about the power question and who in the end has the final interpretational sovereignty and imposes decisions. This will be enriched with interview material from conversations conducted with stakeholders of the University in 2010, 2011 and 2012.

One of the staff members, working for the University for more than 30 years concluded, for example: "Brink was one of our heroes, the changes he made – putting up people. [...] Before, all the secretaries were white only, but with Brink came the changes" (Interview 43, 2011). There were other voices who stressed that Brink's agenda was so much in favour of the previously oppressed that he showed only limited understanding of the world of the Afrikaners, their history, their fears and their hopes for the future, even though Brink himself was Afrikaans. Brink was too radical a transformer and his way forward sometimes unnecessarily excessive, wrote the philosopher Willie Esterhuyse. He followed too much the consequences of his logic, the strategic plan logically deducted from his vision, while emotional intelligence and accepting and understanding people's comfort zones was not his greatest asset (Esterhuyse 2007: 186). The narrow logical approach was not always easy to follow for those not blessed with the same skills. His management style and the pace of change, as a result, were often in the focus of criticism. Change was promoted by him at a pace and a level of radicalism that probably was not healthy for parts of the University community (ibid.; Interview 15, 2010). On the other hand, there were also voices, represented for example by the black students association, who expressed their impatience with respect to transformation and who regarded the process as moving on too slowly (Malambile 2007: 230). Besides, as Professor Anton van Niekerk observed, Chris Brink provoked controversies and criticism by taking too long to speak of "us" at the beginning of his rectorship. So, he created the impression of not immediately identifying himself in full solidarity with the University. When talking about the University's history, Brink usually focused on the dark side of its apartheid affiliation leaving aside those Stellenbosch thinkers and intellectuals that used to criticise the system already during the 1950s and 1960s, such as Keet, Degenaar, Cilliers, Jonker or Esterhuyse (A. van Niekerk 2007: 208). Also the Student Representative Council (SRC) is reported to have had a difficult relation with Brink and his management team; they walked out of meetings at the beginning of Brink's term in 2003 (Interview 36, 2010).

Brink was considered by different members of the University community, professors, administrators and Council members, as "Chief Executive Officer" (Piedt 2007: 195), as "the man in charge" (Yoyo 2007: 193f), as "the chief strategist of the University" (de Coning 2007:

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217) or “the guide in transformation” (L. Botha 2007: 197). The fact that at the beginning of his term “he consulted as widely as possible” (G. van Niekerk 2007: 191) about the changes necessary (so that SU could achieve Vision 2012) before defining his own opinion and before finally taking his decision made people trust him. Colleagues in management supported him, because he had made his vision also their vision by reiterating it on any possible occasion (L. Botha 2007: 197) and by consistently referring to the University’s Strategic Framework as point of departure. And the Senate most often supported even critical positions (G. van Niekerk 2007: 191; Brink 2007c: 26). However, there were also critical voices expressing that the degree of co-ownership for the change was not sufficiently high (de Coning 2007: 218) and that Brink in the end did not consult much, did not really listen and finally did what he wanted (Interview 47, 2010).

Leaving the University

Chris Brink did not stay for a second term as Rector even though he was reappointed by the Council in 2005 with a large majority.[319] The Council voted 25 against 3 in favour of Brink. It was most probably the language issue that made Brink go earlier (see also Interviews 39, 47, 2010). The language question comprised the discussion about the (exclusive) role of Afrikaans in the future of the University and the struggle whether the University would be the appropriate place for a rules-driven protection of a minority language that had achieved its status as a scientific language only in the 20th century (or whether it should not be the cultural community itself that should conserve it). It was disputed whether Afrikaans would deny people access to the University, would negatively influence study results of non-native speakers, would counter the promotion of diversity on campus and would harm the internationalization efforts of the University. These questions divided not only the University community but also the external public. The fear of losing Afrikaans as a scientific language and as an important aspect of identity formation as well as the fear of losing SU as the traditional place of Afrikanerdom, especially among the old Afrikaner alumni of SU, was confronted with Brink’s promotion of Afrikaans in a multilingual context in the new South Africa. It was not only the disagreement that carried the debate to the extremes, but also the way communication took place, for example via reader’s letters by hard core language activists to the Afrikaans press, such as Die Burger or Rapport, and by also using insulting attacks against the Rector personally. Brink announced his decision to leave SU in a letter on 4 July 2006. In 2007 he took up a post as Vice Chancellor of the University of Newcastle in England.

The achievements with regard to the realization of Vision 2012, as perceived by Chris Brink, are demonstrated in his announcement of resignation as well as in the introductory part of the “Anatomy of a Transformer” under the headline “The State of the University” (Brink, 4 July 2006, quoted in Botha 2007: 168ff; Brink 2007c: 28ff). Regarding the first two of the five vision points, academic performance and intellectual capacity building for Africa, Brink highlighted that the research output had increased so that SU produced more publications

[319] This was done in a short process, in terms of which an incumbent could be the only candidate that the Institutional Forum, the Senate and finally the Council could reappoint or not (instead of a long process where the post would have been advertised again).

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per year and per academic staff than any other South African university[320]. Also the number of doctoral degrees awarded per academic staff member was the highest in South Africa in 2006. The establishment of the first Institute for Advanced Study in Africa is worth mentioning as are the three (out of a total of seven by 2006) South African Centres of Excellence and the four (out of 15) Research Chairs awarded by the NRF to SU. In terms of SU's vision to become a role-player in society, Brink's statements list the following achievements: In 2005 SU was nominated the "Technologically Most Innovative University" in South Africa and was the most successful University in the National Innovation Competition for Students. SU's performance in the so-called THRIP programme ("Technology in Human Resources Programme") of the Department of Science and Technology was also better than any of the other South African universities'. The programme matches investments made by business and industry with state grants. In addition, many Africa initiatives had been launched. By 2006 all of SU's ten faculties were involved in different kinds of partnerships on the continent. About the fifth vision point, to promote Afrikaans in a multilingual context, a number of aspects have been already addressed; Afrikaans remained an issue of institutional concern.
In conclusion: Brink's term in office was the shortest of all the Rectors that had presided over SU. It was also one of the most controversial terms, if not the most. His rectorship offered the University an opportunity to enter a process of change and self-evaluation that only an outsider could have guided. It can be accepted that, during the five years of his term, SU's institutional culture and the way of discourse at the institution were substantially changed.

7.3 Russel Botman and the "Hope Project"

Russel Botman became the first black Rector and Vice Chancellor in the history of Stellenbosch University. Botman, a theologian, had studied and worked as professor at the University of the Western Cape (UWC)[321]. There he had been involved in the struggle against the apartheid regime, amongst others, as a member of the SRC during the Soweto uprisings of 1976, in the church movement and the interdenominational United Democratic Front (UDF). He had already served as Vice Rector for Teaching at SU from 2002 until he took office as the 8th Rector and Vice Chancellor of the University in 2007. As he was nominated by a number of members of Senate, it was quite early in the appointment process that Botman was regarded as a strong internal candidate for the post. This was one of the explanations of the selection committee as to why the University had only received 15 applications in total (SU Council, 8 December 2006: 6).

[320] And this held true also when taking the international Science Citation Index into account. In 2006 Stellenbosch shared the top position in South Africa with the University of Cape Town.
[321] UWC was created in consequence of the Extension of the University Act in 1959 as institution to educate the coloured people in South Africa (see also Chapter 5.2.2). This act was one of core elements of racist apartheid policy. It led to the creation of specific training spots for the various population groups in South Africa and to the fragmentation and segregation of higher education under the slogan of a "policy of separate development". However, UWC developed into a melting pot and "the intellectual home of the left" under Rector Jakes Gerwel, who took office in 1987 (see http://www.uwc.ac.za [retrieved 23 May 2012]) and came to be known as university of the progressive and intellectuals. UWC contributed to the liberation struggle (Anderson 2002; Thomas 2005).

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Botman Being Elected as Rector

The appointment process was straightforward. Botman's only opponent, Dr Victor Marcus Prozesky, who had made it to the final shortlist after four candidates had been interviewed by the selection committee, was neither convincing to the Senate nor to the Institutional Forum. All governing bodies, including the Council, voted with a vast majority for Russel Botman to succeed Chris Brink as new Rector and Vice Chancellor (ibid: 29ff).

The advertisement for the Rector post is again worth to be casted a glance. In comparison to the 2001 advertisement, an increase in duties can be stated. In addition to the functions quoted under Chapter 7.2, the new Rector was expected to also be responsible for

> "sustainable strategic planning and management of the University; [...] the identification of and safeguarding against strategic and operational risks to which the University may be exposed; and [...] ensuring appropriate local, regional, national and international role playing by the University." (SU 2006)

We can draw the following broad conclusions from this extension of tasks. Firstly, strategic planning had been enhanced at the University and it had become crucial to its management during the term of Chris Brink (naturally also in response to the requirements and expectations formulated in national policy documents). Secondly, the awareness of possible risks through external influences beyond the control of the University, the constant analysis of these influences and the development of approaches how to react to unexpected challenges had become an integral part of managing the University. And finally, the concept of "role playing", of being responsible and relevant to society at different levels, had become inherent as one of the guiding principles of institutional development at SU.

Personal requirements for the post were quite similar to the ones asked for in 2001. What may be highlighted, besides excellent communication and academic leadership skills, the ability to sustain national and international partnerships and sound knowledge about the national and international higher education environment, is "the ability to function effectively in a predominantly Afrikaans language environment" (SU 2006). This is an indicator of the unaltered important role of Afrikaans for the institutional culture of the University and its environment as well as an indicator that the University was looking for somebody from within the Afrikaans-speaking community. In the advertisement, the reference to the global (which had been made explicit as an acknowledged institutional goal once more) and the (local) language issue were present.

Russel Botman's vision statement for SU under his leadership is infused with the fashionable rhetoric of higher education management of the time. There is mention of heightened international competitiveness, profiling and international excellence that all require strategic institutional management, but also of diversity and bringing together the polarized forces within SU. With the latter, he probably referred to the language struggle. Botman emphasized the need for consolidation of those processes that had been set in motion under his predecessor, in particular the continued commitment to operationalizing the Strategic Framework (SU 2000) and the realization of the goals set out in Vision 2012 as well as continued efforts to gear up the institution by an ongoing accentuation of the research function. Research and innovation at SU would have to be further strengthened while ensuring their interaction with teaching and learning as well as with community engagement

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(SU Council, 8 December 2006: 11f). The reflection of the dual challenge confronting SU – the national challenge of SU becoming a diverse South African university alongside the global challenges around establishing SU as an internationally competitive and excellent research University – was again the determining aspect of the statement.

In his first interview with the South African weekly Mail & Guardian after his appointment, Botman voiced his dissatisfaction "with an institutional culture" that is "not welcoming to blacks". To make "the existing dominant culture […] more inclusive" was but one of his publicly stated goals (Macfarlane, Mail & Guardian, 15 December 2006). At that time, 72 percent of the overall student population was white, followed by 14 percent coloured students, 12 percent African and 0.02 percent Indian students. Among academic staff members these numbers were even more uneven (86 percent Whites, 8 percent Coloureds, 2.6 percent Africans and 1.4 percent Indians) (ibid.). These figures represented the lowest share of African students and staff at a South African university (see also Audit Report of the Council on Higher Education 2007: 11).

In terms of the profile of a new Rector, it can be concluded that SU was apparently searching for somebody from within the institution with considerable insider knowledge of the "predominantly Afrikaans environment" (SU 2006) and the ability to calm the hardened fronts. And it was searching for somebody who could take the University's transformation efforts to the next level – symbolically as well as through concrete activities. So, another of Botman's immediate agenda items was to reopen the discussions about language at the University. In June 2006, a clear signal had been sent by a deciding vote of the University's Senate against the claim of the conservative traditional Afrikaans community for Afrikaans as only teaching language (Mail & Guardian, 6 December 2006). The revision of the institution's language policy was thus a logical consequence towards coming to terms with the ongoing struggle over Afrikaans and the exclusion of black students.

Not surprisingly, the topics Botman indicated to tackle as the new Rector of SU were, first of all, local in their outreach. At the same time, however, it was the global alongside the national that had to be in the focus of any institutional development. This was in order to further increase SU's academic excellence and to diversify sources of income, which were previously identified as the main motives for internationalization under the Rectors van Wyk and Brink. Furthermore, SU's institutional transformation had to be brought to the next level, namely by increasing its relevance by addressing the needs of society, especially of the African continent.

> "The University should be a relevant and respected role player, both locally and globally. Yes, we need to further develop our footholds in the international arena (currently especially in Europe and the USA) – but we also need to develop our strategic partnerships and enter into new ones in Africa, Asia, South America and Australia. The University's South-South and particularly African relationships have to become the flagship in which European successes and intellectual capacity will sail further. The expansion of our international footprint can therefore not take place at the expense of Africa and South Africa." (Botman, 11 April 2007)

This is once more a manifestation of the play with different spatial layers in the context of higher education management and, in sum, a true testament to different kinds of spatial references for the analysis of social processes.

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Strategic Development under Botman's First Term in Office

The strategic approach of the University's management under the guidance of Russel Botman continued to be based on the "Strategic Framework for the Turn of the Century and Beyond" (SU 2000). It remained the foundation of collective commitments and understandings, upon which more specific processes of change and transformation could be built. After the development of Vision 2012, a strategic management approach rooted in Business Plans (2004) as well as in measuring performance under Chris Brink, Botman had announced a phase of consolidation and gearing up of the University during his term in office. "From success to significance ... and an institution that is significantly better and significantly different" was what Botman had envisioned for the University in his inaugural address (Botman, 11 April 2007).[322] Botman proposed that the University's activities should be gauged towards more relevance for society by aligning them with the United Nation's Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The reference to the MDGs went in line with the conclusions of the Commonwealth Education Ministers in Cape Town in 2006 on the renewal of the African University. According to them, the African University needed closer connection to the international development agenda.

The adjustment of SU's profiling to the goals of a supranational institution, such as the UN, could be interpreted as a strategy to legitimize an institutional movement towards more significance of academia. This reference also came as a break with the institutional developments under Rector Brink, who under the banner of internationalization focused most of all on the promotion of SU's academic excellence. Under Botman this was to be advanced towards increasing SU's relevance.

The consolidation phase under Botman was to be accompanied by a so-called Overarching Strategic Plan (OSP), a management tool for the further implementation of the Strategic Framework of the year 2000 and a means for the future positioning of the University. It was developed during a wide consultative process in 2007 and 2008 (with the Senate, the Council and the Institutional Planning Forum, furthermore with the Executive Planning Committees of Council and Senate, deans and the faculties). According to Botman, "[t]he institution needs to become significantly better in terms of academic excellence, but also significantly different in terms of our relevance and the role that we play nationally and internationally" (Botman in Kampusnuus OSP Edition March 2009: 1). In terms of management, the OSP would be located in the Rector's office (SU Senate, 8 June 2007: 62). In the second half of 2007, a call for flagship projects relating to the priority areas as defined by five of the MDGs[323], therefore, had been launched. Russel Botman explained:

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[322] This also became part of Botman's performance agreement (SU Council, 29 November 2010: 72). The human resources committee of the Council, on behalf of the Council, used to enter into a performance agreement with the Rector. This had been done for quite a while so that there must have been such documents also for the previous Rectors. They were, however, not included in the Senate and Council documentation, as they were usually confidential and embargoed most of the time, if not always. It may have been an exception that such an agreement was included in the Council documents, most probably because of the process to reappoint Russel Botman after he was four years in office.

[323] These are: consolidating democracy and ensuring regional peace and security, eradicating endemic poverty; contributing to human dignity and health, ensuring environmental and resource sustainability, maintaining the competitiveness of the industry.

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> "I went to the faculties and asked them that the deans and the faculty will begin to think about two projects that they may have in any of the themes, in which they think they are the best, they are strong and their best people would be willing and able to work on it. And they are prepared to put it out, this is what we as a faculty will support." (Interview, 2010)

In this vein, faculties and support units had been invited to submit projects to be considered for the status of a flagship initiative with detailed project descriptions in order to receive seed money from the University under the OSP. For that purpose and the general realization of the OSP, the Council of the University had agreed to make available an amount of R320 million from existing University funds to reallocate them for the OSP, expecting that on the basis of that seed money further income would be generated through external sources. Thus, an extensive fundraising campaign was envisioned (ibid: 2; see also SU Senate, 22 February 2008: 17). After a first submission of proposals in 2007, followed by extensive feedback from the Rector's management team, revised and more streamlined applications were handed in during the second half of 2008. By the end of 2008, 21 academic initiatives (out of 28 applications) had been selected as "overarching strategic projects" (SU Senate, 20 March 2009; SU Annual Report 2008: 8f). What they all had in common was a contribution to problem-solving in Africa and to increasing the relevance of SU's research for the African continent.[324]

At the time when faculties and support units applied for financial support for their ideas, their projects were at different stages (SU Annual Report 2008: 10). Some of the projects were already running for some time or had already developed beyond the initial planning phase. Not every project was thereby invented from scratch under the new strategic approach of the University. The majority rather built on what the various faculties and their institutes had been doing anyway over the immediately preceding number of years. Hence, these activities only had to be aligned with the topics the OSP intended to push as well as with the developmental language; a good basis for the planned gear up was already there (see also SU Senate, 12 October 2007: 14). Now there was an opportunity to receive additional funding and to proceed with certain ideas. And it seemed to be exactly one of the underlying goals of the OSP to use the existing expertise of the University's institutes and units, unite and integrate them under an institutional banner and, as a result, make them more visible to the outside, under the expectation that the projects would positively influence the University's image. One of the deans explained: "It started off as an initiative to faculties to come up with projects, research-based projects, that would be funded and at the end we put on the table a project [...]. So, we had a multi-disciplinary team and they got funding for three years to work"

[324] They addressed topics, such as "renewable energy supply for the region, food security in Southern Africa, conflict resolution and leadership, or rural healthcare and development" (Mail & Guardian, 4 May 2012). The Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, for example, planned to establish a graduate school for PhD candidates and to launch within the OSP its "Partnership for Africa's Next Generation of Academics" (PANGeA) offering PhD training together with other African universities. This project and its coming into existence will be presented in more detail in Chapter 8.2.4. Another project was the initiative on Energy and Environment. With a research focus on renewable and sustainable energy projects and the removal of waste by-products as well as on water quality and the more efficient use of business resources, the Faculty of Engineering aimed at contributing to human development with minimal damage to the environment. For the rest of the overarching strategic projects at SU related to the MDGs see Special Edition of Kampusnuus on the OSP (March 2009), the brochure "Hope Project" (2010) or http://thehopeproject.co.za/.

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(Interview 50, 2012)[325]. From the viewpoint of SU's management, another possible interpretation deserves further examination: The call for flagship projects was also an opportunity to capture already successful or promising individual initiatives on the level of faculties, departments and individuals and to use them for an institutional strategy and gear up. An alignment of SU's Research Focus Areas with the OSP and thus with the five chosen MDGs was intended (SU Senate, 5 June 2009: 17).[326] This dialogue and the interaction between central management and to a certain extent decentralized initiatives were clever moves in order to create institutional ownership, not only among the top-level management.

In parallel to the initial implementation of the flagship projects and to the preparation of a fundraising campaign, the University continued to sharpen its vision for the second decade of the new millennium as well as a number of institutional goals and priorities for the period from 2010 to 2015. By May 2009, again after a campus wide consultation process, the Council had approved a number of amended vision statement points for the year 2015 (internally also known as Vision 2015). SU – according to Vision 2015 – aimed:

- "To be an excellent, international university.
- To maintain [its, SB] position as a medium-sized, research-directed institution.
- To place sustained emphasis on instruction and community interaction that are of high quality and relevant.
- To exploit the full potential of [its, SB] position as a residential university town.
- To extend [its, SB] endeavour to be knowledge groundbreakers with/for a pedagogy of hope.
- To be an inclusive, value-drive university.
- To be known as a place where students can obtain an undergraduate qualification in either Afrikaans or English, with exposure to the other language.
- To offer optimal access with success to students" (SU Annual Report 2009: 7).

In addition to the goals set out in the Strategic Framework (SU 2000), the University aimed to better meet its challenges of relevance and credibility, student access and success, and diversity in terms of student and staff. Against the background of Vision 2015, the following goals and priorities were determined:

- Size and Shape: An increase in the ratio between undergraduate and postgraduate students from 66:34 (2008) to 60:40 by 2015.

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[325] The dean continued to comment on the outcomes and the positive effects of the project for the Faculty: "So, [...] it has been very effective in the sense that we got people together and we used it as a catalyst to expand our research student programme, doctoral and master's research. [...] We got money for three years, we attracted some money from outside, and hopefully we will get some more. It helped us to increase the postgraduate level, and it has helped to us to be more socially focused and relevant in our research activity. […] It has also changed the way we do research in the sense that it becomes more team-based also together with younger students and the way we teach them. […] In that sense, it has been significant and important. And there has been some sort of international spin-off through that. Because of that activity, we have had some international colloquia with people from America and elsewhere coming, and Africans also" (Interview 50, 2012).

[326] SU's existing research focus areas (discussed in Council on 25 September 2003), language and culture in a multilingual and multi-cultural society; the struggle against disease and the promotion of health; Biotechnology; the production and provision of food; fundamental theory, mathematics and complexity; the knowledge economy; a competitive economy, were to be integrated into these five themes by attributing them to the five chosen MDGs as SU's major strategic research themes: consolidating democracy and ensuring regional peace and security; contributing to human dignity and health; eradicating endemic poverty; ensuring environmental and resource sustainability; maintaining the competitiveness of the industry (SU Senate, 5 June 2009: 17).

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- Diversity: An increase of the share of black, coloured and Indian undergraduate students from 24 percent (2008) to 34 percent by 2015.
- Student Success: An increase of the student success rate from 82 percent (2008) to 84 percent by 2015 and the reduction of those who leave the University without a qualification by 30 percent.
- Staff: An increase in the number of permanently appointed black staff (African, Indian and coloured) from 38.4 percent of the total head count in 2009 to 53 percent by 2015 (SU Transformation Strategy Document 2010: 10f).

In order to achieve these transformation priorities, a number of institutional and cross-cutting initiatives were envisioned in the context of the OSP, such as the establishment of a First Year Academy, the creation of a unit addressing the specific needs of postgraduate students or the extension of diversity bursaries (ibid: 12ff). It needs to be highlighted, however, that there were no goals formulated with respect to the internationalization of the University.

According to the Council documents of the years 2008 and 2009 (SU Council, 12 May 2008, 4 May 2009, and 30 November 2009), "Vision 2015" lived mostly a temporary and provisional life. It was never widely used, explained nor implemented as had been the case with Brink's Vision 2012. In terms of strategic planning and approved planning documents, the first Botman era (2007–2011) was vague and confusing compared to the clarity of the Brink era, and perhaps it was deliberately left vague. In fact, all what remained clear was that officially the Strategic Framework of the year 2000 continued to remain the official guiding document for SU.[327]

A "Pedagogy of Hope" as the Way Ahead and the "Hope Project" as Transnational Advancement Campaign

It was already in his inaugural speech in April 2007 that Russel Botman used the idea of a "Pedagogy of Hope" to empower people to bring about change (Botman, 11 April 2007). For this concept, he referred to the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire and his book "Pedagogy of Hope: Reliving Pedagogy of the Oppressed" (2004), which was a follow-up of his "Pedagogy of the Oppressed" (1968) (Botman, 1 June 2010). The latter was extensively used by the revolutionary Black Consciousness Movement during the South African anti-Apartheid struggle during the 1970s. With the ideology of the "Pedagogy of Hope", Botman began to initiate a consultation process at SU on the place and role of SU in society:

> "The contradiction of our past versus the future that we wish to pursue is becoming our foremost dilemma. […] At the heart of this lie the dilemmas of credibility, relevance, student success, people management and Afrocentricity. We suffer from a lack of credibility, despite our excellence. […] The phase during which I take over the leadership will lead us to the implementation of self-renewal." (Botman, 11 April 2007)

In this speech, he presented the "Pedagogy of Hope" as an instrument to actively promote transformation, to honestly deal with the past and to struggle against Afropessimism: "To

[327] In 2012 and 2013 respectively, a new guideline for SU's development was adopted by SU's Council in April 2013 due to the influence of the new Vice Rectors Eugene Cloete (Research and Innovation) and Arnold Schoonwinkel (Teaching and Learning). It was called "Institutional Intention and Strategy" and became more specific (SU 2013).

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face these dilemmas head-on, we need to understand the core of our own institutional strength and establish a new pedagogical framework – A Pedagogy of Hope" (ibid.). He created the powerful metaphor of the daughter of a farm worker being offered the same academic opportunities – hope for the future – as the son of a farmer (ibid.). The dominating theme of the speech was the bringing together of the University's local and global outreach, of internationalizing and nation-building, in other words the University's challenge to refocus the local against the international development agenda and in addition to the University's already "strong international profile" (ibid.).

From the beginning of his first term, Russel Botman entered an intensive discussion with all stakeholders of the University: the Council, the Senate, the faculties and deans, academic and support staff as well as students. All faculties and central units were invited to create proposals for academic hope generating flagship projects connected to the five chosen MDGs, as demonstrated in the previous paragraph on the basis of their specific expertise and programmes. Some of the divisions were even approached and asked to hand in an application as, for example, in the case of the Virtual Postgraduate Learning Support Project run by SU's Telematic Services (Interview 6, 2010). The OSP flagship projects would later form part of SU's advancement campaign, officially launched in 2010. "In between all of this, we benchmarked, we studied, we visited other institutions [which, SB] had also embarked on major funding campaigns. Then we came back and interpreted it as our own" (Botman, 2 June 2011). Not only had the University observed other university campaigns, they had also used foreign consultants. Jon Dellandrea from Oxford, for example, was invited in 2008 to advise SU on how to optimize the campaign and how to facilitate its planning. Dellandrea had been involved in a development campaign at Oxford University. The same goes for Shirley Jackson from New York (SU Council, 15 September 2008). Additionally, SU's advancement campaign was supported by a company of the Deloitte and Touche consulting group (SU Council, 30 November 2009). The University made available an amount of more than US$ 70 million as seed money for the selected projects and the realization of the OSP as well as for an advancement campaign that later would be titled "Hope Project". R320 million (US$ 46 million) came from SU's Council and another R190 million (US$ 27 million) was granted by the Stellenbosch Trust, who is the guardian of endowments to the University (Botman, 2 June 2011).

Some SU professors and students did not agree with the spending. They found that there were more appropriate projects and research that could have been funded with this amount of money (e.g. Interviews 10, 19, 2010). Nonetheless, this money was officially considered to be an investment into finding more donors and sponsorships for the campaign and its individual OSP projects and, consequently, to increase the income of the University in the long run. The Hope Project was expected to raise US$ 180 million by 2015 (R1.75 billion) (SU Senate, 5 June 2009: 15) – a goal that with an income of US$ 129 million (R900 million) by-mid 2011 was already more than half-way reached (Botman, 2 June 2011) and that was allegedly realized by mid-2012, according to those responsible for the campaign (Botman, 11 April 2012). Thus, it had become the "largest fundraising campaign by an African University" (Botman, 26 and 27 July 2010). Further goals of the advancement campaign, as presented

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to the Senate, were to "enable excellence" and "to position the university for continued growth in philanthropic investment, advancement and public recognition" (SU Senate, 5 June 2009: 15). In Botman's own words at a gathering of the University community:

> "The aim of this campaign is, on the one hand, marketing and fundraising – an external focus, therefore. However, on the other hand it is an internal reorientation of the University with regard to the opportunities and challenges that are inherent in the present and future." (Botman, 1 June 2010)

In order to unite a majority of the different stakeholders of the University not only behind the notion of the "Pedagogy of Hope" as guiding principle for the University, but also behind a "high-profile public advancement campaign" as "an enabler of the Overarching Strategic Plan to move Stellenbosch to excellence and financial sustainability" (SU Senate, 5 June 2009: 15), the first half of the year 2010 was used for a broad consultation process within the University. This resulted in an unpublished discussion document (April 2010) from a "collegial discussion" meeting on 20 January 2010 on the "Pedagogy of Hope" and in the invitation of all faculties and divisions (academic staff, support staff and students) to comment on the document no later than June 2010. As was written in the discussion document, the campaign involved the risk that academics would not stand behind the ideas of the project and thus behind the University, endangering the unity desired by its initiators. "A real danger exists that many colleagues, for various reasons, do not identify with this concept. It must find favour in all environments (beside, for example, Education and Theology)" (unpublished discussion document, SU April 2010: 8). Botman welcomed the critical diversity of opinions and used some of the examples from the discussion document in one of his speeches:

> "Some people are of the opinion that it is good to emphasise relevance, as it focuses the attention of the University on socio-economic problems. Others see this as a threat to academic freedom. Some people express an ideological objection to the Pedagogy of Hope as a result of what they call the Neo-Marxist evolution of the concept. Others spot a normative and historical challenge to pursue socio-economic justice. [...] This kind of courageous, 'open conversation' is welcomed." (Botman, 1 June 2010)

What becomes apparent from the discussion document is that it was impossible to unite all members of the University behind the idea of hope, with which SU as an institution wanted to be connected locally, regionally and globally – despite a comprehensive consultation process. However, it was exactly the search for something on which one can hang all strategic ideas, one roof under which the different initiatives on the level of faculties, institutes and individuals may be brought together. One interviewee with a previous position in SU's planning office stated:

> "My position in the discussion was [that, SB] you need a very simple monosyllable kind of thing to hang this on. I suggested hope. Now, it's completely snowballed out of proportion. Because I thought hope was a sort of enlightenment idea of education. [...] And given the extent of poverty and especially this University's connections into very, very impoverished communities in the country, languagewise and otherwise – just use that simple message." (Interview 22, 2010)

Different milestones had been identified to initiate the campaigning process. What Botman called the "silent phase" of the campaign (Botman, 2 June 2011) came to an end with the official launch of the OSP and the presentation of the hope generating flagship initiatives by SU's faculties in April 2010. On that occasion, banners with the slogan "We believe..."

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("...that the University of Stellenbosch can change the world..." [Interview 10, 2010][328]) were draped from University buildings (milestone 1). A Stellenbosch conversation was held on 1 June 2010, led by the Rector on the topic "A Pedagogy of Hope", in order to promote cross-faculty collaboration on the different themes (Botman, 1 June 2010) (milestone 2). The University's advancement campaign was officially launched in Stellenbosch on 21 July 2010 (milestone 3). Student involvement was to be assured through the official presentation of the Hope Project in the University during the Matie Week in July 2010 (milestone 4). The country-wide and international launch of the project took place in the second half of 2010 (SU Senate, 27 August 2010: 15f) (milestone 5). In the period between August and December 2010, the Hope Project was launched in Stellenbosch, Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth and Durban in South Africa, in Windhoek in Namibia as well as in Berlin, Amsterdam and London. On all of these occasions, Russel Botman gave a speech to present his intentions to different audiences[329], most of all to generate interest for the project and to incentivize potential donors, such as alumni and private persons or companies, to make their financial contribution to it. The message was easy: "The HOPE Project is essentially the practical realization of the University's moral decision to break with the past and help build a better future" (Botman, 23 October 2010). Its realization was legitimized with the link to the "international development agenda" and the MDGs (e.g. Botman, 11 April 2007; Botman, 1 June 2010) and with reference to globally successful HEIs: "The best universities worldwide all have a well thought out strategy to get their positioning just right and to ensure their long-term sustainability" (Botman, 13 November 2010).

On its website, the official rationale of the project was presented as follows: "SU's HOPE Project creates sustainable solutions to some of South Africa's and Africa's most pressing challenges."[330] This means, it aimed to contribute to problem-solving in Africa through the core areas of the University – research, teaching and community interaction – and through the approach "science for society". This was a clear statement in favour of a University that is accessible to the people and that overcomes the perception of being an ivory tower without any relations to the world outside (see also the explanations and interpretations of Interviewees 4, 8, 13, 28, 37, 42, 2010, including professors, deans and representatives of management) – an interesting implementation of the rhetoric of the knowledge society and of the general role of the university in society. Against the backdrop of preparing an advancement campaign at SU, a Stellenbosch Advancement Function was created, over which the Rector and Vice Chancellor assumed direct executive responsibility. The Stellenbosch Foundation and the Division for Communication and Liaison were integrated into the new function. The Function was managed by the Chief Director for Strategic Initiatives and Human Resources – with a split workload between advancement and human resources (SU Council, 30 November 2009: 14).[331]

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[328] See also http://greaterstellenbosch2010.wordpress.com/2010/04/22/stellenbosch-university-believe-they-will-change-the-world/ [retrieved 11 November 2011].

[329] All speeches are documented on the University's website: http://www.sun.ac.za/english/management/rector/in-the-public-eye/speaches [retrieved 23 April 2012].

[330] See http://thehopeproject.co.za/hope/Pages/default.aspx [retrieved 11 November 2011].

[331] Within the University, this process was looked at with much scepticism as to whether it would not duplicate certain processes that were already catered for by other divisions and units prior to the Hope Project. Contact

In sum, the Hope Project was made of three different areas: 1) the flagship initiatives managed by deans and heads of responsibility centres; 2) the international advancement campaign managed by the Rector and 3) the "practice of science for hope in and from Africa" (SU Council, 29 November 2010) managed by the Vice Rectors and their line functions.

It can be concluded that the project was, firstly, an expression of the University's intended self-understanding to be a builder of hope through its research, teaching and its community interaction, through academic expertise and intellectual work. Secondly, it was a strategic fundraising tool to better market the University nationally and internationally. And thirdly, it was a motto to make visible the attempts of the institution to change, transform as well as to reposition itself and to overcome the legacy of its past. With the value-laden and rather emotional term hope, the University addressed the national as well as an international public. By advertising the institution internationally as the South African "University of Hope", SU consistently did strategic branding. The seed money that went into the project was thereby also used to symbolically upgrade the University.

Similar to Vision 2012 and the strategic approach for SU developed under Chris Brink, also the Hope Project responded to the dual challenge of national transformation in South Africa as well as the changing global university context. The Project was again, first of all, bound to the national South African context. Hope should, however, also be brought to the African continent through the research of an African university. By exposing the campaign to an international audience for fundraising matters, but also for the reason of strategic branding, the Hope Project was also tied to developments beyond the African continent (Botman, 1 June 2010; Botman, 11 April 2012). Quite in the tradition of Vision 2012, the Hope Project was a continuation and an even more distinct expression of SU's attempts to reposition itself by openly contributing to South African nation-building as a South African, but also as an African as well as an internationally recognized research-led institution.

Reactions to the Hope Project from within the University and Reflections on Governing a University

The idea of building Stellenbosch's self-renewal and its way forward around the notion of hope, as envisioned in Botman's inaugural speech, and to advertise the University under the banner of hope evoked much scepticism and disagreement in the institutional environment.

> "The thing about the Hope Project is that some of my colleagues are very sceptical about the hype that's around it. You don't do these kinds of things to create hope; hope is not a causal thing. If you do these things, it might have an impact and people might have hope because of it, so you don't do it in order to create hope. Hope might be a spin-off, not a result. So, there was a lot of resistance or a lot of cynicism about the hype about it, but that's internal politics." (Interview 50, 2012)

Besides the difficulty with the word "hope" and the dilemma with causes and consequences, expressed by many of the interviewees, critics from within the University, especially on the academic level but also from members of the Council[332], tended to reject the campaign and

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making between certain entities of the University with potential donors, for example, were impeded as donor-related issues were supposed to be exclusively dealt with by the Advancement Function (discussion, May 2012).

[332] In the Council minutes of September 2010, it is, for example, reported that Council member Rhoda Kadalie criticised the stakeholders of the University. According to her, it was inappropriate to talk about belief [she referred

the connected idea of branding, because they expected a waste of resources and feared that money would be taken away from the core functions of the University in favour of public relations (Interview 36, 2010).

> "We are much divided on campus about that. […] [T]he underlying assumption is that we have to pay for the apartheid past, cause this University trained many of the prime ministers that served under apartheid. So, it was the bastion of Afrikaner ideology and now we have to repay." (Interview 10, 2010)

The concern that too much money would be spent on marketing because of SU's role in South Africa's apartheid past, as indicated in this statement made by a professor, was repeatedly mentioned in interviews and discussions (e.g. Interview 15, 2010). To respond to this past by means of a campaign was, however, central to the goals of the project and implied a conscious acknowledgement of SU's history. A member of the Rector's management team explained:

> "There is an acknowledgement, maybe not amongst the broad academic staff complement, but I think in certain, particularly management positions, that this institution did contribute to the injustices of the past, and it's a very conscious decision to amend that. [...] I think, the Hope Project is part of that." (Interview 37, 2010)

Quite in that line of argument, the Hope Project was interpreted by some of the interviewed academics as political project. It implied an attempt to demonstrate serious commitment to making good what had been done wrong in the past. SU, in that reading, finally had reached the point where it was ready to assist in building South Africa and to contribute to redress (Interviews 4, 34, 42, 2010).

Another major aspect related to the Hope Project, covered in the following statements, touches upon the question how the University should be governed and how decision making should take place. It exhibits unease with more managerialist and corporate management styles, with increasing performativity, a lot of regulation in the University and less collegiality and collegial trust as a result of a new public management approach. It, furthermore, reveals a lack of serious debate and consultation about the University's past and the risk of the Hope Project vis-à-vis its credibility when looking at the student and staff composition at the University, as expressed by one of the deans (see also Interview 15, 2010).

> "I see no robust debate if you look at how Senate and Council operate, how deliberations take place here. It's fairly insular. It's about the mechanics how the University should function. But it doesn't really revolve around the debate what is actually good for society. So, how serious can you actually be if all your debate is about how you get your technical compliance in order, how to get the University function as efficiently as it is functioning." (Interview 13, 2010)

Increasingly, consultation is regarded as mere lip service and ritualistic, and not meaningful. This aspect was even spiced up by one of the interviewed professors who complained about the administrators and managers of the University who know little of what academics do.

> "[I]n the past, your highest decision making body was the Senate. The Senate consists of all full professors. And normally that's where all important decisions regarding academic context were taken. Now, even if the Senate in this University is still quite powerful, it's very often bypassed in the sense that

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to the Marketing Campaign of Project Hope "We believe..."], as "it's a university and not a church". In addition, some of the interviewees were expressing their unease with the slogan "We believe..." as they found it "the most ridiculous thing which most of us have heard" (Interview 10, 2010).

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> we are not consulted about very important issues. We are given memos that instruct us to do so and things, and we also then have to go back posthoc and say we are not satisfied with this when the decisions were already made and the chances of overturning those decisions are very small." (Interview 10, 2010)

In the case of the Hope Project, the fast decisions could in part be explained by the speed of the realization of the project, as explained by Botman:

> "I had to decide whether to sell the idea to my colleagues slowly-slowly ("polepole", as one says in kiSwahili), or whether to boldly set a course and get everyone to come on board. I decided on the latter approach. In my experience, a high takeoff speed is crucial for liftoff. And the fact that you might still need to build your plane as you fly it should not deter you." (Botman, 2 June 2011)

But it is also true that SU had been organized quite hierarchically for a long time, with leadership as well as strong and powerful central units providing visionary guidelines and policy papers for many aspects of university life. To a certain extent, this has remained part of SU's characteristics. SU, especially after the establishment of a more stream-lined decision making process in the early 2000s, could be characterized as an effective, well-run and well-governed institution, with support services, such as the Division for Research Development or the Postgraduate and International Office (PGIO), regarded as helpful by individual academics (e.g. Interviews 5, 12, 37, 2010). Overall, the University has been guided by a rather high degree of regulation through policies on different matters.[333] The large number of policies and the many aspects being regulated by policy papers could create the impression of SU being over-regulated. However, one academic said the level of formalization had been rather "functional of individual research environments and even individuals involved there" (Interview 12, 2010). "[I]t's always about the individual researcher, thinking about their career as an academic", emphasize one Senior Director (Interview 23, 2010). SU policies are supposed to ensure that the processes they should regulate are in line with international standards, felt another academic (Interview 30, 2010). A representative of the University's management finally explained defensively that the policies accomplished an important task in a context of transition, namely to give guidance:

> "Policy is not about decision making, it's about guidance. [...] You need policies to deal with very complex issues. That's the only way in which you can reduce the complexity to manageable simplicity. And that is because you must empower your lecturers, and students must know what to expect. [...] This process must be value-driven – I agree with that, but to get people to be regulated by values you need policies, especially in times of transition. [...] You must bring it proactively: this is what's going to happen." (Interview 20, 1010)

Yet, with regard to the high degree of regulation, one could equally argue that SU was torn between the different claims the University was expected to meet. The rigorous documentation in the form of written strategies and policy papers could be considered a technique to come to terms with the many requirements, which are even partially contradictory.

Compared to the autocratic past of the University, processes of decision making had become much more democratic and consultative, according to students, professors and

[333] They are made transparent on its website http://sun025.sun.ac.za/portal/page/portal/Administrative_Divisions/INB/Home/Documentation/Documentation_SU_policy [retrieved 24 April 2013].

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administrators (e.g. Interviews 17, 19, 20, 2010). Julian Smith, Vice Rector for Community Interaction and Personnel, having a background from UWC, explained:

> "I think, from a relatively autocratic way of operating ten years ago, the University has moved a lot to value consultation and to value broader participation and the dissemination of information and greater transparency and greater accountability. That's sort of the direction in which the University has developed, also in terms of composition of committees and so on. In the early days, we had to have targets, quotas in terms of changing the composition in order to make it more representative. That had to be deliberately done. But at this stage, we would consult as broadly as needs be and as possible, not only internally, but externally as well." (Interview, 2010)

The controversy around the Hope Project revealed a number of competing discourses, ideas and understandings on what a university should do and what its purposes should be, especially in a context of deep societal transformation, characterized by the simultaneity of local and global challenges. A member of the convocation felt that at SU the emphasis put on the relevance of science and the link to community interaction was too strong and rather represented a particular (and individual) ideological understanding of the role of the university in society (Interview 9, 2010).

Besides all scepticism, the overall opinion about the campaign and the Hope Project was rather positive. The notion of hope was open enough to allow for a diversity of interpretation, and this was regarded as strength of the term. It was positively connoted so that almost everybody could at least theoretically align with it in a constructive way. "[P]eople interpret it differently, but at least we feel that we can work towards that" (Interview 28, 2010). A non-South African professor, working at SU since 1993, remarked: "I feel it's good that we have a campaign that allows to reimaging Stellenbosch, to refocus it" (Interview, 2010). One of the interviewed deans added:

> "I think, taking on global challenges, as some have been set by the United Nations MDGs, as the driver or the reason for doing this as a University, that's quite daring. And I like it. I think, it's important that you should look at the real big challenges; that's what we are aiming. [...] I am positive, I like the project and we are going quite strongly forward." (Interview 17, 2010)

A representative of the University's Council summarized:

> "My impression is that the campaign is well supported by the academics. They have bought into the campaign. And it is a campaign to make the world out there much more aware of Stellenbosch, to have a focus and to make sure that your research is also relevant. And this project is a vehicle to achieve that." (Interview 35, 2010)

In the course of running the project, it developed an (administrative) life of its own. The statements that the marketers had corrupted the idea and that the project was soon driven by the PR company, which follows other values and interests than academics, were repeatedly mentioned by some interviewed professors (Interviews 15, 22, 24, 2010). Additionally, after the initial flagship projects had been selected and were started to be implemented, almost every activity of the University in one way or another became related to the Hope Project. This, according to some interviewees, also made it less credible (Interview 50, 2012). At the same time, it divided the University community, as it, nonetheless, excluded people from funding and degraded some of their work as non-hope generating (ibid.).

One dean retrospectively summarized:

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> "For us, I think, the Hope Project is terminated. We got money for three years. So, what we now have is people that work in this area. [...] [T]hey are all looking at precisely the same things as they did before, but under a different banner. So, in that sense, hope was the vehicle. And now that kind of work is still continuing [...] under a different label, and we have to fund it ourselves. [...] The thrust of it was to make research relevant and just to try and have a focus on very serious and realistic problems around us and to focus on what is really necessary in this country." (Interview 50, 2012)

A deputy dean from another faculty, quite to the contrary, saw her faculty on the rise with regards to the Hope Project:

> "I think, it is growing now, and we are trying to get more people from the Faculty involved and hopefully in the future we will play a stronger role. [...] If you analyse the majority of research projects in our Faculty, we could all place them on the table specifically in that area. It helps to closely align what the Faculty is doing with the theme of the University." (Interview 52, 2012)

Two years after its official starting, the faculties obviously interpreted the situation regarding the Hope Project quite differently, amongst other things depending on their response to the first call for flagship projects.

What all the presented statements in this paragraph clearly show is that some people at SU had been convinced by the Hope Project, others had not. The most important aspect for the researcher was, however, that the majority of those interviewed – even though sceptical, at times cynical and not immediately a 100 percent in favour of the project – nevertheless were completely able to use the developmental language connected to it and to repeat the official as well as those goals not directly obvious. Many professors and representatives of management stated that it was a vision that can pull an entire university into a particular direction and to which everybody more or less can adhere to (see e.g. Interviews 33, 37, 2010): "It's a common thing that despite our differences it's something we can all identify with. [...] This is what we stand for and what we are taking forward" (Interview 33, 2010). One of the explanations for this observation was the careful preparation of the campaign, the time spent talking to the University community, especially to the deans of the faculties or to those support units that were approached and asked to hand in a certain project as proposal for a flagship project. Transparency and clear communication, especially at the initial stage of such a campaign, as well as the integration of major decentralized initiatives may go as success factors, at least for a certain form of commitment.

The Hope Project as seen by the South African Higher Education Landscape

While the Hope Project was a hot topic being widely discussed and covered on the institutional level during the interview phase of this research (from August 2010 to May 2012), this was less so on the national level. Those interviewed for this study[334] asked the interviewer for clarifications and further explanations on the Hope Project. The following statements indicate their confusion and ignorance about the campaign at a time when the Hope Project was already running for more than a year and after it had been launched

[334] They represented the South African higher education system, ranging from representatives of Higher Education South Africa (HESA), which is the association of the South African Rectors and Vice Chancellors, to members of the Council on Higher Education (CHE) and its Higher Education Quality Committee (HEQC), of the National Research Foundation (NRF) as well as of other South African institutions of higher education.

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countrywide on various occasions, which had received considerable media coverage[335] (SU Senate, 26 November 2010: 15; Interview 52, 2012).

> "What's this? It's a community outreach project, isn't it? I am not too sure; I should have looked at it in more detail. I saw it at this AAU conference." (Interview 44, 2011)

> "I have seen it on the website, and it really sounds like a big initiative to grow the institution. But I have no idea what objectives they have achieved, and that is something time will tell, it's a pretty new concept." (Interview 46, 2011)

> "I don't know too much about it. I know that there are some people at the University that fear that this is all that nice slogan thing. And then, there were some that were quite cynical about it." (Interview 47, 2011)

At first, one is tempted to interpret these statements in the sense that the Hope Project was not well communicated in South Africa. At the same time, however, it shows that the idea of campaigning is something strange and rather new to university development – at least in the South African context – and that such a campaign needs some time in order to be understood, but also in order to become clear whether it is an endeavour deserving credit and being worth to be copied.

In the context of South Africa, everything comes down to the extent of racial transformation. As a consequence, the Hope Project was immediately put against the filter of what contribution it may have on the transformation of the institution: "The Hope Project is certainly one strategy to address the figures and an important one" (Interview 49, 2011). Additionally, one could also argue, that the Hope Project was supposed to address, first of all, the institutional and local community as a way to offer the University a new identity as may be read from this argumentation:

> "I personally think that Russel did the right thing. He identified a non-language issue, an issue that would re-establish Stellenbosch as link to the community, which comes separate from the language debate and the smoke screen of the racial debate [...] and which could galvanize the whole University to link it back to the community." (Interview 47, 2011)

It was, however, equally supposed to improve SU's standing in the international university community as a way to facilitate cooperation through that new identity. One interviewee, however, was of the opinion that this latter aspect should not be overemphasized in times in which a country needs guidance from the universities on local and national matters (Interview 49, 2011). By looking at the figures and the day to day activities at SU, one representative of a national higher education think tank doubted whether the Hope Project in the stadium it had reached after one year was more than a symbolic gesture (Interview 41, 2011). All in all, the Hope Project neither had really arrived on the national level yet nor had it gained thorough appreciation from the national higher education community. This was initially to the surprise of the researcher, after it had been so omnipresent at SU. However, it may also mirror the persisting negative national perceptions of the University.

[335] Media coverage was achieved also due to the efforts the University made. "On the weekend of the first launch, media coverage to the value of more than R12m was received" (SU Council, 29 November 2010: 75).

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What can be learned from the Hope Project and from Campaigning at Universities?

The Hope Project was unquestionably linked to the Rector and Vice Chancellor and was also perceived as such from inside and outside the University. So, it remains to be asked what in the long run and under the successor of Russel Botman will happen to the campaign, to the developmental language used in the Hope framework ("science that is relevant for society") as well as to the individual projects (and also to their relation to the MDGs, in case the latter would be modified by the United Nations after 2015). Those projects which, according to the figures and performance indicators, are financially sustainable might be kept while others could be shut down. Botman's successor might introduce a new form of dealing with the many different interests characteristic to universities. He or she most probably would use another language to handle diversity and would perhaps phase out the Hope Project. Yet, Russel Botman himself was convinced "The impact of the Hope Project on research, teaching and community interaction will be experienced for decades as the strongest driving force for the positioning of the University in the 21st century" (SU Council, 29 November 2010).

The coming into existence of the Hope Project and the way it was discussed on campus can be interpreted as another expression of an institutional search movement, of a grabbling to find an institutional soul and identity. It was an active attempt to reconcile the past of the University with its future by offering guidance around the notion of "hope" for a society in transformation and in a time of (national) disorientation and fundamental change. It was at the same time also part of an adaptation process of the University to globalization and international trends in higher education. It constituted a door-opener for new sources of income and it offered the chance to do institutional branding.

The whole campaign, however, also appeared as a grand narrative for central management to capture and maybe to also control different initiatives on the level of the faculties as well as of individual academics under an overall institutional umbrella structure (some of them already in existence before the Hope Project became official University politics, others brought into being in reaction to the call for proposals). By bringing the faculties on board, which were asked to list the most pressing challenges in their fields, ownership was generated. It was made believe that the Project was not centrally run in the first place, but decentralized and outsourced to those individuals and groups who had accepted the ideals of the Project. The University would be the organizing body, managing and representing the Project centrally, also in terms of the necessary funds. The realization and implementation of the different projects united under the hope banner would remain with the various stakeholders. With such a comprehensive initiative labelled "hope" and the profiles related to the MDGs, the University tried to systematize and regulate the jumble of different national and international activities carried out at the different levels of the University. It aimed to cover a certain form of institutional disorder and to find a common institution-wide usable language, with which everyone could more or less identify and which can bring people together. Even though there is a diversity of interpretations of the concept of hope, the majority could easily align with it and work towards it, as it was positively connoted. Hence, Botman had achieved a certain form of consolidation, as had been announced as one of the

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goals for his term in office. The different voices and opinions from the various stakeholders of the institution make obvious that even though critical and sceptical the Hope Project received broad approval. Many could identify with the campaign and, therefore, also with the central institutional strategy. A majority of interviewees used the same language as the Hope Project, coloured by a developmental discourse. However, what also became clear is that a University is composed of individuals. And individual academics, in particular, are traditionally more connected to their disciplines, research contexts and individual career interests rather than to their specific institution (Subotzky 2003: 172; see also Weick 1976). The integration of their initiatives, of decentralized processes, into a central institutional strategy is an extremely important, yet by the same token challenging aspect for a successful institutional positioning. Of major importance in that regard are the deans of the different faculties, who, in the case of SU, are professional science managers. They may act as a buffer between central management and decentralized activities. They may work on the adaption of initiatives and ideas on the individual or departmental level to institution-wide developments and trends, to institutional incentives and financial opportunities. They, furthermore, give support in translating existing projects into a certain kind of language as, for example, in the case of the Hope Project and its development agenda.

What the initiators, supporters and those running the Hope Project had not systematically addressed, however, were the negative implications and possible dangers of such a campaign. It surely excluded parts of the University, whose work do not fit to the slogans, and it contributed to the creation of cost-intensive new structures in order to run the project.

Russel Botman Being Elected for a Second Term in Office

Russel Botman had been re-elected for a second term in office as Rector and Vice Chancellor of SU on 3 May 2011. In his term evaluation report (2007 to 2010) to the Council, Botman made reference to the strategy for the consolidation phase he had to guide the University through, namely the Strategic Framework of the year 2000 and Vision 2012 from 2003. He, furthermore, mentioned the stumbling blocks during his first term in office that had to be overcome (such as the debates about language management and planning or “the risks relating to the establishment of the most challenging institutional development plan and campaign for a university on the African continent” [SU Council, 29 November 2010: 72]). He also highlighted the most important management actions during his term (e.g. improvement of the diversity profile, perception change management, the creation of a scientific footprint in Africa or the improvement of the relevance of the University) as well as challenges of continued attention (e.g. the discussions around self-renewal of SU’s institutional culture or around the introduction of full parallel medium instruction and related interpreting services) (SU Council, 29 November 2010: 71). Botman stressed the fact that a comparison of all South African universities by FINWEEK (18 March 2010) has found SU to be the most effective (ibid: 73) and that during his term considerable successes had been achieved. After, according to this document, the finalization of Vision 2012 had been realized (contrary to the minutes of SU’s Council of 12 May 2008: 22, where it was said that the goals of Vision 2012 for various reasons cannot all be realized in time, which is why Vision 2015 had been

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developed), the attempted consolidation had given way to a process of "gearing up" the institution by the end of 2011. This gearing up, according to Russel Botman's vision for his second term in office (2012 to 2016), should be defined by the Hope Project and by an Institutional Plan serving the overarching business plan for that period, all of that still rooted in the Strategic Framework of the year 2000 (ibid: 74ff). The issue of internationalization in Botman's vision is mentioned insofar as the Hope Project and related management actions "will make SU significantly better and different on the international platform" (ibid: 75) and that the Hope Project has been a facilitator for international investments in the University.[336]

7.4 Conclusion: Becoming a South African, African and an International University

The chapter has focused on the general institutional developments at SU between 1990 and 2010 with respect to national transformation and the rationales for internationalizing the University. It has described how strategic institutional management had played out under the three different Rectors, what language and explanations had been utilized to legitimize change (or non-reform) and how their terms in office and their approaches of guiding SU and of strategizing were judged by the various role-players of the University. Furthermore, the chapter has shown how different discourses on Afrikaans had been utilized by different parties, either in favour of change and transformation or in opposition to it, and that an international opening went along with some form of weakening of Afrikaans and a more comprehensive approach towards language. And finally, it has analysed how the different spatial layers, from the local Stellenbosch context, to the national South African one, the continental perspective and processes of globalization and international trends in higher education, were referred to by the Rectors to promote different aspects of change.

It has been demonstrated that in the aftermath of the first democratic elections in South Africa in 1994 there was no immediate change at Stellenbosch University with regards to a true opening up to the new national situation. SU continued with a "business-as-usual-approach" during most of Andreas van Wyk's term in office. Yet, at the same time, it had prepared itself for decreasing state money, for more autonomy and more research. In addition, the University became intensively engaged in repositioning itself internationally by pursuing an intentional process of internationalization. Thus, SU used the post-1990 context to launch initiatives to re-enter the international (initially mostly European) world, rather than to immediately focus on transformation and national priorities. Against the earlier described contradiction between the discourses on redress and efficiency (see Chapter 6), SU had decided rather early to side with the efficiency approach as a strategy for institutional survival. This was quite in contrast to many other South African universities.

The emergence of the "Strategic Framework for the Turn of the Century and Beyond" (SU 2000) at the end of the 1990s, as a guiding document towards transformation at SU, was largely fostered by individual academics of SU, initially with reluctant support by the then Rector or his management team. The realization of its content was then conveyed to an

[336] In contrast to the announcement that during Botman's second term in office the Strategic Framework (SU 2000) would remain the guiding document, SU's Council had approved the "Institutional Intention and Strategy" (2013 to 2018) in April 2013, including a new vision and mission statement focusing on accelerated transformation (see http://www.sun.ac.za/english/Lists/news/DispForm.aspx?ID=113 [retrieved 2 July 2013]).

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outsider, Rector and Vice Chancellor Chris Brink, who was the first Rector who had not been nominated from within the University. Change management was the headline of his term. This management aimed at a far reaching change of attitudes and institutional culture as well as at strategic planning for institutional success in research and teaching in an increasingly competitive higher education environment – nationally as well as internationally. Chris Brink was succeeded by Russel Botman, who became the first black Rector in the history of SU. His term in office was characterized, firstly, by the continuation of the process of self-renewal and a consolidation of management practices and secondly, by a process of gearing up the institution through an institution-wide advancement, fundraising and branding initiative, which came to be known as the Hope Project. It was within the rhetoric of the Hope Project that SU's strategy for the future and towards achieving prominence internationally was spelled out. It centred around a three-pronged approach around broadening the language base towards the use of Afrikaans and English as mediums of instruction, Africanizing SU and a continued emphasis on research. The emphasis on the local and the African context to further enhance the University's global visibility has been the dominant motive of Botman's approach to change. The fact that Botman had served already as Vice Rector for Teaching under Brink made him continue many of the things his predecessor had started. While Brink's Vision 2012 was officially phased out under Botman and replaced by the Overarching Strategic Plan and the Hope Project, the five points of Vision 2012 and their possible transformative character had been internalized by the majority of SU's stakeholders. They were a good starting point for what Russel Botman aimed at during his term, which was still rooted in the Strategic Framework (SU 2000).

It can be concluded that over the period from 1990 to 2010 SU's transformation efforts and its contribution to South African nation-building had increased. At the same time, SU had embarked on internationalizing the University shortly after 1990. The two main motives for SU to start an intentional process of internationalization that crystallized out in the preceding sections had been, firstly, to promote the institution's academic performance through international collaboration and liaison and, secondly, to render new financial resources accessible, against the background of limited public funding for the University from the South African government and also in order to become financially more independent from the South African state. While the second motive has over the years and under all three Rectors remained a strong factor in SU's internationalization endeavour up until 2010 (and which with the Hope Project as an explicit fundraising tool had reached another peak), internationalizing the University in order to promote the research and teaching function and in order to be in line with international standards was started by van Wyk but became especially characteristic and outspoken during the Brink era. This proactive approach can partly be related to SU's geographic position at the bottom of the African continent and the geographic distance to the higher education centres in the global North. With Botman's Hope Project, a third rationale for internationalization received increased attention, namely the relevance factor: producing research and knowledge that is responsive to the needs of society, in particular to South Africa and the African continent. To this end, internationalization and international cooperation were both a prerequisite as well as an instrument for the success of the project.

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To sum up, especially during the first decade of the 2000s the transformation of SU and its contribution to South African nation-building had been pushed side by side with Africanizing and internationalizing SU, with the latter already prompted during the 1990s. Given that internationalization in the literature has been regarded and conceived as an add-on to the central functions of higher education and not as necessity for the general functioning of a university, SU's early promotion of internationalization during the 1990s and the simultaneous prioritizing of transformation and internationalization is an interesting observation. Based on the presented developments at SU, it could be argued that favourable conditions from the period before 1990 coupled with an awareness of opportunities regarding internationalization, the availability of financial resources, human capacity as well as support from abroad (in search for African partners) are a prerequisite for becoming international.

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Chapter 8: Internationalization and Transnationalization at Stellenbosch University (1990–2010)

This chapter will compose a more detailed picture of SU's internationalization experience between 1990 and 2010 and a beginning transnationalization in the 2010s relating to the core functions research and innovation, teaching and learning and community interaction.

The main findings of Chapter 5 with regard to Stellenbosch University's degree of internationalization prior to 1990 suggest that despite the apartheid regime, its attempts to nationalize the production of knowledge (Dubow 2006: 266) and the resulting international boycotts against South Africa, SU was never completely isolated. The international penetration was almost constant during the period of the apartheid governments from the late 1940s to 1990.[337] Thus, internationalization occurred despite the apartheid regime's attempts to impose its ideology on science and higher education. As has been demonstrated, the intuitive hypothesis that the apartheid era was obstructive for the internationalization of higher education must be complemented with a counter hypothesis, namely the impact of liberalization elements in the universities as reverse tendency.

The following statement gives an idea of how SU's official re-entering into the international university scene was perceived by SU's professors, in this case a Professor of Theology.

> "[...] Stellenbosch was never isolated. If you look into the apartheid era, you will find that there have been strong international relationships from academics from Stellenbosch. But it was under this repressive situation, where it was in some way difficult to find these links, because many universities did not want to have links with an Afrikaans University. [...] All people here who made a difference had all in their education an international dimension. [...] So, it was like returning to the water. And it was not particularly difficult for Afrikaans universities or SU to reconnect with the world, because there was a former history [...]. Now suddenly, it was an open field, and I think we were overwhelmed where to do what [...]. It was a question of whether they could catch up in a short period. And that was the difficult thing, because there were other universities like UCT that had a longer tradition and stronger relationships. My feeling is that it was a relief for Stellenbosch to again become a full member of the wider world and to participate. Whether they have done it successfully is another matter." (Interview 42, 2011)

This section will reconstruct processes of internationalization at SU for the period between 1990 and 2010 and beginning processes of transnationalization during the 2010s as arising from internationalization (some developments in the years after 2010 that substantiate the line of argument will be included).[338] Documentation from the Senate and the Council as well

[337] See Chapter 5.2.4 and in particular the figures on the level of internationalization among the Stellenbosch professoriate in terms of their "international degree experiences" (from which universities degrees were earned), the rising number of international students at the University and the efforts of SU's management to provide additional funding for scientific travel and international collaboration.

[338] Just to recall what has been explained in Chapter 2, transnational activities, in the author's understanding, are engagements across and beyond the borders of the nation-state that may lead to the voluntary incorporation and translation of external phenomena into the core functions and structures of a university and, therefore, to their institutionalization. Internationalization, in the form of pure academic mobility of people between clearly demarcated territories on the other hand, is considered a prerequisite for processes of transnationalization, as it is through people that translation processes and the movement of ideas and concepts take place. Yet, the traditional modes of international academic exchange have been increasingly complemented by means of transnational cooperation, transcending not only the borders of individual institutions but especially also of nation-states (e.g. including jointly offered academic programmes, co-supervised PhDs or trans-continental research networks). Internationalization, in the understanding of this study, should not be equalled with globalization.

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as from SU's International Office (and the Postgraduate and International Office [PGIO], as it is named since 2010) will be used as primary source material and will be enriched with material from the qualitative interviews (conducted between August 2010 and May 2012). The attempt is, firstly, to describe general developments in SU's internationalization process. This will be done by working out how the University institutionalized and formalized internationalization, e.g. through the creation of an International Office in the early 1990s, and how the tasks expanded during the 1990s and 2010s. Secondly, it will be examined how central and decentralized processes in the realm of internationalization were negotiated with one another at SU. It will be asked to what extent a central or institutional-level internationalization strategy had been developed as well as why and how international processes were managed and incentivized. In a next step, specific University projects with an international dimension will be presented in order to distinguish central and decentralized approaches to internationalization, and their intermingling respectively, as well as to demonstrate a beginning transnationalization at SU. Thereby, a special look will be glanced at initiatives on the level of individual academics, departments and faculties and the extent of their integration into an institutional internationalization strategy. Thirdly, emphasis will be given to statistics and a quantitative overview on SU's internationalization. In the context of SU's latest institutional efforts towards bringing Africa in focus, this section will compare the role of Africa, as written down in institutional strategy papers, SU's vision statement and official university information, with a set of indicators on internationalization (e.g. international students, academics, partnerships, and collaborative projects) in order to find out to what extent they match each other. Fourthly, it will be asked how processes of internationalization and transnationalization at SU were experienced and interpreted by the representatives of SU interviewed for this study and what impact these processes had, according to them, on the core functions of the University. In contrast to the first section on the creation of institutional structures and the development of guidelines for the dealing with the international, which is mainly based on material provided by SU's International Office and from SU's archive, the fourth section will look at the interview material and the outcomes of the related questionnaire.

8.1 The Institutionalization and Formalization of Internationalization at SU

South African higher education suddenly attracted a huge interest from international circles for collaboration after the official end of the academic boycott of South Africa, when its stated goal to end apartheid was reached in 1990. As the maintenance of official cooperation agreements had been impossible until then, there was great euphoria to officially re-establish international contacts in the beginning of the 1990s.

On invitation from the South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha, a four-headed delegation of representatives from the Catholic University Leuven in Belgium, for example, came on a study tour to SU and other institutions in March 1992. This visit marked the beginning of a university partnership between the two institutions that would, however, only be officially formalized after South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994 (Goedseels 2001: 125; Interview 51, 2012). In 1992/1993 representatives from SU, Rector Mike de Vries and Vice

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Rector (Academic) Hennie Rossouw, visited several European universities. Among them were first and foremost the Dutch and Belgian universities in June 1992 (e.g. the Universities of Leiden and Leuven), with whom traditional academic ties on the institutional level had been existing for a long time (for example through the Stellenbosch academics who had earned their PhD from the University of Leiden), before these institutions had joined the academic boycott (Oomen 2001: 122). Of importance were also quite a number of German universities, with which exchange on the individual professorial level had continued to exist during the period of apartheid. Many professors had earned their PhD from German universities. The former Rector Mike de Vries, for example, held a PhD from the University of Freiburg. This was also thanks to the facilitating work of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation and the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD).[339] One of the interesting questions in that context would be: What happened in 1992 to encourage Stellenbosch representatives to go to Europe? And what made SU so actively engaged in internationalizing the University?

Besides the rationales of SU's internationalization process that have been worked out in Chapter 7, an additional explanation is linked to the international involvement of quite a number of Stellenbosch staff during the apartheid era. As has been demonstrated in Part III[340], many of SU's academics, who became involved in the internationalization of the University during the 1990s, had spent considerable time at European universities and elsewhere in the world. Another scenario, linked to the first, could be that the trigger came rather from outside than from within, namely from the Dutch and Belgian universities. They invited a delegation from SU to their campuses to renew former ties, seeking to get a foot into the door in this changing and exciting (academic) environment. Former Vice Rector (Academic), Hennie Rossouw, explained:

> "[T]he idea came up that we should send the Rector and visit a couple of universities, with which we had good relations in the past, but relations that were broken off. That was in the beginning of 1992. And why he decided on the Netherlands and on Belgium? Because you know, Flemish universities in general were well disposed to South Africa, so we said let's begin there. (Interview, 2012)

Asked to what extent the re-establishment of former contacts were debated in the decision making bodies of the University, Rossouw said:

> "I don't remember any discussion with Council. But afterwards they were very enthusiastic, they bought in and they supported it, and there was no problem. There was nothing that they found unacceptable. But I assume that the Rector spoke to the chairperson of Council before we went, of course he had to. [...] I don't think that there was a strategy behind it. It was more open, let's try this, because we need to build new relations, and this is a good point to start with the discussion effort. And we were surprised that it went well. So, we followed it up." (Interview, 2012)

From the source material, this process cannot be reconstructed completely. Nonetheless, it seems as if the initial efforts of SU to reactivate international relations were rather spontaneous and initiated by interested individuals.

[339] More detail is presented in Chapter 5.2.4 on internationalization at SU during the apartheid era.
[340] See Chapter 5.2.4.

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The “following-up”, as mentioned by Hennie Roussouw and the institutionalization and formalization of internationalization in the 1990s and its advancement in the 2000s, will be discussed hereinafter.

8.1.1 The Coming into Existence of SU’s International Office and its Development in the 1990s

The idea of creating a sub-division for international relations at SU was first formulated in the report de Vries and Rossouw gave in the Senate and the Council after their overseas visits in the second half of 1992. The Vice Rector (Academic) Rossouw and the then acting Rector van Wyk emphasized in the Council that the climate was positive for selective promotions and liaison with prominent overseas universities. They recommended that any further action should be coordinated on the institutional level and that partnerships should be handled by the rectorate. In this way, international activities were given particular institutional importance (SU Council, 14 September 1992: 2). A couple of weeks later, the matter of creating a unit for international affairs was presented to the members of the Senate. There, the high interest of overseas universities in working agreements and exchanges with SU was underlined once again. In particular, the Universities of Leiden and Leuven had shown great interest in further visits. But also the University of Cambridge was keen to establish a partnership (SU Senate, 16 October 1992: 3).

Against the increasing number of institutions from all around the world that had already indicated their interest for cooperation and against the great number of international visitors in the early 1990s, it was discussed in the Senate that the University should be cautious about not putting too many agreements on paper (see also Interview 25, 2010; Interview 51, 2012). As a result, serious consideration was given to the formulation of guidelines for partnerships and exchange agreements, which were based on the agreement between SU and the University of Leiden (SU Council, 16 March 1992: 717ff).[341] Later on, consent was reached to not enter into partnerships with all of the interested universities and to put considerable emphasis and energy into a few good working ones instead (SU Senate, 4 March 1994: 3).

By the end of 1992, the rectorate had formulated some recommendations how to deal with international relations at SU (document dated 23 November 1992). They were presented in the executive committee of the Council and to the executive committee of the Senate in late 1992 as well as in the next Council meeting in March 1993 (SU Council, 15 March 1993: 23ff). An eight-member ad hoc committee on international relations further had investigated the matter. Among the participants of the group were the Vice Rector (Operations) HC Viljoen, W Claassen and BC Lategan as well as Vice Rector (Academic) HW Rossouw, who chaired the group, and furthermore professors WP Dreyer, S Kritzinger, Fechter and DS Uys (ibid: 20). Their report was finalized by the rectorate and passed over for final decision making to the respective University bodies. In this four page memorandum, it was explained why the University would be better off with an organizational structure dealing specifically

[341] This agreement defined the modalities for the collaboration of the institutions involved. It addressed the exchange of lecturers and students (and ensured recognition of exams and achievements at the partner university) as well as the promotion of joint research groups, joint research programmes and joint publications.

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with international affairs. The memorandum outlined the broad functions of such a structure and general policy guidelines for international relations. It also addressed the financial implications of the establishment of a new unit and of the implementation of the respective policies. The memorandum recommended that the Director for Research, a post held by Walter Claassen at that time, would have the main responsibility for the establishment and systematic development as well as for the operational management of such a unit. He would be supported by an advisory group of informed professors (ibid: 21).[342] The broad functions of a future Office of International Relations were defined by the memorandum as follows: the preservation and enhancement of the University's international relations; taking care of overseas visitors and students as well as Stellenbosch students and scholars who want to go abroad; the coordination of exchange and cooperation agreements; the exploration and exploitation of opportunities for the development of the University's international relations; coordination and facilitation of international liaison with the aim of exploiting financial resources for the core functions of the University (ibid.). Furthermore, it was proposed that a future International Office be responsible for the management of all funds related to international affairs.[343]

Looking at the policy guidelines as developed in this first memorandum, a couple of aspects have to be highlighted. Firstly, according to the document, all international activity should enhance the core functions of the University, namely research, teaching and the service function, with knowledge generation as the prime interest and financial aspects of secondary importance[344]. Secondly, and this is of particular interest for this research, international contact of Stellenbosch academics and students should be encouraged, most of all in order to keep pace with international standards and developments. Thirdly, the document specifies a number of prerequisites that should be fulfilled in order for SU to sign cooperation agreements with other universities. For example, formal agreements should only be entered into if long term cooperation on different levels of the University was to be expected, as a prerequisite for new and innovative cooperation projects. Furthermore, the spontaneous interaction between individual academics on the basis of free choice should not be hampered but rather encouraged. Agreements should only be accepted if there was mutual benefit in the partnership and if the cooperation contributed to the academic development of staff and students and thus to the University's academic excellence. What deserves special mention is, fourthly, that the memorandum contains a clear statement in favour of the development of

[342] This advisory group, the so-called Advisory Group on International Relations under the participation of representatives of the University's Public Relations, however, never really got activated (discussion with Robert Kotzé, August 2011; Interview 11, 2010).

[343] They included the long-established funding for scientific travel and academic liaison of Stellenbosch professors, funding for overseas study leave and research stays of visiting academics, but also scholarships for students to go abroad, such as the Abe Bailey Trust. These funds had previously been managed by the Registrar's Office of the University. In 1994 a decentralization of the "Fonds vir Wetenskaplike Reise" had been resolved. From then on, the previous Fonds vir Wetenskaplike Reise and the Rektor se Spesiale Fonds vir Wetenskaplike Reise (Rektorsfonds) were integrated into one fund, and each faculty was provided with a certain amount of money, based on historical spending patterns and research outputs (SU Council, 21 March 1994: 559).

[344] Given Rector van Wyk's concerns about cuts in funding from the South African government and the financial rationales for internationalization, as outlined in Chapter 7, the "secondary importance" of financial aspects as written down in these guidelines should be read as equally important. A discussion with Robert Kotzé in October 2013, however, revealed that the IO never had a financial motive. This is an indicator of the different arenas within a university pursuing different goals. For the IO, internationalization seemed to be a goal in itself.

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cooperation on the African continent and an early commitment to initiate special programmes and measures to interact with higher education institutions (HEIs) in Africa. To create opportunities for African students to study at SU was part of the plan (SU Council, 15 March 1993: 23). One of SU's approaches in that regard was to focus not only on English speaking African countries, as other South African universities did, but to also include the French speaking African countries (Claassen 2001: 116; Interview 25, 2010). This could be interpreted as a measure to enhance its competitive advantage. The final guideline is also of interest. SU, in that early stadium of its post-1990 internationalization exercise, was willing to provide the necessary funds in order to animate its international relations on the condition that the University would be satisfied with the results (SU Council, 15 March 1993: 23). However, as Kotzé explained, the idea was that the University will only make a modest investment and that the activities should not cost the University (discussion with Robert Kotzé, October 2013).

The memorandum was approved both by the Senate and the Council at the beginning of 1993. It is an important document insofar as it spelled out quite detailed that international relations would become more important for the University, that an organizational unit was necessary in order to best manage these relations for the whole institution and that there were clear policies to be followed before entering into cooperation and exchange agreements. Even though the University was planning to create a central structure for taking care of international visitors and international relations, it equally acknowledged that international relations would most often be initiated through individual academics at the institutes, departments and faculties.

In early 1993, Walter Claassen, Research Director at the University, wrote a proposal for the creation and concrete configuration of a "Kantoor vir Internasionale Betrekkinge" (KIB) ("Office for International Relations" [OIR]), which achieved the support of the acting Rector van Wyk (Claassen 2001: 115). By April 1993, the establishment of such an office as one of the first of its kind in South Africa[345] had been approved by all parties, largely as outlined in the rectorate's memorandum of November 1992. Robert Kotzé, a former student of Walter Claassen with a Master's degree in Semitic Languages and Cultures and international experience at the University of Tübingen in the early 1990s was appointed in order to develop the new unit from June 1993 (ibid.). Its scheduled opening on 1 July 1993 had been announced to the Council. The Council was also informed that steps had already been taken to make available accommodation for the increasing number of visiting academics (SU Senate, 23 April 1993: 4). Accommodation obviously was a major problem when internationalization was started to be promoted intentionally. This would become even more serious with regard to the desired increase in international students in the coming years.[346]

It must be recorded that the coming into existence of SU's International Office was linked to key figures in the University management and administration at the beginning of the 1990s,

[345] The opening of SU's International Office was followed by UCT's in 1996 and that of the University of Kwazulu-Natal (UKZN) who, as writes Rouhani (2007: 475), "were among the pioneers". According to an e-mail request sent to South African universities in August 2013, the International Office of the University of the Witwatersrand reported that its International Office was already established in 1989.

[346] As a result, the IO, for example, had been actively involved in the establishment of the Concordia student residence (Interview 11, 2010; SU Intouch 2013: 7).

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who had spent parts of their academic careers outside South Africa. They included, for example, Rector and Vice Chancellor Mike de Vries, Vice Rector Hennie Rossouw, Rector and Vice Chancellor Andreas van Wyk, furthermore the Research Director Walter Claassen as well as Robert Kotzé. The experience especially with the German *Akademische Auslandsämter* (International Offices) (of which some had come into existence already prior to the First World War and which received a major boost at the end of the 1980s mainly because of the ERASMUS mobility scheme proposed by the European Commission in 1987) laid the cornerstone for Stellenbosch's OIR. The *Akademische Auslandsamt* of Tübingen University (the first University signing an official university agreement with Stellenbosch in 1992) helped, according to van Wyk and Claassen, with planning and implementation (Interviews, 2010). Stellenbosch did not use the *Auslandsämter* as example to be copied one to one, but they used a lot of their ideas how to set up a comprehensive unit with some similar purposes in South Africa, namely offering support to international guest scholars and international students as well as to local students willing to study abroad (Interview, 2010). Claassen also highlighted that at SU everything had to be invented from scratch, and that this was an especially promising situation (ibid.). Robert Kotzé, at the time of writing (2013) still heading the International Office, added: "The group around the Rector saw the need for a place where things can be organized and focused, and they also saw [...] that we can start with something new in higher education in South Africa" (Interview, 2010). The rationale for the establishment of the OIR is retrospectively summarized by the report "Progress towards Internationalization at SU: 1997-2006":

> "The OIR was the result of a vision that the University should become an international role player and purposefully position itself as such. When the political dispensation changed in 1994, it meant that the University, by means of the OIR, could begin to exploit the opening up of the international academic world in a proactive manner and the OIR was an important mechanism for and facilitator of international mobility." (SU International Office 2008: 1)

This process had already been well prepared prior to the 1994 elections.[347]

Already in the beginning, the office was ascribed considerable potential for the future development of the University by proactively making use of international cooperation and developments. In the first two years of its operation, the OIR mostly fulfilled those functions outlined in the rectorate's memorandum of November 1992. They covered the coordination and systematic expansion of the University's international relations (cooperation agreements and visitors' programmes), the continuous administration of the University's international relations and the proactive development of new strategies and procedures regarding the internationalization of the institution. They also included service to international and local academics as well as international and local students interested in exchanges or study abroad (Kotzé 1995, 1996). The number of foreign students ("buitelandse studente" in Afrikaans) at SU in the early post-apartheid period was rather limited even though a growing interest of foreigners to come and study at SU could be registered and even though the

[347] See also Chapter 7.1 on the term in office of Rector Andreas van Wyk.

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numbers had increased steadily since 1990 (SU Senate, 1 March 1996: 410).[348] The limited number was most of all linked to a generally restrictive dealing with foreign students by the South African state. Except for Namibian students and students from Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Zimbabwe, undergraduate studies by foreign students were discouraged by continuously rejecting applications for study permits (ibid., based on circulars from the Department of Education and its predecessors). Until 1993, the view point of the state was that undergraduate students were not allowed to come for study purposes to South Africa. Study permits would usually only be issued to postgraduate students. The following financial reason seems likely: The South African government did not want to subsidise foreign students in large numbers from taxpayers' money. The admission of a foreign student should not take the place of a South African student, which would be the case on the undergraduate level. According to Gert Steyn, who had worked as civil servant for the government Department of National Education from the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s and in that capacity amongst other things on how the government should allocate funding to HEIs, the South African government had been subsidizing international students in the same way as South African students since 1986. The former SAPSE (South African Post-Secondary Education) subsidy formula (1986–2003) was based on full-time equivalent students enrolled in state-approved academic programmes offered at South African universities, regardless of their origin (de Villiers and Steyn 2007).[349] Back then, when student numbers of international students were tiny, the South African government did not seem to mind to subsidise them. Since the mid-1980s, the government, according to Steyn, repeatedly considered scaling down or scrapping the automatic subsidy to international students. Yet, this was never realized. There was a feeling that most of the international students were from neighbouring countries, or from other African countries, and that it was beneficial for South Africa to assist in raising the intellectual level of the continent (Interview, 2010; discussion with Gert Steyn, August 2013).

The matter of a potential exclusion of foreign students from the state's funding formula and thus from the government subsidy to HEIs was brought to the table at SU. It resulted in discussions about introducing higher (tuition) fees for foreign students than for local students in order to cover additional costs (SU Senate, 1 March 1996: 426f), but initially explicitly not to increase institutional income.

> "Higher tuition was only mentioned if we did not receive any government subsidy [for degree seeking international students, SB] – higher tuition would have only been instituted to replace lost subsidy, but not to make money from it. [...] For short term students, a different dispensation was applied." (discussion with Robert Kotzé, October 2013).

[348] According to the University's Division for Institutional Research and Planning, the absolute numbers of international students – both undergraduate and graduate – in the 1990s were as follows: 335 out of 15.226 (1990), 371 out of 15.564 (1991), 400 out of 15.469 (1992), 381 out of 15.245 (1993), 433 out of 15.369 (1994), 447 out of 15.785 (1995). The percentage of degree-seeking international students had increased from 2.2 percent in 1990 to 2.8 percent in 1995. Not included in these figures are exchange students or the elective students in the Faculty of Health Sciences (figures provided in December 2012).

[349] The same applies to the current funding formula, in place since 2004.

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It was in November 1995 that the government Departments of Education and Home Affairs began to loosen their policy towards foreign undergraduate students and to grant responsibility to the individual HEIs themselves.

> "In recognition of the fact that it is important for cross cultural and academic stimulation to allow a limited number of foreign students to study at South African universities and technikons, and in view of the economic interdependence of South Africa and other countries in Africa and especially in this subregion, the admission of foreign students to residential universities and technikons, at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels, should be left to the discretion of the respective institutions. Universities and technikons are, however, requested to ensure that foreign undergraduate students enrol only for courses where there is adequate accommodation available and that the enrolment of South African students to these courses is not restricted as a result of the admission of foreign students." (Omsendskrywe van die Department van Onderwys, 16 November 1995, cited from SU Senate, 1 March 1996: 411)

The new policy approach of the government towards foreign students was, however, coupled with limitations in terms of numbers and accompanied by stricter measures of study permit regulations, especially regarding the financial ability of potential students from abroad. They had to put a certain amount of money to a bank account to prove that they were able to afford their living costs and to pay their tuition fees (Omsendskrywe van die Department van Onderwys, 16 November 1995, cited from SU Senate, 1 March 1996: 411).

What can be read in the quotation is, first of all, the attempt of the new government to protect the local against the global, e.g. to protect local students and to make sure that they are the first to profit from public offerings in higher education in South Africa. This is a clear reference to the "local needs discourse". In the language of the spatial turn debate we see, secondly, a state that was initially trying to assume control over territory in a time when national boundaries were continuously crossed and when transnational and global processes were in full swing. The state later delegated the final decisions to the HEIs, allowing them to increase the number of foreign students within a certain framework (still to be further determined by the government) and also to charge higher tuition fees from foreign students. What we can also observe is the interaction between the government and Stellenbosch University and an early and proactive action from SU even in the absence of clearly spelled out national policy guidelines. SU – in reaction to these statutory provisions and in presuming that the subsidies for some foreign students would soon be cut and possibly had to be replaced by higher tuition fees – divided foreign students into three subgroups, according to their residence status: 1) foreign students with a permanent residence permit (so-called local foreign students, such as the children of immigrants, who possessed a permanent permit but no citizenship); 2) foreign students with a temporary residence permit, e.g. a study permit, which applied to most of the international students; and 3) foreign students from neighbouring countries. It would be most probably the first and the third group – so the institutional take – to which subsidy would be made available by the South African state. Therefore, the second group would by definition make up the "foreign students" (ibid: 407). SU thereby reacted to the government's mid-1995 inquiry asking all South African institutions

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of higher education for an institutional definition of foreign students (SU Senate, 9 June 1995).[350]

How to deal with international students on the institutional level against this changing political stand of the South African state was the central question of a so-called "Basisdokument oor buitelandse studente aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch". This was presented to and accepted by the Senate in March 1996. The document was jointly authored by Robert Kotzé, head of the Office for International Relations (OIR), and Walter Claassen, Vice Rector (Academic). It illustrates how SU and its OIR dealt with international students and how they intended to do it in the future. Based on how universities worldwide[351] would deal with international students and international mobility and on the different rationales for internationalizing a university, Kotzé and Claassen proposed an individual approach for SU. A couple of aspects shall be extracted from the almost 20 page "Basisdokument" with special regard to the following questions: What importance was attributed to a process of internationalization? How should internationalization be implemented on the institutional level? And where in the University would it locate the dealing with international students?

Semantically, it is, first of all, striking that the report spoke of "foreign" students; the term "international" students did not appear and would only be introduced later. This implies a clear distinction between the South African and the non-South African student and is in line with the nation-state centred argumentation of the South African government as demonstrated above. In the document, a thorough state of the art analysis with regards to internationalization at SU is absent. No figures and numbers are presented, and no reference is made to internationalization and especially international student mobility in the past. International student mobility in the new era, however, is considered an "important asset for making known the University and for the development of international contacts" [SB] (SU Senate, 1 March 1996: 418). Therefore, the objective of SU regarding international mobility was defined as increasing the number of foreign students by fully utilizing the new spaces offered by the state. This should be turned into reality by establishing a comprehensive international programme (ibid: 419). The specific goals of such an international programme were the following: Firstly, it should fulfil an academic role in a new situation of greater internationalization, in which universities increasingly internationalize on the levels of research, teaching and service. Secondly, it should introduce the University and its academic offerings to the international scene by presenting SU as an institution of highest academic standards. This would promise the establishment of long-term international contacts. Thirdly, the international programme was expected to expose local students to different academic

[350] At the time of writing (2013), international degree seeking students were still being subsidized under the funding formula of the South African government (discussions with Robert Kotzé, September 2011 and Gert Steyn, August 2013; CHE 2007). The South African government was still not decided if and to what extent international students in the South African higher education system should be subsidized (through the South African taxpayers' money). International students from the SADC countries, for example, are treated like South Africans (NPHE 2001: section 2; Interviews 1, 2, 2010). At the time when student numbers of international students used to be manageable the South African government readily subsidized them. With South Africa being the 8th largest receiver of international students in higher education (UNESCO 2009: 36f), there seems to be a need to reconsider the subsidy.

[351] The document, however, does not specify the universities and their countries of origin. They are rather referred to in a very general sense as "the international scene" or "different universities". The European Union and its Socrates programme as well as the DAAD and the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation are explicitly mentioned.

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cultures and experiences represented by foreign students. This should prepare them for an international world of work and offer them an international perspective. The programme's goal was, fourthly, also to generate funds for the University through tuition fees, but also indirectly and in the longer run through joint (research) programmes. And finally, the internationalization of disciplines was to be facilitated (ibid: 419f). The achievements of these goals, most of all the establishment of an international programme for foreign students, would also benefit local students insofar as facilities and infrastructures would be developed. The document, furthermore, argues in favour of a central institution, namely the Office of International Relations, within the University that should deal comprehensively with and coordinate all aspects of international mobility and an international programme. The argument is based on the assumption that a majority of international students came from countries (read: European countries) with good-working structures in place dealing with international students. This was the reason why the University felt that it had to ensure that their expectations would be met to their full satisfaction, which would be even more important if the University charged international students higher tuition fees. "Ongunstige ervarings in selfs net enkele gevalle kan die beeld van die Universiteit in die geheel as gasheer vir buitelandse student ernstige skaad" (Unfavourable experiences, even in a few instances, could seriously harm the image of the University as a whole as a host for foreign students [SB]) (SU Senate, 1 March 1996: 418). In order to realize such an international programme for foreign students, the document goes on, the cooperation of faculties and departments would be indispensable especially as academic offerings are concerned (ibid.). Yet, it recognizes that faculties and departments might have different objectives within the institutional policy framework, e.g. the development of international academic linkages rather than the generation of income. They should, therefore, be allowed to differently deal with matters of internationalization and to also determine their study fees independently, but again within the framework of institutional policies (ibid.). A good coordination of central and decentrally organized tasks would be obligatory, for which the OIR would have to play a central role. Hence, attached to the basic document we find a supplement in the Senate minutes of March 1996 outlining in further detail the procedure of integrating the departments into the process. Departments had to make available certain logistics in order to cater for foreign students, and they then had to apply to the Vice Rector (Academic) in order to participate in the international programme (ibid: 426f.). To sum up, the central role allocated to the OIR to coordinate and oversee internationalization processes at SU, as detailed in the document, does not come as a surprise given its authors Kotzé and Claassen. The document clearly bears traces of legitimizing the Office's existence. The envisaged set-up of an international programme and its coordination through the OIR would further strengthen its position, as it promised SU an additional boost regarding international students.

One and a half years after the document had been presented to the Senate. After a wide consultation process had taken place, the University started to implement its so-called "international programme" as pronounced in the "Basisdokument". IPSU, the International Programmes Stellenbosch University, would finally start its English course offerings in the early 2000s, dedicated at international undergraduate and non-degree seeking students, who

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otherwise would have had difficulties in following Afrikaans classes. Overview courses on South African History, Politics, Sociology or Economics and introductory courses in Afrikaans and Xhosa formed part of the programme (SU International Office 2008: 12; SU Intouch 2013: 7). Most of these courses were not credit-bearing.

In the meantime, the Office for International Relations had been renamed into International Office (IO) in May 1996 (even though the name had already been circulating inofficially for a while). Starting on 1 May 1996, the IO reported directly to the Vice Rector (Academic), responsible for the portfolios teaching and research, after it was firstly linked to the Senior Director (Research). This development was also related to a change in positions. Walter Claassen, who had been engaged in the creation of the OIR, had been appointed Vice Rector (Academic) in 1994, after he had held the position of the Senior Director (Research). Claassen thereby remained responsible for the IO also in his new position.

A major shift in terms of the institutional linkage of the IO had occurred in early 1997. When the operation management plan for the University's Division for Marketing and Communication was discussed in the Council in March 1997, a large degree of overlap between the division's activities and those of the IO was found. The overlap related to the development of marketing material and publications directed at the international public and to the dealing with visitors on campus, but also to international fundraising activities. The report presented to the Council acknowledged that there were certain tasks that may only be fulfilled by an International Office, including the international programme for foreign students as well as the dealing with cooperation agreements and the management of the University's funds for international activities (SU Council, 17 March 1997: 44f). However, against the backdrop of an increase in duties and the expansion of certain activities (especially the increase in foreign students and foreign visitors), as demonstrated in the annual background document on the functioning and development of the IO (Kotzé 1996: 9ff), the Council document also referred to the tremendous pressure caused by increasing administrative tasks at the IO. As a result, it proposed an outsourcing and sharing of duties and staff with the Division of Marketing and Communication. The Council concluded that the IO as well as the International Fundraising Unit should operate under the Division for Marketing and Communication from April 1997. The identity of the IO should, however, be preserved. All functions with regard to the international academic world should continue to be completely managed and operated by the IO, and it would also remain under the management of the Vice Rector (Academic), especially its academic support functions and strategic academic liaisons. An international fundraising strategy, however, should be developed and implemented within the International Fundraising Unit. Based on that decision, the IO was included into the portfolio "special programmes" of the Marketing and Communication Division (later Corporate Affairs Division), yet, as a separate entity. The major rationale behind this restructuring exercise was the integration, harmonization and coordination of all international activities under the roof of one division. Following this restructuring process, the International Fundraising Unit and the International Office would share administrative staff (SU Council, 17 March 1997: 46). The IO during that time focused most of all on the promotion of international academic mobility. According to Robert Kotzé, this decision was

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not to the best of the University's internationalization approach, as, in his view, during that period too much emphasis was laid on corporate marketing and public relations of the University only (discussion with Robert Kotzé, September 2011). A couple of years later, in 2002, the IO got a second reporting line to the Vice Rector (teaching), at that time Rolf Stumpf, because the office was seen as being closely linked with the teaching task of the University (Interview 11, 2010). In the middle of 2003, it went back to the research portfolio, now under a Vice Rector solely responsible for research, "because of the strong academic work we do", said Robert Kotzé (Interview, 2010; see also Interview 11, 2010). Even later, under Arnold van Zyl as Vice Rector (Research) from 2007 to 2011, the IO together with the Library and the Division for Research Development formed a more integrated alliance in terms of an enabling research environment with a strong international focus (Interview 1, 2010).

Organization-wise, both the renaming of the office and its grouping together with another division are interesting developments. They express a perceived need for a better integration of internationalization with other University functions as it increasingly became more mainstreamed. Where to best annex internationalization within the University, how to define it, what activities and responsibilities to include, how to avoid parallel structures and what to use internationalization for, were the driving questions. The different names and structural connections were some form of trial and error how to best institutionalize internationalization within the University and how to maximally profit from this pioneering work as a service unit for the whole University. The only certainty – and this is in accordance with international trends in higher education in the 1990s – was that internationalization played an increasingly important role for universities and was thus developed intentionally and purposefully at SU, with considerable support from the highest positions of the University's management.

A breakthrough for the IO and a prerequisite for its further growth was the introduction of the so-called international student levy in 1999, later called international registration fee (IRF). While an increase of class fees for international students was constantly debated, also against the backdrop of the state's policy on international students and their possible exclusion from the funding formula, the University community, according to Robert Kotzé (discussion, September 2011), was not immediately open for higher tuition fees. One of the rationales was that education was part of the public good and that international students should not be used as additional source of income. Also Rector van Wyk was not in favour of higher university tuition fees for international students as this, according to him, would run counter to the University's attempt to, first of all, increase the number of international students on campus and to use them and their experience in South Africa to further promote the University worldwide. This policy of SU to not introduce higher fees is interpreted as having led to such an increase in international students at SU (Claassen 2001: 120)[352], next to the high-quality service of the IO adding to the University's good reputation[353].

[352] The percentage of degree seeking international students had risen from 2.2 percent to 3.5 percent in the decade of the 1990s (statistics provided by SU's Division for Institutional Research and Planning in December 2012).

[353] An example is the Golden Key award from the International Education Association South Africa (IEASA) that SU received from 2003 to 2006 for achievements in internationalization (SU Intouch 2013: 7).

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The perception of SU's improving reputation was considered very important. This is also demonstrated by the following quote in the Rector's report to the Senate on a conference of the International Association of Universities that had taken place in Natal in 2000 with 400 participants: "Dit was opmerklik dat daar onder konferensiegangers 'n sterk positiewe beeld van die US bestaan. Dit is belangrik dat die Internasionalisiering van die US se akademici se netwerke steeds uitgebou sal word" (It was noteworthy that among the delegates a strong positive image of SU existed. It is important that the internationalization of SU's academic networks will be increasingly expanded [SB]) (SU Senate, 25 June 2000: 561).

What was not opposed by the University community was an extra charge for extra services rendered to international students in addition to the normal tuition and application fees. This international student levy was limited to first time registering international students. For quite some time, international students within the framework of cooperation agreements, Namibians and the so-called elective medical students were exempted from the levy (SU International Office 1998: Appendix B). These groups of students later also had to pay, which came as a big advantage in terms of general income for SU (discussion with Robert Kotzé, September 2011). Non-South Africans with a permanent residence in South Africa were still freed from the charge. The amount of the international student levy of initially R840 annually (and R420 for SADC students) was decided upon by the executive committee of the Senate in 1998. In 2000 the levy was renamed "International Registration Fee" (IRF) by the Vice Rector (Research) and the executive committee of the Senate (ibid.). The most important decision, however, was the fact, that the IO was allowed to keep the total income from the international student levy/IRF – a decision that was made by the student fees committee, so that there are no minutes in the Senate and Council documents (ibid.). This was the starting point for further expansion and organizational development of the University's IO in the next decade.[354] A member of the PGIO summarized retrospectively:

> "Many developments in Stellenbosch were way ahead of what one could think of in South Africa at the time. Our development as an International Office was quite unique in the country, because we are an Afrikaans speaking university. So, the biggest challenge back in the early days was to be able to offer a German speaking exchange student courses in English. That's been a major challenge over the years, and it has shaped our development, because in other universities that function would have gone up to different departments. But we have kept it centrally organized. We kind of have almost organized a mini university within the University. But it has its disadvantages as well, because you spent so much time duplicating processes and focusing on things that other people don't even have to think about." (Interview 2, 2010)

The 1990s had seen the institutional establishment and development of an International Office and related debates about how to integrate an international dimension into the University's key functions and, therefore, the conscious inclusion of international relations into SU's key business. These detailed observations largely confirm the findings of Rouhani (2007), according to which SU in comparison with other South African universities had approached the introduction of internationalization into the University in a systematic manner

[354] Information on the size of the IO, its staff and budget at the end of the 1990s were not available any more, as the data were lost by the IO due to technical problems.

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and with a high priority. Yet, it was not the only university doing so.[355] The following paragraphs will shed light on SU's internationalization approach during the 2010s.

8.1.2 The Expansion of Tasks, a Beginning Transnationalization in the 2000s and the Establishment of the Postgraduate and International Office (PGIO)

Since the end of the 1990s, the tasks and responsibilities of the International Office have been growing. Initially, it took most of all care of the University's international inter-university relationships and promoted mobility of staff and students, which could be considerably augmented[356]. Over time, the IO had evolved into a one-stop service unit for local and international students and staff. It organized many activities jointly with other University units, such as the compilation and execution of visitors' programmes, full-package support for international students, including their academic administration, information and advice for local students and academics on exchange programmes (SU 2005: 137f, SU International Office 2008: 2). In 2001 the IO had established a summer school in the South African winter break, initially dedicated to US American students. Over the years, the summer school project expanded both in terms of participants as well as countries of origin. In addition to the IPSU summer school, SU has been offering the annual International Student Forum for Development (SU Intouch 2013: 18) as well as a Winter School on Nation Building and Development (SU Annual Report 2010: 25). With the IO's celebration of its first ten years of existence in 2003, the so-called Stellenbosch Family Meeting, a coming together of all of SU's bilateral partner institutions, was brought into being. After some time, it had been turned into the Stellenbosch International Academic Network Meeting. The IO, furthermore, had been establishing and facilitating links with international organizations and institutions, such as the German DAAD, the diplomatic corps, or foreign foundations; on behalf of the University it had become a member of a number of international education organizations or networks.[357] It had been representing the University at international meetings and (recruitment) fairs[358] and had been organizing an annual Study Abroad Fair. It had supported and promoted SU's activities on the African continent and was continuously involved in policy development together with the Research Committee, the Academic Planning Committee (APC) or the Division for Institutional Research and Planning. It was finally responsible for the implementation of SU's international relations and internationalization policies (SU

[355] Rouhani had studied five South African universities, namely SU, UCT, Rhodes University, the University of Port Elizabeth and the University of Fort Hare. In comparison, SU and UCT had allocated the highest importance towards internationalization and had carried out the process of its introduction in the most systematic and proactive way (Rouhani 2007: 477).

[356] Detailed figures will be provided in Chapter 8.3.1 on international students and academics as well as mobility patterns. Besides, we find mention of "155 international visiting and postdoctoral research fellows" (SU Annual Report 2007: 29) as well as 77 international delegations the International Office had catered for in 2007 (ibid.). For 2008, the figures were as follows: 56 delegations, 125 international visitors and 78 international postdocs (SU Annual Report 2008: 28).

[357] In 2006 they ranged, for example, from the US American International Student Exchange Program (ISEP) and the Council on International Educational Exchange (CIEE), NAFSA: Association of International Educators, the European Association for International Education (EAIE), the International Education Association of South Africa (IEASA), the Asia-Pacific Association for International Education (APAIE), the Association of African Universities (AAU) to the Association of Commonwealth Universities (ACU) (International Office 2008: 6).

[358] SU, however, never went on excessive recruitment like UK or Australian universities (discussion with Robert Kotzé, October 2013).

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International Office 2008: 2), such as the handling of international students. External recognition of the IO's achievements in the framework of internationalization was received through the Golden Key from the International Education Association South Africa (IEASA) that was awarded four times in a row to Stellenbosch University (2003 to 2006).[359]

When talking about internationalization at SU, it should be kept in mind that internationalization had also been a way to generate income. It was in part also for this reason that the International Programmes SU (IPSU) started to be professionally developed and promoted by the IO in the late 1990s. Income generated through international students, especially through the international registration fee (IRF) introduced in 1999, could be kept completely by the IO. This laid the foundation for sustaining and further developing SU's internationalization efforts and activities. The IRF had over the years been steadily increased[360] and amounted to 55 percent of the office's staff and operating budget in 2010 (discussion with Robert Kotzé, September 2011). This money was used in parts to staff the office, its operational budget and for other international activities. On top of that, Study Abroad students paid full tuition fees per semester, of which the balance, after settling the student account, was allocated to the office to fund scholarships for outgoing exchange students. Of the approximately R7.8 million for staff positions in 2010, about 50 percent came from the University, the rest was raised by the office itself (ibid.).[361] This made one rather frustrated staff member say that institutionally speaking the IO was not really pushed, and internationalization was not systematically advanced nor strategically worked out for the future: "The University hasn't over the years been very financially supportive of the work this office does. We had to support ourselves" (Interview 2, 2010).[362]

In 2010 a major restructuring had taken place. The IO was turned into the Postgraduate and International Office (PGIO), and its services were extended towards postgraduate students. The underlying rationale has been explained as follows: With its positioning as research-intensive institution, the number of postgraduate students at SU, those already having a first degree, grew steadily. In 2010 it was at 34 percent of the whole student body. One goal of Vision 2015 was to increase that figure to 40 percent, another one to lower the average completion time for degrees (SU Transformation Strategy Document 2010: 10f; see also Interview 1, 2010). From an institutional perspective, this was an important objective in terms of the subsidy from government, whose total amount in the form of the block grants also depends on the number of completed degrees in the category "teaching and research output". The more degrees the University produces and the higher the level of qualification, the higher the income from government. This funding framework thus also incentivizes universities to contribute to the closing of the nationwide skills gap, by enrolling more graduate students and by graduating them faster (CHE 2007: 11ff; de Villiers and Steyn

[359] See http://www.ieasa.studysa.org/about-us/awards/goldenawards.html [retrieved 11 May 2012]. See also SU Intouch (2013: 7).
[360] In 2011 the amount had risen to R4.300 for non-SADC citizens; in 2012 it was at R4.730 for non-SADC citizens (and R2.530 for SADC citizens) (See http://www0.sun.ac.za/international [retrieved 8 April 2012].
[361] By mid-2012, the total amount for staff positions had increased to approximately R10.5 million, of which 47.9 percent were paid by the central University budget (table provided by the PGIO in October 2013).
[362] This statement must be put into perspective insofar as the expression "we had to support ourselves" relates to the international registration fee that the University allowed the IO to charge.

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2007). Given the experience and expertise the IO had accumulated over the years in supporting international students, it was decided to extend its service and functions to all postgraduate students (Interview 1, 2010). The idea of creating a central service point for all graduate students again goes back to Robert Kotzé, who had been acting dean of students between May 2006 and January 2008. In that position, he had been directly exposed to the problems and difficulties especially of newly arriving postgraduate students at SU, as there was no unit within the University catering for their needs (ibid.). It was against that background that Rector Russel Botman and Vice Rector (Research) Arnold van Zyl initiated an investigation into establishing a postgraduate office, which was one of the stated goals of SU's Overarching Strategic Plan (OSP) to fulfil Vision 2015. Discussions with postgraduate students as well as best practice from local and international students served as points of departure. Based on that report, the Rector's management team decided in December 2008 to "give approval for further consultation on the campus [...] and for an integrated proposal to be brought to Management in May 2009" (Kotzé 2009: 1). All of this had to be done with respect to all those Strategic Management Indicators relating to postgraduate students[363] and to the goals manifested in the OSP. Robert Kotzé was tasked with guiding the consultation process in the various campus environments, including the deans, student representatives, support divisions as well as researchers. He also started to draft a conception for the integration of services for postgraduate students into the structure of the already existing IO (ibid.). During the consultation phase, various dimensions had been identified that the newly structured institution could be dealing with: "administration, social wellness, skills development and attention to related academic matters" (ibid: 2). It was fairly obvious that parts of the services envisioned to be put in place for postgraduate students were already successfully rendered to international students. Hence, it would just be a logical consequence to extend the IO's mandate, responsibilities and tasks towards postgraduate students. As a result of the consultation, the "Proposal to the Rector's Management Team for the establishment of the Postgraduate and International Centre" was tabled in May 2009. In that report, the objective and alignment of the new structure was formulated as follows:

> "The aim of PIC is to use policy and systems development, service rendering and the effective coordination and support of existing, appropriate initiatives/activities to a) offer a focused support service platform that will promote postgraduate study and the success of postgraduate students; and b) support and promote the international academic mobility of staff and students. The Centre will focus on the development of policy and systems for the institution as a whole, with a strong virtual presence. [...] These aspects will entail a walk-in service with related facilities and activities to build a postgraduate community, promote interdisciplinary discussion and encourage integration between local and international students." (Kotzé 2009: 3)

The target groups of the new division would comprise all postgraduate students, including honours, master's and doctoral students, furthermore all international students, including undergraduate and short-term non-degree seeking students. They also included the total of all registered students of the University in order to expose them to an international

[363] These include SMI 1e "percentage of postgraduate students" in a given year, 1f "postgraduate qualifications awarded" and 1g "percentage postgraduate students from other African countries" (See http://sun025.sun.ac.za/portal/page/portal/Administrative_Divisions/INB/Home/Strategic%20Management%20indicators [retrieved 20 May 2012]).

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environment, either through mobility or through activities in the framework of the so-called "internationalization at home" concept. Additionally, the institution also would support newly appointed international academics, international visitors and also those academics partaking in exchange programmes (ibid.). The report outlines quite extensively all activities the future organization would offer for the specific target groups and concludes with the overarching institutional and strategic tasks and responsibilities it would exert. One of the big advantages of the amalgamation would be the synergy effect in terms of the structure of the unit as well as in terms of financial resources. While before the IO was comprised of four structural subdivisions[364], the enrolment of postgraduate students as well as a help desk for integration, support and mobility had to be added. An additional amount of R2.6 million was recommended for extra staff and operational costs, additional publications and welcome activities as well as venues, furniture and equipment (ibid: 12).

The background document went first to the executive committee of the Senate, where it was discussed and approved on 3 August 2009. It was then approved by the Rector's management team in the first half of September 2009. The Senate and the Council were informed in November 2009 that the new structure would start its working by January 2010 (Rector's Management Report of 27 November 2009; discussion with Robert Kotzé, May 2012). In January 2010, the International Office was renamed "Postgraduate and International Office" (PGIO). Many of the non-academic support structures for international students could from then on also be used by local and international postgraduate students. Also the postgraduate bursaries section, previously administered by the Office for Postgraduate Bursaries at the Division for Research Development, was put under the roof of the new institution[365]. Compared nationally, the way the PGIO had been organized structurally was rather unusual. Yet, this structure is another signal for the University's continuous efforts to further increase its focus on postgraduate and research students and to enhance its visibility as a research-led institution. The fact that no new structure for postgraduate students had been established can be interpreted as a sign that the former IO was working well and that its services were of relevance to the University. Even more importantly, it shows that postgraduate education and internationalization were closely related to each other and that SU bundled efforts to be and remain an internationally visible research-intensive University.

In mid-2012, the PGIO consisted of 40 positions responsible for Postgraduate and International Enrolments; International Student Mobility; Postgraduate & International Student Funding; PGIO: Support; the Confucius Institute[366]; International Academic Networks as well as one responsible for the American Institute for Foreign Studies (AIFS), one for the Council for International Educational Exchanges (CIEE) and one for the South Africa

[364] They were Study Abroad and Exchanges (1), International Enrolment Management, International Programmes Stellenbosch University (IPSU) and Support Division for Projects (2), International Student Life and Success (3) and services for visitors (4).

[365] See http://www0.sun.ac.za/international/home/news/195-news-article-2 [retrieved 20 May 2012].

[366] The Confucius Institute forms part of the PGIO since November 2009 (http://www0.sun.ac.za/international/about-us [retrieved 20 May 2012]).

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Washington Internship Programme (SAWIP).[367] In comparison to the 18 staff members in 2006 this was a considerable increase (SU International Office 2008: Addendum D). The increase was largely due to the extension of the functions to postgraduate students but also to new developments in the field of internationalization. Examples for the latter include joint or double degree offerings as from 2010 as well as the increased focus on Africa and partnerships with other African countries, which shall be dealt with in more detail in Chapter 8.3. Developments like these led to new fields and regions of interest as well as to internationalization starting to reach another level of intensity and a new quality, with foreign elements entering national higher education systems and with measurements and standards increasingly transcending the borders of nation-states. SU – in its attempt to participate in the global knowledge society and to be part of and visible in the global university world – has been increasingly pegged into what is called a process of transnationalization, taking place in worldwide higher education. The PGIO, regarded as extremely valuable service unit by the academics, therefore, had also become a facilitator of transnationalization.

8.2 The Interaction between Central and Decentralized Processes towards Internationalization

Even though a new unit at the University, there was not much opposition against or hesitation to the International Office, as it had demonstrated its practical usefulness from the beginning. Over the first years, it had gained high credibility among the University community and appreciation for the work it was doing – most of all because the IO was not intruding the University system but rather joining it by reacting to the different challenges related to internationalizing a university (discussion with Robert Kotzé, May 2012; see also SU Council, 25 September 2001: 2; Interviews 5, 12, 2010). The office may have, therefore, at times challenged the institution through its work and the various kinds of problems that had to be solved (e.g. finding accommodation for international students, providing transcripts of their studies, how to deal with immigration requirements, or how to provide enough English courses), but it did not disturb the institution (discussion with Robert Kotzé, May 2012). In the early days of the office, a lot depended on people promoting the idea of a central organization being positioned in between the University's management on the one hand and academics as well as students on the other, to ensure that faculties, departments and individual lecturers would buy in. As the IO's work was appreciated and considered relevant, there were no animosities. According to Robert Kotzé, it was only in the earlier described language debate[368] that the fear arose among some members of the University's alumni community that the IO could push for more English on campus to the detriment of Afrikaans in order to better fulfil its mission of internationalizing the University, which was, however, never intended (ibid.). The following sections shall provide an insight into SU's governance of processes of internationalization, especially the interaction between central and

[367] The latter three positions as well as another four from the Confucius Institute were externally funded (3 percent of the positions). The remuneration of 15 positions was paid by the central University budget (47.9 percent). The remaining positions were covered by the IRF (46.8 percent) and projects (2.3 percent) (table provided by the PGIO in October 2013).
[368] For further information see Chapter 7, especially Chapter 7.2.

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decentralized processes of internationalization. It should be kept in mind that the relations between the different levels of a university, between the level of individual academics, of departments and faculties and of central management, use to be fluent. They are all mutually dependent of one another, and their relation should thus not be constructed in a simplistic binary divide.

8.2.1 An Institutional Strategy of Internationalization?

Until the time of interviewing (2010 to 2012), SU did not have an official institutional internationalization strategy. With changing contexts and upcoming challenges, SU developed and implemented various institutional policies and procedures on different aspects of internationalization. They included, for example, institutional and cooperative agreements, the dealing with international students, the funding of exchange programmes or academic visitors as well as research and study abroad, joint and double degrees conferred by more than one university or international academic networks. As a result, international mobility among students as well as among staff members, according to the IO, could be improved over the years, and international partnerships were soundly managed (SU International Office 2008: 4f, 7ff, 14ff). However, as a staff member of the IO noted:

> "Mobility is a big part of internationalization. But mobility has happened irrespective of international offices. We help at times, but it wouldn't stop happening if we weren't here. I think, we create and aid opportunities, but we are not the only avenue to internationalization" (Interview 1, 2010).

As a consequence of the absence of an official strategy, SU's internationalization approach was for large parts rather reactive and (until the introduction of the Strategic Management Indicators [SMIs][369] in 2006 and the institutionalization of internationalization through its inclusion into the central strategic management process) without suitable integration into the overall institutional strategy of the University (SU International Office 2004: 2). From the point of view of the IO, this was not always understandable, especially as efforts were made to come up with an institutional internationalization policy (Interviews 1, 2, 2010). For example, there had been the memorandum on international relations, dated 1992, explicating the purpose of SU's internationalization process and formulating general guidelines for international cooperation and outreach. In addition, also SU's "Strategic Framework for the Turn of the Century and Beyond" made clear that the institution explicitly aimed at a strategic focus by taking "suitable steps for the further internationalization of the University" (SU 2000: 15). The implementation of internationalization as a specific strategic focus of the University had been related to the institution's ideal of "excellence in selected focus areas", its standing for research outputs and sought-after graduates as well as the relevance of its work – especially for South Africa and the whole African continent – it wished to be recognized for internationally (SU International Office 2004: 10). Also in its self-evaluation report to the Higher Education Quality Committee (HEQC) in 2005, in preparation of the institutional audit that took place in October 2005, SU had announced:

[369] The introduction of SMIs at SU has been discussed in Chapter 7.2. Their role in incentivizing internationalization at SU will be presented in more detail in Chapter 8.2.3.

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> "The IO promotes and supports the international academic mobility of staff and students through the development and implementation of the University's international relations and internationalisation policy as set out in various independently made decisions. An integrated and comprehensive Policy on Internationalisation is currently being developed. This policy will also make provision for an explicit strategy towards internationalising the curriculum." (SU 2005: 137)

Already in 2004, the IO had proposed "A Strategic Framework for internationalisation at Stellenbosch University" (SU International Office 2004). Here we find the reference to "internationalization as the innovative and self-renewing process" (SU International Office 2004: 10), through which the objective of "integrating an international dimension into the teaching, research and service function of an institution of higher education, with the aim to strengthen international education, which is understood as education which involves and/or relates to the people, cultures and systems of different nations" should be realized (ibid.). This understanding of internationalization was borrowed from the works of Jane Knight (2004b), through which an international and an intercultural dimension should be integrated into the core functions of the University. This document had spelled out a framework for the University's internationalization, including rationales, principles and guidelines as well as objectives and targets, again grounded in the works of Jane Knight. The rationales, for example, were divided into political, economic, cultural and academic rationales (ibid.). The principles and guidelines for internationalizing SU were identical with those formulated in the Strategic Framework (SU 2000); they were quite in line with the transformative rhetoric that SU had started to use in the new millennium[370]. Targets included, for example, the increase of international students to ten percent of the whole student body, the increase in international mobility, to promote those short and long term programmes that help to continue and grow international activities financially as well as the promotion of the so-called "internationalization at home" approach. Vision 2015 and the goals and priorities defined under the Overarching Strategic Plan (OSP) did not include any objective regarding internationalization.

An institutional policy on internationalization was never further developed or approved, besides the official declarations. It seemed as if from the institutional perspective the necessity to develop one such policy was not very high. The advantage of not having a central internationalization policy is quite obvious: It gives an institution and certain parts in it a considerable amount of flexibility. This flexibility recognizes the indispensable role of the different parts of a university for the success of an institution, namely faculties, departments and the individuals working in them. It recognizes that they may have an own agenda of internationalization and the development of international relations, which were, however, expected to take place within the predefined regulations of the University: "[Y]ou have to do it case by case and you have to deal with the departments and give recognition to what the

[370] The listed principles included equity; participation; transparency; readiness to serve; tolerance and mutual respect; dedication; scholarship; responsibility and responsiveness as well as academic freedom (International Office 2004: 11). And the presented guidelines covered decentralized teaching and learning; constructive regional cooperation in the Western Cape; the conscious utilization of the country's diversity for intercultural contact and intercultural learning experiences; a demographically more representative body of students, academics and administrators vis-à-vis South African society; sustainable growth and good quality; redress and equity as well as income generation, which according to the document should be used for diversifying the University and finally an IO as the central agent of internationalization at SU (International Office 2004: 11f).

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departments want to do and try and convince to follow the institutional direction" (Interview 1, 2010). Said Robert Kotzé:

> "I think, the reason why it's working in an institution like this without a big strategy is the fact that the University always had activities within the departments that were international. And most of the academics were internationally linked. [...] If you have a centralized structure, you often clash with what the individual researchers and the individual departments would do. Perhaps that was the reason why we were so successful, because we did it on a fairly informal way [...] and forced no one to follow [...] but with wide acceptance from the University." (Interview, 2010)

The IO tried to follow a fairly informal approach with regards to the international activities of SU's faculties, departments and individuals. It aimed to not interfere too much in their businesses and to not duplicate structures. This approach was probably most appropriate for SU's ambitions of becoming an international research-intensive University. Therefore, international liaison and the various parts of it, such as the services rendered to international (postgraduate) students or the recruitment of international (postgraduate) students, were handled in a rather non-standardized manner within the different faculties. In some of the faculties, these tasks were dealt with in the office of the dean while some of the departments also had an international coordinator responsible for international admissions. Other parts of the University, such as the Faculty of Health Sciences at the Tygerberg Campus or the Business School at the Bellville Park Campus of the University, even had their own internationalization procedures and office structures in place (SU International Office 2008: 4). The Stellenbosch Business School (USB), for example, had to develop its own approach, including international partnerships, independently from the rest of the University, most of all in order to get international accreditation.

The then Vice Rector (Research), Arnold van Zyl, in 2010 answered the question about an institutional strategy on internationalization a little differently. He said that the University had positioned itself de facto vis-à-vis America and Europe and functioned effectively as the preferential portal to Africa, as a point of departure for non-African HEIs, wanting to collaborate with African institutions, a first address to enter into partnerships and networks on the African continent. He added that Africa was an important second part of SU's internationalization strategy (he called it "strategy"). In the assumption that an academic presence and the presence of universities in Africa were a guarantor for development, it had to be from the continent itself that the next generation of African academics should be grown. And SU, so the Vice Rector, had the resources and the capacity to contribute to that goal (Interview, 2010). The focus on Africa, especially the interaction with African countries and African universities, had become an important and strategic part of SU's internationalization endeavour. And the contribution to the building of Africa's next generation of academics, as van Zyl emphasized, distinctly carries the thumbprint of the Hope Project and some of the related projects.[371] What is especially noteworthy is the fact that the way van Zyl had

[371] SU's commitment towards Africa will be dealt with in more detail in Chapter 8.3. According to some interviewees, this was the most interesting part of SU's internationalization exercise (Interview 7, 2010).

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described the strategic approach of SU towards internationalization, at this point in time (2010), had nowhere been put down in writing.[372]

Over the years, as should have become clear, there was a constant struggle over the question whether there should be a proper internationalization strategy integrated into an overall institutional strategy or not. It was disputed what aspects such an internationalization strategy and related policies should contain. And there were arguments on whether a strategy would over-regulate and thus hinder certain decentralized activities. Proponents were arguing for the integration of the tasks and responsibilities of the IO, and the PGIO respectively, into an overall institutional strategy. Opponents were stating that internationalization does not need a strategy, as it happens in any case and needs as much flexibility as possible.

Irrespective of whether there is an officially formulated institutional strategy, the PGIO is expected to have its own goals and must report on that on an annual basis, when performance appraisals are done. In that context, the question emerges whose responsibility it would be to develop an institutional strategy, including all existing policies on different aspects of internationalization into one overall policy document – that of the central unit or that of central management. And this question relates to a larger issue, namely how a university should strategize and implement its strategies. It may have been reasonable at the beginning of SU's journey of internationalizing SU to not unnecessarily complicate matters. A lack of an agreed-upon coherent strategy, however, carries the risk of arbitrariness and of slowing down processes in the course of expanding international activities in the fields of research, teaching and service to the community. A strategy of internationalization, from the institutional point of view, therefore, could be advantageous to further an internationalization process. It would be a point of orientation, would focus the attention, it would serve as frame of reference and reduce complexity. It would make processes transparent, and it would enhance the provision of dedicated funding and dedicated staff as well as support. To what extent it is possible to reproduce different understandings of and conflicting ideas about internationalization in a strategy is yet another question.

It will thus be interesting to continuously monitor the developments with regard to SU's internationalization approach, especially after the appointment of two new Vice Rectors (teaching and learning, research and innovation) in 2012. Until the time of writing (2013), the IO, and the PGIO respectively, had never undergone an internal evaluation process as central University unit (as all central support units usually would undergo every five years). Such an evaluation would have also brought new arguments into the debate around strategy.

[372] Yet, in 2012 the University had approved a "Strategy for National and International Academic Networks – Consolidation and Expansion from an African base". The goal of this policy was "to support and participate in sustainable academic networks that will contribute relevant knowledge for Africa's immense developmental potential in the decades to come" and to accentuate SU's "position as an African knowledge institution of choice" (SU Strategy for National and International Academic Networks 2012: 3). It included statements on the goals, objectives and strategies of International Academic Networks as well as on financial aspects for realizing the formulated goals. Further detail on the strategy is presented in Chapter 8.2.2.

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8.2.2 The Management of Networks, Partnerships and Projects

In 2005 SU maintained 89 cooperation agreements with HEIs around the world. They were located either on the departmental or faculty level or on an institutional level (not to mention those activities and collaborations that were not (yet) part of any agreement). A year later, they already amounted 109 (SU International Office 2008: Addendum B).[373]

In order to evaluate or update partnership agreements and prepare future cooperation in an environment of a growing number of collaborative projects and agreements, SU in 2005 implemented a collaboration management programme at the International Office – initially with a focus on Africa (SU Self Evaluation Report 2005: 138; Interview 1, 2010; Pauw and Malete 2011: 7). The tool offered a number of search options. It helped to identify institutions for bilateral exchanges among students and staff, continental or national role players in higher education as well as funding bodies supporting South-South-North partnerships. The most important element of this database, however, was the tracking function of all forms of collaboration of Stellenbosch academics in Africa. Details about the discipline, goals and objectives, methodology, results as well as pertinent information about the participating academics and donors were available. The grouping of information and the creation of maps and typologies on connections and activities of SU in African higher education was possible, as was the deduction of case study information around best practice in inter-institutional collaboration (Pauw and Malete 2011: 7).

Data gathering among academics involved in collaborative projects, according to Christoff Pauw from SU's IO, who was involved in the promotion of the database, could have been a challenging endeavour. The University, however, consistently promoted the advantages and benefits of a centrally maintained platform for data collection through deans and heads of departments and by including African partnerships into strategic management (by measuring the Africa related performance of individuals, departments and faculties through SMI 2b – established Africa partnerships per full-time senior lecturer equivalent C1 staff member within that particular environment). Available project information was centrally entered into the database on the basis of grant applications, websites or reports. Missing information was collected from the individual researchers only at the end of the process, in order to minimize their work load. In the long run, the database was expected to further grow. The extension towards all bilateral agreements, not only the African ones, was envisaged[374], and the database should be made available to partner institutions as well as to the South African Regional Universities Association (SARUA) via a web platform. The creation of valuable and reliable information, besides bibliometric databases and citation indexes, was another of the long-term goals (Pauw and Malete 2011: 8). In the framework of this expansion, the SMI 2, measuring Africa related activities, was supposed to be redefined to cover all international activities of SU's departments (SU Strategy for National and International Academic Networks 2012: 7f).[375]

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[373] The development and geographical scope of SU's bilateral partnerships will be the subject of Chapter 8.3.2.
[374] In 2013 the process was not finished yet.
[375] In SU's Strategy for National and International Academic Networks, it was proposed that, in the future, the SMI 2 should cover the "overall international involvement/partnerships of each department, with weighted measurement of partnerships with respectively African (50 percent), other developing (35 percent) and developed

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In 2011 a new position was created at the PGIO to manage all of SU's international academic networks with the intent to integrate the longstanding partnerships in the global North with those established more recently in the global South. The goals associated with this position and the strategy for international partnerships and networks to be developed centred on mobility, joint supervision and joint degrees. They focused on South-South and South-South-North research networks and master's and doctoral programmes. Furthermore, they aimed at technological collaboration in the framework of communication and e-learning. And they intended to widen the access to library sources to also include partner institutions. The position was expected to support any initiative relating to Africa in terms of advice, logistics and financial matters, including seed money. It should be responsible for information management on joint projects and for the engagement of various stakeholders, e.g. alumni, development agencies, policy organizations or South African high commissioners and ambassadors, and their possible commitment to certain collaborative projects (Pauw and Malete 2011: 5; see also SU Strategy for National and International Academic Networks 2012: 3). The total budget for activities in the framework of fostering networks was R14 million (SU Strategy for National and International Academic Networks 2012: 6). The position and the associated tasks around partnerships and networks must be seen in the light of the Hope Project, its alignment with the MDGs and, as a result, with capacity building for Africa's development.

> "Stellenbosch University will become known as an effective facilitator of national, intra-African and Africa-global networks, by encouraging African partners to join international partnerships with developed and developing countries elsewhere in the world. As a broker of and partner in so-called south-south-north partnerships, Stellenbosch University can both benefit from and contribute to the developmental potential of the continent." (ibid: 3)

This position and the goals associated with it are a clear expression of SU's move towards more transnationalization: It goes far beyond pure academic mobility of students and staff in the form of incoming as well as outgoing mobility, which had been the main focus of SU's International Office over the decade of the 1990s and also far into the 2000s. SU's entrance into networks and partnerships with other non-South African HEIs and its dedication to joint teaching and research projects, the sharing of resources and its involvement in border-crossing learning processes pay tribute to new forms of the global in higher education, as outlined in Chapter 2.4. For SU, they were a significant step to once more demonstrate its leading position in South Africa and its ability to be part of a globalized university world when it comes to a global positioning, to international visibility and not least to innovative attempts to use its position on the African continent as well as its institutional history to its benefit in order to deal with the global. For all these activities to be possible, it was, however, a prerequisite to have the necessary financial means at one's disposal. In comparison to other South African HEIs, SU was in a lucky position in that regard.

Memoranda of Understanding and bilateral agreements were usually developed by the IO (later PGIO) and the Vice Rector (Research) (SU International Office 2008: 4). Yet, some

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(15 percent) countries (following IMF country categories)" (SU Strategy for National and International Academic Networks 2012: 6). The strategy paper had envisioned the new SMI 2 to be used by 2013 (ibid.).

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parts of the University, such as the Faculty of Health Sciences or the Business School, followed their own partnership rules, according to the needs of their specific environments (ibid.). Contacts on the individual academic level were used as point of departure for formalizing a partnership in any case (ibid.). In 2010 all bilateral partnership agreements, the University had entered into, were checked by the PGIO at the behest of its line manager, the Vice Rector (Research). All active partnerships were supposed to be categorized, with contours to be defined in terms of added value as well as financial opportunities. All non-active partnerships were cancelled as a form of a de-selection process (Interviews 1, 32, 2010). Regarding new partnership agreements, the following rules applied, according to the Vice Rector (Research): It had become institutional practice at SU to only enter into new agreements if there were at least five different fields of cooperation. This was loosely defined and rather pragmatically dealt with. It included, for example, co-publishing or professors extraordinary appointed from other universities (Interview, 2010). This approach recognized that the actual connections, as a prerequisite for any institutional collaboration, happen on the level of academics.

To set up a joint teaching programme, for example, for which an existing SU programme was used, an internal decision by the Senate was sufficient (in contrast to a programme that was never offered at SU before[376]). One professor, active in the field of sustainability and working transdisciplinary, mentioned that for his collaborative doctoral programme to get started, which was based on an already existing programme, it only took six months, as the University was supportive. In that case, the University showed “a remarkable capacity for flexibility” (Interview 24, 2010). This mirrors once more the necessity of flexible approaches towards internationalization and the recognition that research and international activities are mainly carried out on the level of individuals, departments and faculties and less on the central management level. The management level is responsible for a formalized and transparent process of approving (international) projects, so that they stick to certain bureaucratic rules, that they correspond to the overall institutional goals and that the institution can afford certain initiatives. Central management is thus responsible for the provision of the overall institutional structure, in which these activities can take place, including, if necessary, the financial means, as well as for their official institutional affiliation and status. It is a major prerequisite for a successful institutional internationalization process

[376] To start a new joint teaching programme with a partner university used to be a time-consuming process, in which different institutional committees and national bodies were involved. This used to take a minimum of one year, under the condition that the networks and partnerships were already there. A potential new programme would, first of all, be developed by a certain department. The department would then have to submit the programme with all its details to the master’s and doctoral programme committee of the faculty. After that it would have to pass the executive committee of the faculty board followed by the faculty board. From the faculty board, it would go to a programme advice committee of the institution. That programme advice committee would advice the Academic Planning Committee (APC), which is a Senate committee. The APC would approve it. Once approved on the institutional level, the programme proposal would reach national structures. The Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET) would first be involved. The programme must be part of the Programme and Qualifications Mix (PQM) of the institution, which the DHET would have to prove so that the institution could receive subsidy from the government. The programme would have to be registered with the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA), and it would also have to be accredited by the Council on Higher Education (CHE) through its standing committee, the Higher Education Quality Committee (HEQC) (http://sun025.sun.ac.za/portal/page/portal/Administrative_Divisions/ INB/Home/New%20Programmes [retrieved 6 August 2013]).

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that all levels involved are aware of their specific role and function in this endeavour and that institutional regulations are made transparent and known to all stakeholders involved and that commonly agreed regulations are respected by the different levels.
Ways of regulating international activities, such as indirectly through performance measurements on faculty and departmental level or expectations to publish the research, are addressed in the following chapter.

8.2.3 Incentivizing and Regulating Internationalization

SU had established the already mentioned system of Strategic Management Indicators (SMIs) in 2005 to incentivize the realization of strategic institutional goals and, therefore, certain behaviour of its academics. Out of the total of 16 indicators (used from 2006 to 2012), two were linked to internationalization and Africa: the number of postgraduate students from African countries other than South Africa as a percentage of the total number of postgraduate students (SMI 2a "percentage of postgraduate students from other countries in Africa") and established Africa partnerships per full-time senior lecturer equivalent C1 staff member[377] within that particular environment (SMI 2b "established partnerships in Africa"). The process was centrally driven and supposed to incentivize and honour staff engagement and partnerships on the African continent. Other international activities were not yet included. In 2012 a proposal to extend the existing SMI 2 towards all international collaboration was put on the table, which, at the time of writing (2013), was not yet realized (SU Strategy for National and International Academic Networks 2012: 6).
Further institutional incentives for internationally active scholars were related to a successful rating through the National Research Foundation (NRF)[378] that allowed the respective academics the option to apply for additional funding from SU for research related activities (SU Applications for NRF ratings 2010).[379] The NRF rating could also influence an individual's performance appraisal in the review procedures of the faculties and departments (ibid.; Interviews 5, 10, 2010; SU NRF Rating Brochure 2010). Well-established international links and international publications were a performance requirement, for example, in the Faculty of Sciences as an indirect form of regulating internationalization.[380]

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[377] C1 staff is comprised of instruction and research personnel.
[378] Based on individual applications of South African scholars displaying their research output over the previous eight years, a group of national and international peers appointed by the NRF as reviewers evaluates the scholars. Depending on the research output and the international standing, the researcher is rated according to a set of different rating categories (see also http://www.nrf.ac.za/ [retrieved 15 January 2013]). In South Africa, the ratings are used to compare HEIs against each other in terms of excellence (Interviews 13, 30, 2010). For a HEI, it is, therefore, advisable to encourage its scholars to apply for a rating, as the whole process is also a benchmarking exercise. In 2010 SU had 274 NRF rated researchers (and 14 A-rated scientists) among its 886 academics, which was the second highest ranking in South Africa (Interviews 23, 30, 2010; see also Research at SU 2010). Until 2001 the rating was limited to the Natural Sciences. Starting in 2002, ratings became possible for all researchers (see http://www.nrf.ac.za/ [retrieved 15 January 2013]). For further information on the origins of the rating system see also Chapter 5.2.4.
[379] The Research Subcommittee A (responsible for the Faculties of Arts and Social Sciences, Education, Law, Theology, Economic and Management Sciences and Military Sciences) in 2010, for example, paid R60.000 to A-rated researchers ("an international leader in his or her field"), 36.000 for a B ("a leader within the national scientific context), 24.000 for a C ("a productive and solid scholar") (Interview 30, 2010).
[380] This aspect as well as the whole rating process have also been critically judged by some of SU's professors: "[I]f you take political scientists in general – during the struggle what was important for us was to make a change in South Africa. Our research is aimed and focused on South Africa, which made up a lot of our contributions at that time. That's now not considered as good enough. In Political Science, we have one A, six Bs and the rest are

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In addition, there were SU's prestigious annual Rector's awards (ten each for the top researchers, the top teachers and the top community engagers). International recognition and collaboration obviously would strengthen any profile of the candidates (Interview 16, 2010).[381]

Another incentive for research in general was provided by the South African state through its funding formula for HEIs. According to representatives of SU's Division for Research Development in charge of Research Information and Strategy at SU, the national DHET encouraged research at HEIs by paying not only a subsidy for postgraduate students but also for publications. Based on a list of accredited journals (South African and international ones), determined by the DHET, the South African government in 2010 paid around R118.000 for any publication in a journal on the list, for peer-reviewed chapters in books as well as peer-reviewed conference proceedings to the respective institution the authors belonged to (Interview 18, 2010).[382] In order for SU to be able to report all articles that were published in a certain year and to maximally profit from the research output of SU academics, an incentive system had been set up to collect all the necessary data, "whereby we give money based on a certain formula to departments and based on the publications they have reported" (ibid.).[383] These funds could be used fairly flexible by those who had produced the output for anything that promotes the research further, such as attending conferences or buying equipment (ibid., see also Interviews 23, 2010).[384]

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all Cs. What I know is that my colleagues are far better than C but it's not recognized. Now, what happens, those ratings are not only used to determine your place in this hierarchy but for promotion, for salary increases, for all kinds of purposes that you have no control over. And I think it's profoundly unfair. But also this system was developed for the Natural Sciences. And we work on things that are not measurable; it's a demoralizing system for the Social Sciences in South Africa. Some of the scientists are not even participating, but it has a very negative impact on your career. People can decide that they don't want to be rated" (Interview 10, 2010).

[381] The internal rules for selecting the two candidates for nomination of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, for example, attended to the following criteria: "[q]uality of research, as this appears particularly in the recognition and judgement of peers of international status", "[p]ublication of research results in media that enjoy and facilitate international recognition" and "[i]nvolvement in activities that give an indication of the extent to which the researcher's work and contribution are regarded as being of high quality (e.g. appearances at international conferences, membership of important commissions or other bodies, involvement in editing of accredited subject journals, etc.)" (Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences 2000).

[382] This reward system for published articles in journals (national as well as international ones) was incepted by the South African state in 1985, according to Mouton (2010: 248), as a form of countering the international isolation, thus pushing South African science during the heyday of the academic boycott. The system has remained almost unchanged since its establishment (ibid.).

[383] How much money of the publication output subsidy from government was used for this incentive fund was decided by the research committees, depending on what else should be funded. In 2010 the incentive per publication unit was R10.000 that went back to the individual departments' cost centre. The head of the department then got a break-down of who had contributed what (Interview 18, 2010).

[384] The faculties differed in their handling of the money "but we have a policy that defines for what the money can be spent" (Interview 18, 2010). According to the answers of the standardized questionnaires for this research project, five deans and vice deans reported that a reward system to foster border-crossing research, including international publications, joint publications with international researchers and the participation in international networks, had been in existence. These were the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, the Faculty of Sciences, the Faculty of Theology, the Faculty of Economics and the Faculty of Engineering. One of the interviewed deans expounded: "[W]e have in the Faculty a fund that should enable every academic to attend at least one international conference a year. We want people to [establish, SB] networks. We have got a sabbatical system and many people try to use their sabbatical to spend time at an overseas institution and many people actually do that quite a lot. Then we have got a system in the faculty where we make money available to bring an overseas academic to Stellenbosch for a short period. The idea is to encourage this liaison with overseas people and then if you can publish in overseas journals, that's really what you are supposed to do and to do that you have got to understand how the international academic world works. So, I mean, internationalization [is] very heavily encouraged [...] we are trying to create those international links" (Interview 28, 2010).

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It has to be highlighted that the South African government only paid half the subsidy if it was a co-authored paper. This comes as an incentive for single-authored papers. With a view to promoting international research and international cooperation, it can be considered as rather counterproductive (see also Mouton 2010: 260). Also the fact that the amount is identical, irrespective of whether it is a publication in a South African journal or an international one, means that the system comes not necessarily as an incentive to publish internationally (ibid.).

The conclusion that can be drawn from this section is that SU has put a number of mechanisms in place that actively promote the institutional internationalization, including the strategic focus on Africa. The fact that there were discussions to change the SMIs with regard to the inclusion of international activities other than the Africa-related ones might be read as a management correction of the status quo, perhaps resulting from unintended consequences and an overemphasis on Africa. It at least suggests the unbroken importance of international relations in general, with other developing countries outside Africa as well as with the traditional partners in the North, especially with European and American universities.[385] The point to be finally made here is that research is interpreted as an international endeavour. So, in order to be a research-intensive university SU needs to internationalize. Or stated the other way: Any university focusing to improve its research will internationalize.

8.2.4 Selected Projects Contributing to the Internationalization of Stellenbosch University and a Beginning Transnationalization

The previous sections have mainly focussed on the development of an institutional internationalization process at SU from the viewpoint of the IO/PGIO and central management. However, the presentation already indicated that international activities use to emerge, are implemented and animated elsewhere. The following project examples shall broaden the perspective by showcasing initiatives which owe their emergence to those dedicated and tenacious researchers on the level of institutes and faculties who had graduated, researched or published etc. outside South Africa and who, on the basis of that experience, became pioneers of internationalization at SU.

Two developments are presented in more detail and another four as further examples, among a full range of initiatives going on at all of SU's faculties in one way or another. The examples include, firstly, the coming into existence of joint and double degrees (in response to activities at faculty level so that the University had to regulate on the institutional level) and, secondly, the initiatives around the cross-border expansion of doctoral training at the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. They are joined by a short presentation on SU's Business School, the Agribusiness in Sustainable African Plant Products (ASNAPP), the African Institute of Mathematical Sciences (AIMS) and the Africa Centre for HIV/AIDS Management.[386] The examples were chosen because they illustrate recent and innovative elements of cooperation and partnership as well as SU's Africa commitment. They also show

[385] The role of Africa in SU's international relations will be dealt with in more detail in Chapter 8.3.

[386] The Stellenbosch Institute for Advanced Study (STIAS) as another innovative contribution towards internationalization, amongst others, has been presented in Chapter 7.1.

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how internationalization is increasingly accompanied by the transnationalization of higher education, which means that foreign elements more and more enter the local higher education context. They also give an insight into how university management is dealing with international initiatives from individual academics, departments and faculties. The underlying hypothesis in terms of a good functioning of a university would be that the better the central management understands to incorporate ideas and initiatives from members into the broad strategy of the institution, the more ownership for that institutional strategy is generated and the higher the probability that this central management strategy is widely supported.

"Joint and Double Degrees – Stellenbosch Paves the Way"[387]

The fact that Stellenbosch University in 2007 and 2008 started to develop an institutional position in order to participate in such cooperation (Stevens 2012b) was an almost revolutionary, yet pioneering step for South African universities.[388] Especially SU's development of policy around joint and double degrees has since been progressive.[389] In this context, it is important to understand that the South African higher education legislation, until the time of conducting research and interviews (August 2010 to May 2012) and the time of writing (2013), did not regulate the conferring of joint or double degrees with HEIs outside South Africa.[390] Reacting to the growing demand on the level of individual academics and students, certain South African HEIs (e.g. the University of Pretoria, the University of Johannesburg, the University of the Witwatersrand), and SU in particular, have made an effort to make possible joint doctoral degrees as well as collaborative teaching programmes on the master's level, involving HEIs from different countries. The latter were, for example, designed in the framework of joint applications for funding from the European Commission's cooperation and mobility programme Erasmus Mundus II (2009–2013), as in the case of the Erasmus Mundus consortium in Mathematics (ALGANT – Algebra, Geometry and Number Theory), in which SU was one of the non-European partners.[391] Or they were created on the basis of long-term collaboration between two HEIs, as in the case of the binational master's double degree programme, jointly offered by SU's German Section of the Department of Modern Foreign Languages and the Herder Institute at Leipzig University in Germany. This

[387] This headline is borrowed from http://blogs.sun.ac.za/news/2012/05/09/joint-and-double-degrees-stellenbosch-university-paves-the-way/ [retrieved 10 May 2012].
[388] European institutions have been conferring higher education degrees commonly since the middle of the 1990s. These degrees have since become increasingly popular all over the world, especially in the framework of the Bologna process and the Erasmus Mundus programme.
[389] See http://blogs.sun.ac.za/news/2012/05/09/joint-and-double-degrees-stellenbosch-university-paves-the-way/ [retrieved 10 May 2012].
[390] At the time of writing, the South African government was about to change the situation. In 2012 a process of developing national guidelines on collaborative programmes resulting in double or joint degrees was initiated by the national Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET) in consultation with the Council on Higher Education (CHE) (Stevens 2012b). In 2013 a Working Group was assembled "to examine and advise on the offering of international and national collaborative qualifications (master's and doctoral level), and assist with the development of an appropriate policy framework for the South African higher education system" (Terms of Reference, Working Group on International Collaborative Degree Offerings 2013). Draft policy guidelines were supposed to be developed between June and October 2013.
[391] The consortium consisted of Université Bordeaux 1, France; Chennai Mathematical Institute, India; Universiteit Leiden, The Netherlands; Università degli Studi di Milano, Italy; Concordia University/CRM/ISM, Canada; Università degli Studi di Padova, Italy; Université Paris Sud 11, France; Stellenbosch University/AIMS, South Africa (see http://www.algant.eu/ [retrieved 11 August 2013]).

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collaborative teaching programme had been established in 2011 as the first double degree offering in "German as a Foreign Language" between a South African and an overseas HEI. It was part of the "Germanistische Institutspartnerschaft" between the two universities, officially established in 2009 and financially supported by the DAAD from 2010 until 2015.[392] In a phase of exploration, all of this was tolerated by the South African government without the immediate attempt to regulating it for the whole sector. It was agreed that from doing it in the institutions best practice should first be gathered, before moving for nationwide policies.[393] Dorothy Stevens, Deputy Director of SU's Postgraduate and International Office (PGIO) and responsible for joint and double degrees at SU, stated in an interview: "We have researched the subject and sought the advice and input of both the Department of Education and the Council on Higher Education."[394] The South African state, therefore, was involved in the matter from the outset. And the University, when starting a joint or double degree project, of course, still had to comply with the national statutes regarding, for example, admission and examination that remained the same as for "ordinary" degrees. Hence, this compliance determined in large parts the coordinates in the agreements and the negotiations around them. At times, they became rather tricky, e.g. when examination systems in the participating institutions differed significantly from one another. A representative of the CHE summarized the positive position of the state on joint and double degrees in principle.

> "The only concern that we would have on the national level is that if it is one piece of work that's given two certificates.[395] And that happens. But if it is a joint degree, it speaks to the nature of the strengths of different institutions. It speaks also to the nature of the kind of research that is being conducted. And it also speaks to efficiency and effectiveness of degrees. So, from a national perspective, I don't think we would have any concerns about that. From a quality assurance perspective: Whoever gives the degree is responsible for the quality of that. Therefore, they must see that it is proper quality. Any contract between two institutions, whether national or international, is about "Is the academic quality assured and who is responsible for that?" and to make sure that the student is not disadvantaged. That's the main concern." (Interview 41, 2011)

Given the rather passive role of the nation-state regarding joint degrees until 2012 (before the announcement of establishing a national legislative framework in 2012), it was possible for South African HEIs to exploit the existing policy vacuum by experimenting with new forms of cooperation and partnership. To this end, it was necessary to at least find a way to deal with it on the institutional level. Therefore, it will be explored in this chapter when and how SU has started to become actively involved in joint or double degrees, how the issue was debated and processed and on the basis of what rationales.

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[392] This partnership is in itself a good example of processes of transnationalization. The strategic goals include not only the collaborative master's degree programme "German as a Foreign Language" and related student exchanges. They also focus, for example, on the joint qualification of young researchers through joint supervision, the joint development of research projects and publications as well as jointly organized conferences. Furthermore, it contributes to the strengthening of the education of German teachers in South Africa and, therefore, the joint development of curricula and course material (Antrag auf Fortsetzung der Förderung der Germanistischen Institutspartnerschaft zwischen dem Herder-Institut der Universität Leipzig und dem Department of Modern Foreign Languages der Universität Stellenbosch (Südafrika) für das Jahr 2013).

[393] See http://blogs.sun.ac.za/news/2012/05/09/joint-and-double-degrees-stellenbosch-university-paves-the-way/ [retrieved 10 May 2012].

[394] Ibid.

[395] This had been a commonly articulated concern with regards to joint or double degrees – getting two degrees for one piece of work – at SU (SU 2008, Policy Regarding Joint Doctoral Degrees; discussion, August 2013) as well as internationally (e.g. Obst et al. 2011: 23).

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To begin, the concrete trigger factors, according to Dorothy Stevens from the PGIO, for getting active in the field of joint degrees at SU were the following:

> "The first was the immigration of one or two highly productive, senior academics. There was a desire to formally continue existing collaboration and the possibility to award joint degrees meant that Stellenbosch University would gain recognition for its academic input into joint projects whilst retaining postgraduate students in the process. [...] The second imperative was the institution's commitment to engage in an agreement with an important industrial partner who set joint PhDs between Stellenbosch University and a foreign institution as a requirement for funding. The aim of the project was to develop capacity amongst South African graduates by exposing them to the expertise at the foreign institution in a strategically important field." (Stevens 2012b)

The second factor mentioned in the quote, namely a partnership with the Scottish University of St Andrews and funding from the South African company SASOL (South African Synthetic Oil Limited) to grow local know-how in Chemistry (discussion with Robert Kotzé, September 2011; Stevens 2012a), has led to SU's policy development, initially driven by then Vice Rector (Research), Walter Claassen. This first collaborative degree project was pushed without a proper policy in place. Yet, it was approved by SU's Academic Planning Committee (APC) and by the Senate (ibid.). For these kinds of experiments were not so common, the University community, in the beginning, was not open. There was a lot of initial caution (discussion with Robert Kotzé, September 2011; Stevens 2012a). A professor from the Faculty of Theology reported, however, that there were quite a few cases in which students from SU had to choose between faculties and at which university to enrol, as a joint degree was not possible at the time. So, quite a number of students went for the foreign degree and were lost for SU as students, while the Stellenbosch supervisor often continued to remain involved contentwise (Interview 40, 2010). This is but one example, why there was a certain kind of need for SU to discuss the matter further.

Thus, in the Senate meeting of 28 November 2007, models for qualification agreements in the context of a network with more than one participating institution were discussed. The discussion was based on a document handed in by the Director for Academic Planning, Jan Botha, which sought to bring together national legislation, institutional terms of reference and ways of regulating joint teaching and joint certification as well as joint degrees (SU Senate, 28 November 2007). During the meeting, it was concluded that a task group should take further the issue of possible joint and dual doctoral degrees. The group, consisting of Jan Botha, Marietjie de Villiers, David Butler and Johann Aspeling, had been appointed by the APC. It started its mission by the end of January 2008 and its work resulted in a number of recommendations, including a proposal for an institutional policy regarding joint doctoral degrees. The latter had been based on the draft protocol for joint degrees between SU and the University of St Andrews, which had been modified in a number of aspects. The University's Senate approved the policy in June 2008 (SU Senate, 6 June 2008).

Some aspects of the report of the task group and the accepted policy are worth mentioning. The report, first of all, makes plain that joint degrees were most of all a tool to foster international collaboration. Hence, joint degrees with other South African HEIs were not considered. Furthermore, the report states that joint degrees on the master's level were not desirable, primarily because of different standards and the difficulty with comparing different

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national offerings.[396] SU's policy initially explicitly excluded double degrees, as it was feared that students would get two certificates for only one piece of work. Joint degrees, on the other hand, had to be limited to the doctoral level and to those foreign universities with which SU maintained a bilateral agreement. Added to this, it was emphasized that in any undertaking for a joint degree the vision and mission statements of SU must be respected and, interestingly enough, that SU must benefit from the reputation of the foreign university involved. This latter point is worth highlighting, as it implies one of the underlying rationales for why SU entered the field of joint degrees: institutional branding (see also Interview 39, 2010). Another element of the report, and the policy respectively, concerned the state subsidy for universities. The policy says that "SU normally counts students who are enrolled for joint doctoral degrees as full doctoral degree students of the University and reports this number in terms of HEMIS to the Department of Education" (ibid.). This is an important side effect of a joint training of PhD candidates with regards to income: SU shares with other institutions the training and supervision part while in the end getting the full subsidy from the South African state.

With the approval of the policy, it was detailed on paper how SU in the future would deal with joint PhD training. Yet, it was only two years later that the policy on joint doctoral degrees had to be renegotiated. It was in June 2010 that the Council approved an amendment. The revised policy covered master's degrees with foreign universities as well. Additionally, the policy had been extended towards double degrees. Both advancements bear witness to the importance of the European cooperation and mobility scheme Erasmus Mundus for South Africa and SU as well as to the changes inherent to the second round of applications, namely the inclusion of third-country institutions (read: non-European) as equal partners into the programme offering consortia. This was after third-country institutions had only been partners of European consortia in the 2004 to 2008 programme period, not participating in the joint conferring of degrees. This was the case, for example, in the earlier referred to Mathematics consortium (ALGANT Erasmus Mundus – Algebra, Geometry and Number Theory)[397], which SU initially joined as external member.[398]

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[396] This argument, however, soon lost ground when the European Commission adopted the second phase of the Erasmus Mundus programme with its Action 1 scheme ("Joint Programmes including scholarships involving European HEIs as well as institutions from certain Third Countries"). Under this programme, SU could not only participate as a full member, the programme additionally promoted joint programmes on the master's level. During the predecessor programme, Erasmus Mundus I (2004–2008), institutions from non-European countries were only allowed to become an external partner to an Erasmus Mundus master's course (Decision No 2317/2003/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 5 December 2003) (see http://ec.europa.eu/education/erasmus-mundus/overview_en.htm [retrieved: 9 February 2012]).

[397] However, only as small number of Erasmus Mundus programmes, in which SU acted as one of the (associate or full) partners, were collaborative *degree* programmes. Further examples for SU's participation as third country partner institution in different Erasmus Mundus consortia are the Master in Applied Ethics (coordinated by the University of Linköping, Sweden; SU since 2007, full partner), the European Master in Global Studies – A European Perspective (coordinated by Leipzig University, Germany; SU since 2008, full partner); the Master in Adapted Physical Activity (coordinated by the Catholic University Leuven; SU since 2007, full partner); the International Vintage Master of Science – Vine, Wine and Terroir Management (coordinated by the Angers Higher Agricultural Education Institute, France; SU since 2007, full partner); the Vinifera EuroMaster (MSc Viticulture and Oenology) (coordinated by Montpellier SUPAGRO International Centre For Higher Education In Agricultural Sciences, France; SU since 2010, associate partner); Erasmus Mundus Master Course in Sustainable Forest and Nature Management (coordinated by the University of Copenhagen, Denmark; SU since 2012, associate partner) and the TRANSGLOBE: International Doctorate in Transdisciplinary Global Health Solutions (coordinated by the Free University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands; SU since 2013, associate partner). Another collaborative

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Besides the SASOL scholarship for joint PhDs in Chemistry with the University of St Andrews that provided the trigger for policy development, there were quite a number of other good reasons why it made sense from the point of SU to become active in the field. The fact that this kind of cooperation had already been successfully practiced in Europe and that it was an interesting opportunity to further grow its international profile was but one aspect why SU started to become involved. "[T]hese programmes [also] afford excellent opportunities for strengthening collaboration and granting participants international exposure."[399] A prominent aspect, brought out in the interviews, was the income generation through joint programmes and the encouragement of mobility. The Erasmus Mundus initiative, for example, prompted the coming into existence of collaborative teaching programmes and resulted in additional funding reaching South African universities (Interview 37, 2010). Next to the financial implications, mention was made to the opportunity to retain promising young scholars in South Africa through joint degrees – especially in a time of intensive worldwide competition for the best brains – and to grow the potential of the African continent, for example through cooperation and exchange with other African HEIs. There was indeed a felt danger that SA (and other SA universities) would lose good students to foreign universities, if provision for joint degrees was not made (Interview 1, 2010). To allow students to remain at their "home" university, yet receiving a joint degree involving another university that may be highly regarded worldwide, was regarded as a counter strategy towards losing the best students to Europe or the USA and a strategy towards "growing own timber" (see also Interview 32, 2010; Stevens 2012b).

By 2013, according to the PGIO, four PhDs and five master's degrees had been conferred with non-South African partner universities. The PhDs had been jointly awarded with St Andrews (Chemistry), with the Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Mines de Saint-Etienne (ENSM-SE) (Mechanical Engineering/Hydrology), with the Free University of Amsterdam (Biochemistry) (all of the enrolled students had graduated at SU in 2013) and, already in

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programmes next to Erasmus Mundus, in which SU was one of the mobility partners, was the Joint International Master in Sustainable Development (coordinated by the Karl Franzens University of Graz, Austria; SU from 2013, associate partner). SU also participated in the Master in International Politics, jointly offered by SU, the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) and Bjørknes College (SU 2010–2013, full partner). In 2010 the Oenodoc international doctorate in oenology and viticulture had been established by a consortium of 14 partners (coordinated by the University of Bordeaux Segalen, France; SU since 2010, full partner) (overview provided by the PGIO in January 2014; see also Table 3 in Chapter 8.4).

[398] In 2012 there was yet another revision of the policy, which had become necessary "to clarify our definitions and to incorporate things which we had learnt from experience" (Stevens 2012b). According to the document, SU defined joint and double degrees in the following manner: "A joint degree results from international academic collaboration between two or more institutions on a jointly defined and entirely shared study programme leading to a joint degree. This means that all partner institutions are responsible for the entire programme and not just their own separate parts"; "A double degree results from international academic collaboration between two or more institutions on a jointly defined, but partially shared study programme with some areas being specific to each of the partners while other areas are shared and lead to a double degree. This means that partner institutions are responsible for their own separate parts (the parts are mutually recognized by the partners) but have a shared responsibility in respect of those parts of the programme which are shared" (SU Policy Regarding Joint and Double Degrees at Master's and Doctoral Level with Foreign Universities 2012). Dorothy Stevens explained: "The outcome of joint and double degrees is a single qualification, because the partner institutions cannot award the qualifications independently of one another. The fundamental difference from single degrees (awarded by only one institution), therefore, lies in the shared nature of the jointly defined study programme (i.e., the "deed") leading to a joint or double degree and therefore also the depth of the collaboration" (Stevens 2012b).

[399] See http://blogs.sun.ac.za/news/2012/05/09/joint-and-double-degrees-stellenbosch-university-paves-the-way/ [retrieved 10 May 2012]; see also Interview 37, 2010.

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2012, with Friedrich Schiller University in Jena (Physics). With regards to the master's degrees, two collaborative degree programmes had successfully delivered the first graduates: the programme "German as Foreign Language" offered with Leipzig University (double degree) and the programme offered by the Erasmus Mundus ALGANT consortium (double degree). Another double degree master's programme had been developed with the Georg-August-Universität Göttingen in Development Economics, in which the first three candidates had started for a double degree in 2013. Collaborative PhDs by mid-2013 were possible with 11 partner institutions. With the exception of Makerere University in Uganda all of them located in Europe.[400] It was expected that more institutions would follow soon.[401]

As this case demonstrates, it is often individual institutions that perform experiments with new forms of transnational activity, thereby challenging the national status quo and the proceedings within the borders of the nation-state. To this end, the existing vacuum in national legislation had been exploited towards reaching for new ways of cooperation. The fact that the South African government had not reacted to that border-crossing involvement with immediate protectionism and prohibition may have different causes. Some of them are identical with those rationales that drove SU's institutional behaviour in that regard, such as the outlook for additional institutional income and the opportunity to retain promising young scholars in South Africa. As in the case of the Erasmus Mundus programme, the incentive to make possible joint programmes came from outside South Africa. It came from the European Commission as funding agency and, even more important, from other international HEIs inviting South African HEIs to participate in networks. The increasing number of queries for national guidelines on collaborative degree programmes had finally led the South African government to further investigate the matter, at first through the establishment of a Working Group on the Offering of International Collaborative Qualifications in 2013.

The issue of joint and double degrees was rooted in the activities of individual academics and initially occurred with triggers coming from outside (e.g. through funding opportunities). Policy development on the institutional level with the aim to strategize about the joint conferring of degrees and to create an added value for the whole institution only came as a second step in order to provide regulations and a transparent framework for similar initiatives. In that way, SU had responded to a worldwide trend in higher education at the same time as to queries from within the institution. After the University had made provision for allowing joint and doctoral degrees and regulating the procedures institution-wide it paved the way for further kinds of transnational cooperation and for further transnationalization, resulting from the collaborative teaching programmes. They developed quite differently at the faculties. From the questionnaires related to the qualitative interviews, it can be concluded that some faculties were more active in the field of joint and double degrees than others. The

[400] These were St Andrews, Scotland; Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Mines de Saint-Etienne, France; Ghent University, Belgium; Vrije Universiteit Brussel (VUB), Belgium; Friedrich Schiller University of Jena (FSU); Leipzig University, Germany; Vrije Universiteit (VU), the Netherlands; Karolinska Institutet, Sweden (double degree); Makerere University, Uganda (double degree); Universiteit Antwerpen, Belgium; Université Jean Monnet Saint-Etienne, France (table provided by the PGIO in August 2013).

[401] These included Universiteit Utrecht, the Netherlands; Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Belgium; Erasmus University Rotterdam, the Netherlands; Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen (table provided by the PGIO in August 2013).

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Faculty of Education, for example, was not as involved, because it was mostly busy with national matters of education, especially training teachers for schools and doing research related to a constantly changing national school system (Interviews 13, 15, 31, 2010). And in the Faculty of Economics, many programmes were professional training ones that had to meet the requirements of the registering authorities in South Africa. Some of the programmes that could easily be turned into a joint programme, such as Business Management, had not produced any initiative yet (Interview 28, 2010).[402] But it was advocated that the whole issue of joint and double degrees should be explored "more aggressively" (Interview 16, 2010).

As long as the policy vacuum on the level of the nation-state continued to exist, it remained attractive to participate in joint doctoral and master's training with regards to the state subsidy for SU claimed both full input and output funding for joint degrees (SU Policy Regarding Joint and Double Degrees at Master's and Doctoral Level with Foreign Universities 2012). For example, in the case of the aforementioned teaching programme "German as a Foreign Language", the German students as part of their master's programme also completed an honour's degree at SU. This meant that SU received output subsidy according to the government's funding formula for higher education (CHE 2007) for their honour's degree as well as for their master's degree, however, against the framework of a "partially shared study programme" (SU Policy Regarding Joint and Double Degrees at Master's and Doctoral Level with Foreign Universities 2012). In the end, one representative of the University's management, however, pointed to the necessity to limit joint degree activities to the level where it makes sense institutionally speaking, namely in those fields where there are the niches, the distinctive competencies, the research focus areas (Interview 20, 2010) and to recognize that it is only a limited number of students heading for collaborative degrees (Stevens 2012b).

African Doctoral Training – A Sub-Project within the Hope Project

With the activities at SU's Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences around cross-border doctoral training, an international project initiated from below – which means by individuals and on the level of the faculty and not by the central management of the University – shall be presented. The chapter will analyze how the initiative and its three legs 1) African Network Partnership for Africa's Next Generation of Academics (PANGeA), 2) the Graduate School and 3) the African Doctoral Academy (ADA) came into existence. It will explore the logic behind the advancement of doctoral training and its contribution to SU's internationalization (and increasingly towards the transnationalization of higher education). The analysis relies on official material from the University (brochures, flyers, and the website of the Hope Project) as well as on interview material. It is thus a description of the situation and expectations as in 2010/2011. Newer developments during the time of writing (2013) are not covered to the full.

For the purpose of fully understanding the scope and the relevance of an approach towards increasing the efforts in the field of doctoral training and towards inner-African partnerships, it is important to have a quick look at the most pressing concerns for SU to become active in

[402] See also Chapter 8.4 on the findings from the qualitative interviews and related questionnaires.

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the field. For the initiators of the project (professors Johann Groenewald, Hennie Kotzé and Johann Mouton), it made sense to evolve around educating and, even more important, sustaining the next generation of academics and professionals in Africa, first of all, against the background of the phenomenon of what has been labelled "brain drain", through which Africa had lost thousands of its brightest minds (Interviews 7, 22, 34, 2010). It was expected that the initiative would contribute to scholarship and science in Africa (Interview 22, 2010; see also PANGeA flyer 2010).[403] Secondly, the number of teaching staff at African universities holding PhDs was particularly low. As a result, there was a lack of well-trained supervisors (Interview 34, 2010). There was, thirdly, the intention to contribute towards problem-solving in Africa, with a research focus on Africa also on the doctoral level and within an African network (ibid.). And fourthly, full time doctoral studies were rare, not only in South Africa but on the whole African continent and especially in the Social Sciences (Interview 22, 2010). Besides, "scholarships were available often only at non-African institutions, and scholarship schemes contained inadequate African institutional capacity building components. Such schemes offered limited involvement or leadership for African institutions, the arrangements were not favourable for the retention of existing social and cultural ties, and the schemes suffered from ineffective integration of different components" (Groenewald 2011: 8; PANGeA flyer 2010). Therefore, a strategy was needed "to build and sustain world class doctoral programmes on and about the African continent, with African institutions as the lead agents" (ibid.). To increase the number of PhDs on the national South African level[404] and naturally also on the institutional level at SU (and to reduce the time of completion of the degree) was the fifth rationale linked to the project (ibid.). For SU and the Faculty, Hennie Kotzé, Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences from 2003 to 2012, particularly highlighted the dimension of internationalization also inherent to the ideas: "[I]t's also to internationalize our own programme; it's to get these networks on the student level going" (Interview, 2010). Income generation through such an initiative and the prospect of access to funds, for which SU alone would not be eligible, is, finally, another aspect that should be mentioned (Interview 7, 22, 34, 2010).

Taken together, the reasons to become more active in the field of doctoral training and to involve other African universities were indicative of a feeling of crisis or – to put it another way – dissatisfaction with the limited success of the attempts "to do something good" through the academic activities of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences.

Asked where the ideas for the three legs (the African Doctoral Academy, the Graduate School and the PANGeA network) of the project had come from, one interviewee referred to the experiences of a number of the Faculty's academics, such as Johann Groenewald, Hennie Kotzé, Hans Müller, Johann Mouton and "other social scientists" (Interview 22, 2010), at European or North American universities, especially at "methodological training schools in the Northern hemisphere" (ibid.).

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[403] See also http://blogs.sun.ac.za/news/2011/01/25/african-doctoral-academy-launched-to-reinvigorate-scholarship-on-the-continent/ [retrieved 22 February 2013].

[404] On the state of the PhD in South Africa see The PhD Study published by the Academy of Science in 2010 in South Africa (ASSAf 2010) as well as the CHE Higher Education Monitor on Postgraduate studies in South Africa (CHE 2009).

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> "Many of us had been to some of these courses and found it very useful. And we thought, let's put up an entity that can start providing that training and then design a programme around that core that can actually do something around this relevance criteria, do something about the predicaments in Africa. And well, being academics, we thought we should fix higher education." (Interview 22, 2010)

Hennie Kotzé endorsed that the idea for inner-African cooperation and the negotiations around such an initiative go back to the beginning of his deanship:

> "When I was elected in 2003 as a dean, I said, one of my goals is a stronger cooperation with Africa and African universities. [...] In 2004 I took a trip to these universities with three to four key staff members, which I thought should be the vice deans. In 2005 I brought the deans [from different African universities, SB] here [to Stellenbosch, SB], we had discussions and then in 2006 we said, ok, we are going to start." (Interview, 2010)

When in November 2006, on African University Day, the deans of various African Humanities and Social Sciences faculties, namely from the University of Botswana, Makerere University in Uganda, the University of Malawi, the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania and SU in South Africa, met in Stellenbosch, the PANGeA network was born (Groenewald 2011: 8; PANGeA flyer 2010). Apart from SU's and the Faculty's logic to intensify the activities in the field of doctoral education, as set out above, the whole idea of jointly training doctoral students had to also convince the partners from the PANGeA network. Hennie Kotzé stated that it was not too easy to sell the idea, since the relation among the partners was a tricky one: "For them South Africa is America. We are an imperialist power. [...] It's also to tell them that we don't want their students. We know that they also want them" (Interview, 2010). Yet, what convinced them was, firstly, the idea to enable full time doctoral studies through a system of scholarships, exchange and joint research and in so doing reinvigorating African higher education and scholarship and, secondly, to fundraise together in order to reward the supervision of postgraduate students financially[405]. The partners bought into the idea, also because of a lack of resources, structures and facilities conducive to academic careers and research, especially for the qualification level after the master's at their own campuses (Interview 22, 2010).[406]

The 2006 meeting of the future PANGeA network and the ideas for a general improvement of doctoral training at the Faculty tallied well with the instalment of the new Rector at SU in early 2007 and especially with his ideas of focusing on a "science for society" approach. Reacting to an invitation of the Rector to hand in proposals for flagship projects, the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences under its Dean Hennie Kotzé came up with projects to improve and expand doctoral training at SU's Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. To create an African network was but one idea. In order to realize the training of future academics, the

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[405] While at SU, according to one interviewee, the postgraduate training is part of the job description, it is considered to be an additional responsibility at the African partner institutions, where it competes with undergraduate teaching. The financial situation for the supervisors is, therefore, highly unequal. Aside from that, the graduate output differs a lot. Between 2008 and 2012, according to SU's Factbook (SU Factbook 2013, Part 2: 20), SU's Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences had delivered a total of 147 and an annual average of 29.4 doctoral degrees (2008: 18; 2009: 25; 2010: 26; 2011: 20; 2012: 58). At the partner institutions, the figure is between zero and two per year (Interview 22, 2010). In addition, at SU there was a total of 1032 master's degrees in the same period with an annual average of 206.4 (2008: 213; 2009: 209; 2010: 196; 2011: 186; 2012: 228) (SU Factbook 2013, Part 2: 19).

[406] See also http://thehopeproject.co.za/hope/projects/Cross-cuttingInitiatives/GraduateSchool/Pages/default.aspx [retrieved 22 February 2013].

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establishment of a Graduate School and the creation of the African Doctoral Academy at the Faculty were proposed. The Graduate School was expected to establish and grow postgraduate programmes, to recruit students and to coordinate their studies. The African Doctoral Academy was to be responsible for capacity building for PhD researchers as well as for supervisors. A strong Africa focus with regard to the research problems and a contribution towards the continent's development were at the core of the concept[407] (see also Interview 22, 2010). The proposal was approved and selected to become one of the projects under the University's Hope Project. With the seed money, the Faculty could start implementing its ideas.

The group of African universities involved in PANGeA resumed talks again at the University of Makerere, Uganda in March 2009. This meeting amongst the partners resulted in the signing of a Letter of Intent. In the letter, the concept proposal for PANGeA that had resulted from the 2006 meeting in Stellenbosch was confirmed. It outlined objectives (create world-class doctoral programmes in the Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences; train Africans to concentrate on African research problems) and the strategies towards reaching them (three-year full time doctoral studies at SU's Graduate School and supported by its African Doctoral Academy; involving students and supervisors from all partner campuses; provide financial means and facilities for high throughput) (Letter of Intent 2009). The letter concluded that the partners aimed for joint degree programmes and joint applications for third party funding in order to realize the objectives (ibid.). A follow-up meeting in November 2010 resulted in the signing of a multilateral memorandum of understanding (MMoU) open for expansion. The MMoU officially made up PANGeA[408] and formed the basis for the realization of bilateral agreements (PANGeA flyer 2010). In the process of kicking-off the network, according to Johann Groenewald, the negotiations had basically happened on the dean's level and at the level of international relations at the respective universities. "Here and there we've worked with officials higher up; we are now in the process where we ask for meetings with the DVCs [Deputy Vice Chancellors, SB] so as to bring them in to the institutional level" (Interview, 2010). The tricky part would become the involvement of academics on the departmental levels. They would be the ones animating the network, by becoming involved in co-supervision, joint research and teaching and by determining local needs in expertise as well as new research themes.

It was in January 2010 that the Graduate School had started its working at SU with a first cohort of 31 fulltime doctoral students on three-year scholarships worth R120.000 per annum, 22 from outside South Africa. In 2011 another 25 were enrolled, among them 20 from other African countries (Groenewald 2011: 8).[409] Recruitment had been done in collaboration with the partners of the PANGeA network; students were taken upon

[407] See also http://thehopeproject.co.za/hope/projects/Cross-cuttingInitiatives/GraduateSchool/Pages/default.aspx [retrieved 22 February 2013].

[408] See https://blogs.sun.ac.za/news/2011/12/01/pangea-partners-meet-at-su-to-plan-for-future-initiatives/ [retrieved 22 February 2013].

[409] The 2012 cohort comprised 20 doctoral candidates, among them 17 with a nationality other than South African. And the intake in 2013 was 13, out of which three were South African. The first 19 Graduate School candidates had earned their degree in March 2013, with 15 from countries other than South Africa (http://sun025.sun.ac.za/portal/page/portal/Arts/graduate_school/students/current [retrieved 11 August 2013]).

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recommendation from the partners with SU, however, retaining the right to accept them. Hence, decision making largely remained at SU as long as there were no agreements for joint degree programmes in place as a prerequisite for the joint conferring of degrees. Once the agreements would be signed, decision making should be equally shared. PANGeA would create a council or a board in order to decide on broad policy matters (Interview 22, 2010). "We decided to start the project even though not everything is in place already. So, we address problems as they come along and, hopefully, we learn from mistakes before they become too large and change directions" (ibid.).

Africa's development lay in the centre of the different research projects supported in the framework of the Graduate School, with the promotion of peace and security at its core.[410] Research projects were expected to be interdisciplinary. For that purpose, the wide range of the Faculty's departments at SU and their staff were invited to participate in the Graduate School and to engage as supervisors for PhD projects. According to the Dean of the Faculty, Hennie Kotzé, there were 28 supervisors involved in 2010 (Interview, 2010).[411]

The third element of the Faculty's three-tiered initiative was the African Doctoral Academy. The ADA was launched at the beginning of 2011 and constituted a support structure for students and staff in the Humanities and Social Sciences and beyond. Offers ranged from training in research methods, topical and theory seminars or research management for students to training in supervision for staff members. According to its Director, Johann Mouton, the ADA, annually trained about 200 doctoral students in research methods through summer and winter schools. Workshops in doctoral supervision had been provided to around 120 doctoral supervisors.[412] The ADA aimed at reducing the time for the completion of a PhD to three years through full time studies on a scholarship.

> "The first year of study is devoted to developing a proposal, including a study plan and literature review. In the second year, students will execute their study plan through reading and fieldwork. And in the third year they will complete their analysis, write their thesis and present and defend the results."[413]

The involvement of the partners from the PANGeA campus through student and staff mobility was considered an important element in the implementation of the whole project (Interview 22, 2010).

The creation of joint doctoral degree programmes, with teaching taking place on various institutional sites, was foreseen only for the final phase of the project. At the time of interviewing, the co-supervisors from the other African partner universities were not yet

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[410] They include conflict and peace in Africa (Political Science), land, environment and sustainability in Africa (Sociology and Social Anthropology), transitions and translations: Africa in the global imaginary (English, General Linguistics), sustainable cultural creativity: empowering the arts in developing communities (Drama, Music, Visual Arts), Science, Technology and Society (Philosophy/Centre for Research on Science and Technology), consolidated geographical information technology implementation (Geography and Environmental Studies), public mental health (Psychology), language, culture and communication (African languages, Modern Foreign Languages) (http://thehopeproject.co.za/hope/projects/Cross-cuttingInitiatives/GraduateSchool/Pages/default.aspx [retrieved 22 February 2013]).

[411] It was in March 2013 that the first 15 candidates from the first Graduate School cohort and another four from the 2011 cohort had graduated (http://sun025.sun.ac.za/portal/page/portal/Arts/graduate_school/students/current [retrieved 11 August 2013]), among them seven students from the PANGeA network (SU Intouch 2013: 12).

[412] See http://blogs.sun.ac.za/news/2011/11/29/african-doctoral-academy-receives-1-million-from-carnegie-corporation/ [retrieved 22 February 2013].

[413] See http://thehopeproject.co.za/hope/projects/Cross-cuttingInitiatives/GraduateSchool/Pages/default.aspx [retrieved 22 February 2013].

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appointed. Furthermore, as it was the first year of the implementation of the project, all students were supposed to spend the first year in Stellenbosch (Interview 22, 2010). In 2011, however, according to one source, one of the largest problems was that hitherto all so far enrolled students had still been trained exclusively at SU. Up until then, not much training was going on at the partner institutions. Neither co-supervision was in place nor extensive student and staff mobility. But it needed to urgently be realized in a second stage of the network project. Especially the African partners were critical about SU as the only teaching spot (discussion with Christoff Pauw, September 2011). This example shows well how separate rhetoric may become from reality, but also how difficult it may be to implement certain ideas under transnational circumstances. It was, in the end, also a question of setting up the appropriate structures on all campuses involved and a question of infrastructure and financial sustainability (Interview 34, 2010).

Notwithstanding, the international penetration of SU's postgraduate student body had already been further increased, if one looks at the enrolment figures of the Graduate School.[414] The African partner institutions had a large share in that increase. Their contributions to the network and the project also encompassed commitments to those junior staff members that were sent to the programme in order to gain a PhD. While they got a full time scholarship from SU, the partner institutions agreed to continue their local salary on top of the stipend in case they had family obligations at home (Interview 22, 2010).

If the project evolves as planned and if bilateral partnership agreements for joint doctoral training and the joint conferring of doctoral degrees will be signed, there is a good chance for the partners involved to become active in joint teaching and learning, in joint research and, by addressing African problems through the research, also in community interaction. At the time of writing, the joint conferring of degrees was theoretically possible, but not yet done with other African universities. This would be the highest form of international cooperation, resulting in transnational education and a transnationalization of higher education by exceeding national borders on an institutional level. Transnationalization is also a means of getting additional income. No doubt, there is a lot of financial and strategic interest in the project for the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. In the framework of joint degrees and joint training, SU at the end will profit to the full extent from the government subsidy for graduated PhD students. At the same time, African networking is a rather new item on the agenda of higher education in Africa and also on the agenda of potential donors. It is, therefore, something that is worth to support. While it had been a risky project in terms of getting the scholarships for the enrolled PhD students at the Graduate School, SU had obviously succeeded in the first three years of its existence to get the money for three

[414] Out of the total of 89 doctoral candidates enrolled at the Graduate School between 2010 and 2013 (2010: 31; 2011: 25; 2012: 20; 2013: 13), 71 were from other African countries (from Zimbabwe, Uganda, Kenya, Ghana, Malawi, Tanzania, Angola, Botswana, Gabon, Nigeria, Liberia, Congo) with a majority coming from the PANGeA campuses. With an average annual enrolment of 80 percent non-South Africans in the Graduate School between 2010 and 2013, this project has significantly contributed to the internationalization of the doctoral student population at SU. General developments in the number of enrolled PhD students at SU between 2005 and 2012 were as follows: 2005: 741; 2006: 744; 2007: 810; 2008: 828; 2009: 922; 2010: 1060; 2011: 1146; 2012: 1236 (SU Factbook 2012, Part 1: 15). At the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, PhD enrolments had increased from 151 in 2005 (36 international PhDs: 23.8 percent), over 181 in 2009 (37 international PhDs: 20.4 percent) to 251 in 2012 (77 international PhDs: 30.7 percent). International enrolments at all faculties had increased from 20.7 percent (2005), over 23.7 percent (2009) to 27.2 percent (2012).

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cohorts of doctoral students. The transnational in the project certainty played an important role[415], and further applications for funding from the whole network may be promising (Interview 22, 2010). Time will tell whether the PANGeA network, the African Doctoral Academy and the Graduate School are sustainable in financial terms, whether there will be enough sponsors to finance the undertaking or whether the University will jump in to turn the initiative into an institutionally funded project. At the time of interviewing, there were at least rumours that SU authorities were thinking of making the African Doctoral Academy a university-wide structure and expand it towards a University facility covering different graduate programmes from different faculties (Interview 22, 2010).[416]

Further Selected Projects with an International Scope

A discussion of a comprehensive list of all international projects in the fields of research and innovation, teaching and learning and community interaction at SU is beyond the scope of this research project. Some further projects and their focus on international collaboration, networking and recognition, new forms of cooperation and thus a beginning transnationalization, shall, however, be briefly presented.[417]

To begin with, SU's Business School (USB) was an important example of an international initiative. Since its beginning in 1964, USB had been running a Master of Business Administration (MBA) programme and soon after also a doctoral programme. Over time USB has built up a large international network of international cooperation partners through agreements with other business schools (SU International Office 2008: 24). The first international exchange students from Belgium, for example, came to study at SU in the year 1982. USB's website, furthermore, highlights the first exchanges with the Rotterdam Business School starting in 1995.[418] In order to better cater for international students, USB started to offer its full time MBA in English in 1997.[419] By the end of the first decade of the 2000s, it had introduced compulsory study abroad elements (Interview 28, 2010). In 2013 USB maintained 65 agreements with other business schools. With one of these partners, the Vlerick Leuven Gent Management School in Belgium, it was agreed in 2007 to establish joint chairs. USB was one of the few non-European business schools that were awarded

[415] In 2011, for example, the Carnegie Corporation has donated $1 million to the African Doctoral Academy, of which parts went into 15 three-year scholarships for PhD students from Ghana and Uganda. In 2010 the Volkswagen Foundation contributed €60.000 and the Ford Foundation $510.000 to the various activities of the ADA (see http://blogs.sun.ac.za/news/2011/11/29/african-doctoral-academy-receives-1-million-from-carnegie-corporation/ [retrieved 22 February 2013].

[416] Two years later, the University had approved a "Strategy for National and International Academic Networks – Consolidation and Expansion from an African base", in which it could be read that SU even wanted to expand the existing Africa network in order to cover the whole African continent as well as other developing regions, such as Latin America and South East Asia. A maximum of 15 partners should be involved by 2015 (SU Strategy for National and International Academic Networks 2012: 4). In 2013 the PANGeA network had already been extended by the University of Ghana and the University of Nairobi.

[417] Examples of international research collaboration can be found in the annually published brochure "Research at Stellenbosch University" under the responsibility of the Division for Research Development. For the field of community interaction, a list of all projects (many of them containing a strong Africa component) can be found on the website http://admin.sun.ac.za/CIDB/home.aspx [retrieved 13 August 2013]. With a view to SU's Africa engagement, the database of the PGIO could be consulted for a complete overview (see also Chapters 8.2.2 and 8.3.3).

[418] See http://www.usb.ac.za/AboutUs/History.aspx [retrieved 11 August 2013].

[419] Ibid.

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international accreditation by the European Quality Improvement System (EQUIS) of the European Foundation for Management Development (EFMD) in 2000 (renewed in 2006 and 2012). It also received international accreditation by the Association of MBAs (AMBA) in 2002 (renewed in 2008 and 2012). In 2012 USB, furthermore, achieved AACSB accreditation by the USA-based Association to Advance Collegiate Schools of Business, as the first Business School on the African continent. USB thus became the first School with all three of these accreditations. Additionally, it was ranked as one of the top 100 Business Schools in the world by the Aspen Institute in 2010/2011. In 2006 the Business School joined the European Doctoral Programmes Association in Management and Business Administration (EDAMBA).[420] USB had also developed a strong Africa focus. Its Africa Centre for Investment Analysis, established in 1999, the Unit for Corporate Governance in Africa (2007), the Africa Centre for Dispute Settlement (one of the Hope initiatives, founded in 2008) and its Small Business Academy (2012) were a case in point. Another example was its presence in East Africa since 2011 as a local support structure for prospective and current students as well as alumni. Starting with 14 students back in 1964, student numbers had grown over time (as had the academic programme offerings), amounting 90 in 1974, 171 MBA students and 21 doctoral students in 1979, and 580 in 1989. By 2010 close to 1.000 graduates from South Arica, Africa and the rest of the world had completed USB's MBA, master's and doctoral courses.[421]

Agribusiness in Sustainable African Plant Products (ASNAPP), the second of the selected projects, was established in 1999 and was since 2001 maintained, amongst others, by SU's Faculty of Agricultural Sciences. The initiative – in partnership with small farmers in Zambia, Rwanda, Ghana, Senegal and South Africa – promoted the development and marketing of natural products (such as herbal teas, spices, medicinal plants, oils). "Through a partnership with the Association for Intensive Plant Production (AIPP) and the Department of Agronomy, ASNAPP serviced the continent's emerging hydroponics industry on scientific research, alternative crop development and training programmes on a Pan-African basis."[422] ASNAPP partnered with universities around the world. USAID had been among the major donors of the project (Brink 2007c: 32).

Together with Stellenbosch's Institute for Advanced Study (STIAS), which has been discussed in Chapter 7.1, the African Institute for Mathematical Sciences (AIMS) was another project which, due to its self-description of being an asset to the whole African continent, deserves special attention. AIMS was founded in 2003, and SU participated as one of three South African universities (SU, UCT, UWC) together with the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge and Paris Sud XI.[423] The B.Sc. and master's courses in Mathematical Sciences, jointly offered by the consortium of the six universities, were described to be of international renown and aimed at the promotion of mathematics on the African continent. Students from across the African continent usually came for a one-year course to the centre

[420] See http://www.usb.ac.za/AboutUs/AccreditationsAndRatings.aspx [retrieved 11 August 2013].
[421] See http://www.usb.ac.za/AboutUs/History.aspx [retrieved 11 August 2013].
[422] See http://www.asnapp.org.za [retrieved 11 August 2013].
[423] See https://www.aims.ac.za/en/programmes/aims-structured-masters-in-mathematical-sciences [retrieved 11 August 2013] and International Office (2008: 24).

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in Muizenberg. SU and AIMS also formed part of the Erasmus Mundus ALGANT consortium and its collaborative teaching programme with double degree opportunities. A special initiative was the creation of AIMS-NEI, the "NextEinstein initiative", in 2008 aimed at creating 15 of these centres by 2021 all over the African continent.[424] According to the AIMS website, 470 students from more than 30 African countries were trained by the AIMS-South Africa academic programme.[425]

The final project listed here is the Africa Centre for HIV/AIDS Management. The centre goes back to the Postgraduate Diploma in HIV/AIDS Management (PDM), first offered in 2001. It was financially supported by the Carnegie Corporation in New York (Brink, 29 July 2004, quoted in Botha 2007: 107). The Diploma was a mainly web-based course of one year duration (du Toit 2007: 211). Based on the success of the PDM, the Africa Centre was established in 2003. The management of HIV/AIDS in the workplace became the focus of its research, community projects and postgraduate educational programmes. In 2003 370 students from 24 different and mainly African countries had enrolled for a postgraduate diploma at the Centre, whose offering was later extended towards a master's degree (29 July 2004, quoted in Botha 2007: 107f). By 2007 it had already graduated more than 1.700 students, among them 64 master's students. The graduates represented different working environments and about 6 million people (Brink 2007c: 32; du Toit 2007: 211). Teaching modes include, for example, interactive satellite broadcasts that were facilitated by SU's Division of Telematic Services[426]. A special component of the Centre's work had been the establishment of a satellite division at the University of Legon in Ghana in 2007, where the master's course had been duplicated with the support of SU's WebCT system in order to educate even more students (Brink 2007c: 32; du Toit 2007). The centre worked together with an increasing number of partners in southern Africa and beyond[427]. In 2008 it had also been selected as flagship project of SU's community interaction. By means of educational theatre, it prepared the local and regional community in dealing with the HIV/AIDS pandemic.[428] Reflecting the development of the Centre, Jan du Toit, one of its main responsibles, stated: "[W]e initially struggled in our attempts to establish our work further in Africa; and we were often caught up in a situation for which the bureaucratic rules of the University did not make provision" (du Toit 2007: 211).

All of the here mentioned projects developed innovative forms of inter-institutional collaboration and added to SU's internationalization. They contained a strong Africa component and followed SU's "science for society" approach with a focus on being

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[424] At the time of writing, AIMS-Senegal (2011), AIMS-Ghana (2012) and AIMS-Cameroun (2013) had already been established, mainly due to external donor funding (see http://www.nexteinstein.org [retrieved 11 August 2013]).

[425] See http://www.aims.ac.za/en/about/aims-students/aims-alumni [retrieved 13 August 2013].

[426] See http://academic.sun.ac.za/ite/dip_hiv.html [retrieved 13 August 2013].

[427] According to the Hope Project's website, "[t]he Centre has been a collaborative partner of UNAIDS on capacity building, community mobilisation and research dissemination. Other partners include British American Tobacco South Africa (BATSA), the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), Broadway Cares/Equity Fights AIDS, a non-profit fundraising organization based in New York, the New Apostolic Church of the Western Cape and the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC)" (http://thehopeproject.co.za/hope/projects/academic/AfricaCentreForHIVAidsManagement/pages/about.aspx [retrieved 11 August 2013]).

[428] See http://www.sun.ac.za/english/ci/projects/ci-flagship-projects [retrieved 11 August 2013].

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responsive to the needs of society. By presenting statistics on SU's internationalization in the following section, the extent of its Africa focus shall be illuminated in further detail.

8.3 The Increasingly Important Role of Africa in Stellenbosch University's Internationalization Approach – Selected Indicators and Statistics of Internationalization at SU

The University's latest marked outreach towards the African continent, which started in the early 2010s, can be interpreted as part of South Africa's re-entry into the African continent and the (re-)invention of an African identity: "[F]or a long time, Africa wasn't accessible because of the mistakes that we have made politically in this country" (Interview 20, 2010) and "South Africa was not only isolated from the rest of the world, it was also isolated from Africa" (Interview 7, 2010).[429] This outreach is linked to the desire of South Africans to pull their weight and to make their contributions to the development and well-being of the continent, following a sad and destructive history. The strategies of SU to become a training hub for talents from neighbouring countries and to embark on an ambitious "science for society" and research for Africa approach, thus moving beyond the burdens of the apartheid history, are ample evidence.

On paper, there was an early commitment at SU to partner with African HEIs, as stated in the memorandum of 1992[430] (and reconfirmed in SU's vision statement, as presented in the Strategic Framework [SU 2000]). Institutional partnerships in the SADC (Southern African Development Community) region and the facilitation of mobility of staff and students within the region were also promoted by the SADC Protocol on Education and Training (SADC 1997: Article 7: 7). However, in the 1990s, SU mainly achieved international partnership agreements with institutions in the global North[431]. It was with the NEPAD initiative (New Partnership for Africa's Development) in the early 2010s, in which the South African President Thabo Mbeki appeared as one of the key architects, that SU's Africa commitment was further triggered:

> "SU is committed to the NEPAD objectives [read: the promotion of human and capacity development, SB] and acknowledges the importance of institutional collaboration and partnership amongst universities in Africa as a means to achieve such social, educational, economic and political goals." (SU International Office 2004: 5)

And also the South African Ministry of Education in the National Plan for Higher Education (NPHE) (2001) encouraged "higher education institutions to develop strategies to recruit postgraduate students from the rest of Africa, in particular from the SADC, as well as from other developing countries" (NPHE 2001: 5.3).[432]

Over the years, more than half of SU's international students came from the African continent (and a majority of them from SADC countries). Yet, institutional linkages with other African

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[429] SU is thus not the only South African HEI which has intensified its integration into Africa. A large variety of initiatives connecting South African universities with the African continent were collected during a desktop study carried out by the International Education Association South Africa (IEASA) in 2008 (IEASA 2009).
[430] See Chapter 8.1.1.
[431] Further information on bilateral agreements with regards to geographical spread per region and over time will be provided in Chapter 8.3.2.
[432] For the national background see also International Office (2004: 4ff).

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countries – with the exception of a limited number of faculty or departmental agreements[433] – continued to remain negligible (SU International Office 2008: 25). A renewed commitment to higher education in Africa and to new ways of collaboration on the continent had been given priority in Vision 2012 ("SU [...] contributes towards building the scientific, technological and intellectual capacity of Africa"). And the establishment of SU as reliable higher education partner in Africa, especially in the SADC region, had become one firm objective of internationalization, as also spelled out in more detail in the IO's Strategic Framework[434]. It was Russel Botman who led SU's Africa commitment to a next stage:

> "For me, the big job was to have this University feel that it is African. [...] The real big challenge, and I think for me the real important change, was to get this University that was so strongly connected to the North to now connect to this continent first and think of itself as African. [...] The African stamp now is strong in this University, and we can measure now what is a scientific footprint on the continent, in terms of relationships and in how these relationships are build on real institutional strengths rather than on simply individual academic contact."[435] (Interview, 2010)

The process to make knowledge-based contributions to the benefit of Africa's development started in 2006. It went along with the intention to contribute to growing the next generation of academics and professionals on the continent. The creation of a strategic fund for research in and with Africa and related to the MDGs can be seen as one concrete expression of SU's Africa commitment. The PGIO's annual so-called "African Collaboration Grant" was worth approximately R1 million and was financially supported through the budget of the Vice Rector (research and innovation) (Interview 32, 2010; discussion with Christoff Pauw, September 2010; SU Strategy for National and International Academic Networks 2012: 5; SU Intouch 2013: 17)[436]. The increasing importance of the African continent had also been mirrored in the University's staffing. In 2005 a position was established at the IO (Senior Admin Officer: Africa Initiatives and Projects), dedicated to Africa projects and networks and with a special focus on establishing and maintaining an institutional Africa database on collaborative projects.[437] In 2011 the same person filled a newly created position at the PGIO (Manager for International Academic Networks), which was complemented by a Coordinator for Africa Academic Networks (Pauw and Malete 2011: 5).[438] SU finally also promoted and financially incentivized student and staff exchanges with those African HEIs with which SU maintained full Memoranda of Understanding (SU Intouch 2013: 16, 18).

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[433] For further details see Chapter 8.3.2.

[434] Envisioned activities for the period 2004 to 2008 included, for example, the promotion of university cooperation in Africa and cooperation in research and teaching as well as intra-continental mobility of students and academics, promoting the cooperation with the Association of African Universities (AAU) and the investigation of offshore provision of teaching programmes in Africa through the use of ICTs (International Office 2004: 13).

[435] Botman is referring here to SU's Collaborations Database and the related Strategic Management Indicator established in 2005, which provided information especially on all Africa related initiatives taking place at the University and which was supposed to be extended towards covering all of SU's collaborations.

[436] This seed money could be used to hold workshops or conferences, jointly organized with African partner institutions in order to make initial contact, for research visits to other African countries or research visitors from other African countries (SU Intouch 2013: 17). 27 different projects out of 36 applications had been supported in 2010 and 2011 (SU Strategy for National and International Academic Networks 2012: 5).

[437] From 2009 the person in charge had been allocated to the Division for Research Development, by then labelled "Coordinator for Initiatives in the South". In 2010 this position had been renamed into "Coordinator for South-South Networks and Africa Initiatives".

[438] See also http://www0.sun.ac.za/international/about-us [retrieved 31 May 2013].

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In the context of the rhetoric on Africa in SU's strategy papers, its vision statement as well as official university information, the following indicators and aspects of internationalization – international students and international academics, bilateral partnership agreements and collaborative projects – shall help to appraise how SU had been internationalizing. It will be explored to what extent the figures and the actual role of Africa in SU's international relations corresponded with what was on paper. To that end, statistical overviews will be provided.

8.3.1 International Students and International Academics

A look on the numbers on international students at SU between 1990 and 2010 illustrates a continuing upward curve. In February 1994, there were 433 international degree-seeking students enrolled at SU (2.8 percent of the total student population – undergraduate: 264; postgraduate: 169)[439] (SA: 12.600[440]) and a tiny record of 14 international exchange students in February 1994 from the first institutional partnership agreements with European universities (Interview 1, 2010; SU Intouch 2013: 6). Degree-seeking students comprised undergraduates, honour's students, master's as well as doctoral students. In 2000 the University counted 675 international degree-seeking students (4.1 percent of the total student population; undergraduate: 237; postgraduate: 438).[441] In 2010 there were already close to 3.000 international students (10.5 percent) registered for degree-seeking purposes (SA: 64.784[442]).[443] In comparison to developments in South Africa, as presented in Chapter 6.4.4 (between 7 and 7.5 percent international students between 2000 and 2010), SU's ratio had developed from below average (4.3 percent in 2000) to well above average (10.5 percent in 2010). Besides the degree-seeking students, the so-called special students (non-degree seeking students on exchange or study abroad semesters, research and affiliated students as well as those enrolled for short programmes [SU International Office 2008: 7]) made up for an increasingly large group among the international students (1.250 in 2010, including the elective students at the Faculty of Health Sciences) (SU Annual Report 2010: 25).[444]

[439] Figures provided by the Division for Institutional Research and Planning in December 2012.
[440] See IEASA (2011: 9), based on data from the Department for Higher Education and Training.
[441] In 2007 the total number of international students was 2.458, among which 602 studied for an undergraduate degree, 79 for an honours degree, 536 for a master's degree, and 205 for a doctoral degree. 951 were registered as special students (International Office 2008: 8).
[442] See IEASA (2011: 9), based on data from the Department for Higher Education and Training. See also Chapter 6.4.4 on the internationalization of higher education in South Africa.
[443] Figures provided by the Division for Institutional Research and Planning in December 2012.
[444] The percentages for special students among the international students were as follows: 1997: 15.3 percent; 2000: 22.1 percent; 2003: 32 percent; 2007: 38.7 percent (International Office 2008: 8).

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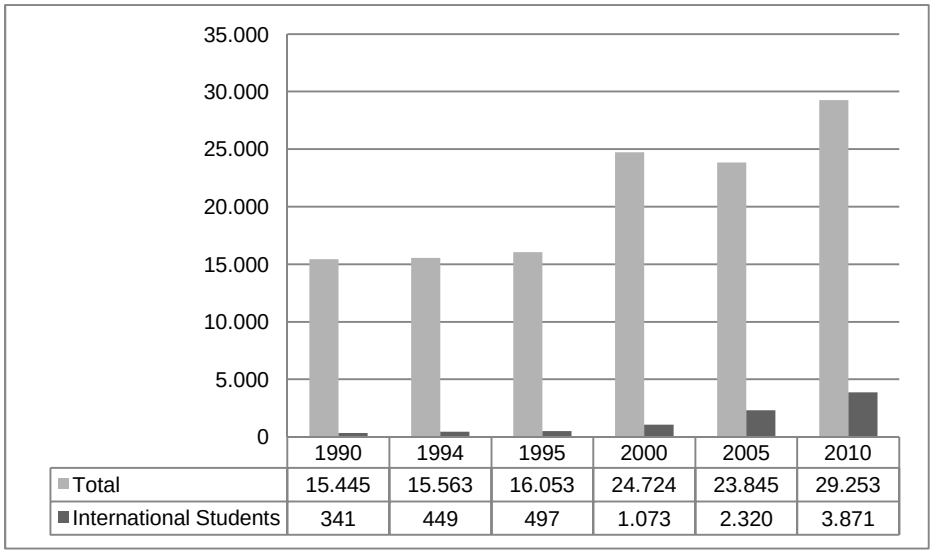
Figure 3: Development of International Students at SU 1990–2010 (incl. special students)

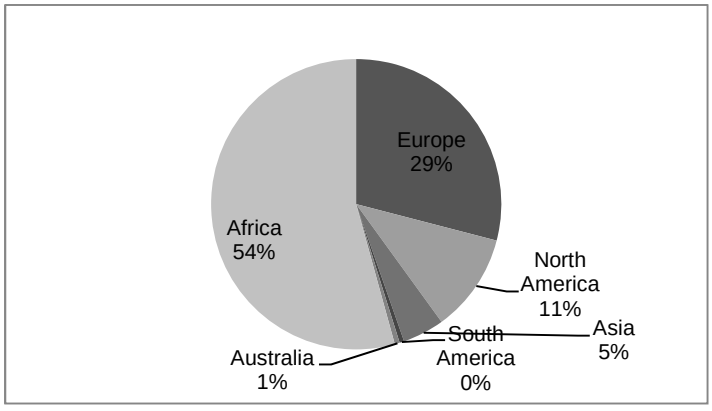


	1990	1994	1995	2000	2005	2010
Total	15.445	15.563	16.053	24.724	23.845	29.253
International Students	341	449	497	1.073	2.320	3.871

Source: figures provided by SU's Division for Institutional Research and Planning in January 2013.

Looking at international students, around 50 percent had come from the African continent throughout the 1990s and 2010s with a clear focus on the SADC region and a large majority from Namibia (SU International Office 2008: 8).[445] In 1990 204 Africans among the international students even had a share of 60 percent. Out of the 3.871 international students at SU in 2010 (degree seeking and special students, however, excluding elective students) more than a half (2.101) came from the African continent, among which 1.516 were of SADC country origin (Namibia: 724).[446] Africanization with regard to the student body was, therefore, in the first place tantamount to regionalization in the SADC area; an integration of the whole continent did not materialize. The large share of students from other African countries, who, when asked about their race upon enrolment, would state that they are Africans (in contrast to the Coloureds, Indians and Whites), also contributed to the improvement of student demographics in racial terms.

Figure 4: International Students at SU according to Region (2010)



Source: figures provided by SU's Division for Institutional Research and Planning in January 2013.

[445] South Africa, according to the UNESCO's Global Education Digest (2009: 36ff) was ranked among the top ten host countries for international students in the world on position 8.
[446] Figures provided by the Division for Institutional Research and Planning in January 2013; see also SU Annual Report (2009: 26).

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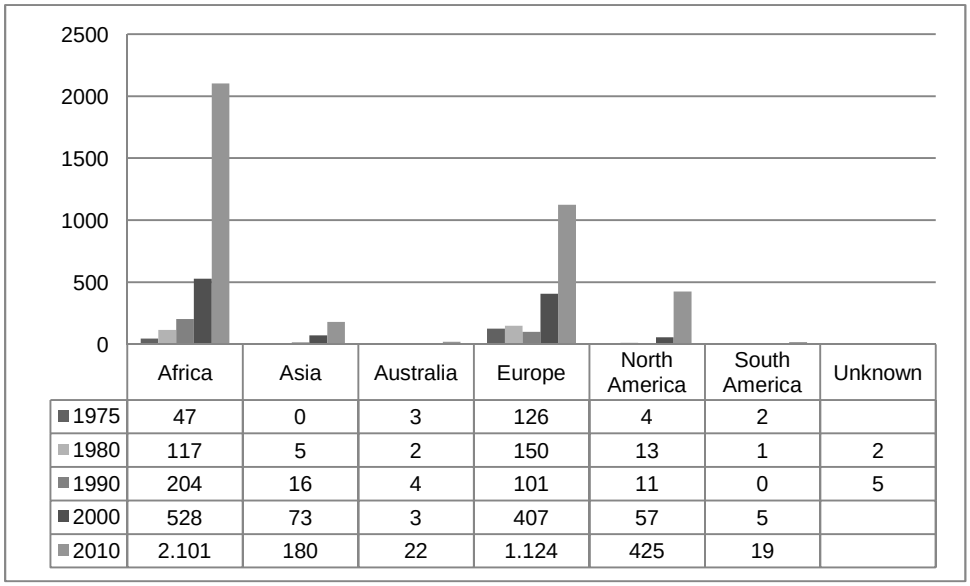
Figure 5: International Students at SU according to Region and in Historical Perspective



	Africa	Asia	Australia	Europe	North America	South America	Unknown
1975	47	0	3	126	4	2	
1980	117	5	2	150	13	1	2
1990	204	16	4	101	11	0	5
2000	528	73	3	407	57	5	
2010	2.101	180	22	1.124	425	19	

Source: figures provided by SU's Division for Institutional Research and Planning in January 2013.

SU is an attractive place for international students to go to, for special programmes (such as the annual IPSU Summer or Winter Schools or Study Abroad programmes), on exchange as well as for a full degree. Outgoing mobility of SU students on exchange, however, is limited due to first and foremost financial restrictions; there is only a small number of inter-institutional agreements, including scholarships. Mobility is, furthermore, restricted to the postgraduate level, by lack of language skills and by tight academic programme structures[447]. Hence, the numbers per semester were usually not higher than 50 outgoing students compared to up to 150 incoming students (Interview 21, 2010).[448] Exchanges were financially supported by the International Office through its Exchange Bursary Fund (SU Annual Report 2008: 28). Study destinations for SU students were most of all Europe and the USA, with the Netherlands, Belgium and Germany ranging on top mainly because of financial incentives provided by host institutions from these countries. It was only since the middle of the 2010s that destinations for exchange were getting more diverse, with China, Mexico and Uganda also appearing on the list (SU International Office 2008: 11; see also SU Intouch 2013: 26). According to the PGIO's newsletter edition from March 2013, it was because of the limited number of students from Stellenbosch who were able to afford one or two semesters at a foreign university that a redefinition of the concepts of mobility and exchange had been

[447] A representative of the PGIO explained: "There are limited programmes in which you can exchange courses, either because a programme is structured in such a way that they take a course that is for a fourth year, and then of course they can't be away for one semester and exchange it with another course from another university, or there is simply not room within a programme to exchange the courses, you can't find the course content, and that will automatically mean that you have to do another semester which we don't want to encourage. We don't want the students to spend longer. It's a SA thing, rather than a Stellenbosch problem. And then, there are a number of courses where there are professional bodies (Accounting, Nursery, Medicine, and Engineering) where they can't exchange, [...] because they have specific courses in order to be registered by the professional bodies. That takes out automatically those students away from the platform" (Interview 21, 2010; see also Interview 28, 2010).

[448] According to the figures provided by the International Office (2008: 10), incoming mobility between 1997 and 2006 rose steadily and significantly, while outgoing mobility increased only moderately in the same period. The figures for incoming mobility were as follows for the whole academic year: 46 (1997), 75 (2000), 150 (2003), 262 (2006) and for outgoing mobility: 27 (1997), 27 (2000), 23 (2003), 57 (2006), 51 (2008) (for the last figure: SU Annual Report 2008: 28).

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considered. The PGIO's offerings to students, as a consequence, were widened and included the participation in summer schools of European and Asian partner institutions at reduced rates, financial support for postgraduate students doing research abroad and for doctoral students attending international conferences with paper or poster presentations, furthermore Erasmus Mundus mobility as well as what is called "internationalization at home".[449] By 2012 the number of "student exchanges" could be increased to 200 per year (SU Intouch 2013: 10).

Andreas van Wyk, after he had become Rector of SU in 1993, and also his successors in the context of their vision of establishing SU as an international role player, was eager to increase the number of international academics in teaching and research at SU after the South African political change (Claassen 2001: 121). Van Wyk was, for example, enthusiastic to establish a visiting professors programme, whereby top academics from abroad would be appointed to spend a certain period at SU (ibid.). Also the former Vice Rector (first for Academic Affairs and then for Research), Walter Claassen, went on an active national and international mission of recruiting researchers to the institution in the second half of the 1990s.[450] What appeared as a huge obstacle to recruiting international scholars was the predominantly Afrikaans environment and SU's restrictive language policy. Many interviewees, representing the whole spectrum of the University's stakeholders (Interviews 8, 11, 16, 17, 19, 34, 47, 2010), argued that the way language was dealt with was a limiting factor to SU's further internationalization. The University usually expected lecturers to be able to teach not only in English but also in Afrikaans, especially at the undergraduate level. According to one interviewee, many of the SU professors opposed the employment of international academics teaching in English only as these immediately would have had the advantage to only teach on the postgraduate level, where there are the publications and PhDs (Interview 11, 2010). Later, the University required that somebody appointed at SU must be able to at least understand a student talking and writing Afrikaans within two years after appointment. But also that posed a heavy setback for international recruitment (Interviews 11, 34, 2010) even though, at the time of writing, it had not been enforced for

[449] The PGIO in 2010 had marketed student exchanges aggressively by, for example, going to the residences and class rooms. As a result, there was a real increase in the number of students that used opportunities to go abroad for a semester from SU's own funds, e.g. in the form of travel bursaries (Interview 2, 2010). In addition, an Annual Study Abroad Fair used to be organized on campus (International Office 2008: 24). The numbers were expected to slightly grow in the years to come, after SU had become part of three further Erasmus Mundus II networks (2009–2013), in which mobility grants were available, especially for outgoing mobility of South African students under Action 2 (Partnerships with Third Country HEIs and scholarships for mobility). SU became a member in ema2sa in 2010, 2011, 2012 and 2013 (www.ema2sa.eu), in eurosa in 2010, 2011, 2012 and 2013 (www.ua.ac.be/eurosa), in Sapient in 2010 (www.ru.nl/sapientmundus/about-us/erasmus-mundus) and in EU-Saturn in 2012 and 2013 (www.eu-saturn.eu). Until the beginning of 2013, programmes had provided mobility grants for more than 50 students and staff to study or undertake research at the European partner institutions (SU Intouch 2013: 16ff).

[450] According to some interviewees, there were even whole groups of researchers in certain disciplines that were brought in from other, also English speaking, South African institutions in order to sharpen and improve the research profile of the institution (Interview 2, 2010; see also Interview 11, 2010). A professor poached from the UCT, for example, had laid out the unusual practice of appointing academics during a short period in the 1990s, during which SU even appointed outside of appointment and research committees just to increase the institutional research capacity in certain areas and to generally improve the institution in terms of research: "They just decided to improve. [...] The administration decided that they put money in there. [...] When I said I would come, a person came to see me, call me out of a seminar, with a motor cycle helmet on, with a letter from the Rector saying, you phoned us, and here is the offer. Now, you can't appoint people like that anymore." (Interview 14, 2010)

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quite a number of years. An international academic, who had come to the University in 1993, however, reported that he had always taught in English only and that there were never any complaints. The problems arose when the University addressed the language issue officially, when they decided to allow more and more English. Suddenly, there were struggles (Interview 26, 2010). Another interviewee stated that many of those lecturers appointed at SU in the last two decades were no longer proficient in teaching in Afrikaans (Interview 22, 2010). Yet, not only SU's restrictive language policy was more or less an obstacle to the appointment of international academic staff, also the South African state, according to the Council minutes, did not make it easy (SU Council, 18 November 1996). The difficulty with the government had remained a big issue until the time of interviewing: "[T]he home affairs office, they are not very friendly towards internationalization of higher education. It always takes a lot of time to deal with it. They rather want to keep people out rather than to facilitate people coming in" (Interview 1, 2010). The role of the IO/PGIO in the process of recruiting foreign academics (lecturers as well as postdocs) to SU had been to mostly help with work and residence permits and immigration matters (Interview 1, 2010; PGIO 2009). Especially from the viewpoint of those University departments offering a position, international recruitment had been a challenging and time consuming undertaking (Interview 4, 2010).

With the hype around international university rankings and SU's ambitions to appear among the best ranked universities worldwide, the recruitment of international scholars (if possible with a high reputation and a high publication rate) got additional flavour: international staff, international publications as well as citations featured in the ranking calculations, especially in the "World University Rankings" of the Times Higher Education Supplement.[451]

[451] The examples presented hereinafter are indicative of SU's ambitions regarding the rankings. Chris Brink, for instance, reflected SU's achievements under his rectorship as follows: "But a lot of hard work remains to be done. For example, Stellenbosch still does not feature on the list of the top 500 universities in the world, compiled annually by the Institute for Higher Education of the Shanghai Jiao Tong University" (Brink 2007a: 9). And in November 2007, there was an overview in the Rector's report to Senate about SU's position in the different rankings vis-à-vis other South African universities as well as international institutions of higher education. With regards to the different indicators, as used in the Leiden Ranking, it was concluded that "SU is the 2nd best South African university in terms of citation impact, and 4th best in terms of outputs" (SU Senate, November 2007: 21). This notion was repeatedly presented, such as on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of SU's International Office in 2008 by Arnold van Zyl, at that time Vice Rector (Research). An extensive explanation on which indicators of the Academic Ranking of World Universities of the Shanghai Jiao Tong University SU scored and why it was not on the list of the top 500 was published by the Stellenbosch academic Boshoff (Boshoff 2009). And when in September 2011 SU appeared for the first time in one of the international rankings, namely the QS World University Ranking, this was worth a press release, in which Rector Botman acknowledged the University's international stature regarding the quality of teaching and research, however, emphasizing "that we do not model our programmes and academic output to chase after rankings" (http://blogs.sun.ac.za/news/2011/09/07/first-world-ranking-for-stellenbosch-university/ [retrieved 15 January 2013]). And shortly after, SU also broke into the Leiden Ranking and the Times Higher Education World University Ranking, to which Rector Botman proudly referred when he gave his speech in April 2012 on "Making HOPE happen" (Botman, 11 April 2012) and also on a student recruitment evening at a nearby college on 14 May 2013, where he added "We are number one in Africa on the Webometrics Ranking of World Universities. This ranking is based on an evaluation of universities' web presence" and "According to the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET) Stellenbosch also has the highest weighted research output per fulltime-equivalent academic staff member of all universities in South Africa" (see http://www.sun.ac.za/english/Lists/news/DispForm.aspx?ID=145 [retrieved 13 May 2013]). One of the interviewed deans critically stated: "Internationalisation also means that we want to become the Harvards, Oxfords instead of using our own context and trying to be become the best we can become. And we begin to compare ourselves with others that serve a different society. We can learn from one another's strengths, but we cannot become the same – never. It's never been like that" (Interview 13, 2010). A professor expounded: "The top universities in South Africa are watching these rankings, and that's part of internationalization, because suddenly your reference group is not [any more, SB] the South Africa institutions [only] [...] but [...] international" (Interview 7, 2010). And a representative of the South African higher education sector added: "A lot of our institutions play

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All posts at SU usually had been advertised internationally. According to the questionnaire used for this research, all of SU's faculties were seeking to actively recruit foreign professors. Yet, it was not always possible to get the top-notch academics for a position in South Africa, as other universities often offered more attractive salaries, had better equipped laboratories etc. Also the issues distance from Europe and North America as well as the perceived challenges of living in a developing country played a major role. One example, however, how SU attempted to improve the scoring in the rankings on the international scholars, the citation index or the output or even to increase the internationalization of the professoriate was the appointment of so-called extraordinary professors or research fellows. During their term of appointment, they were expected to contribute their publications to the department they were associated with. These professors usually had an appointment at another university, and they came to SU for some weeks or months. This also "makes it easier to have joint projects" (Interview 34, 2010).[452] Another arena in which at least the exchange among international academics and SU ones was to be fostered was constituted by the Stellenbosch Institute for Advanced Studies (STIAS). STIAS' research and top-class fellowship programme with a focus on South Africa and problem-solving in Africa had brought people of world-renown to Stellenbosch, also to the benefit of the University.[453] The Director during the time of interviewing, Professor Hendrik Geyer, a physicist, remarked that the crucial thing for STIAS was to add to the internationalization of research and scientific collaboration as well as to high level incoming mobility, for example through international academic colloquia (Interview, 2010; see also SU International Office 2008: 23). Also the bilateral staff exchanges for teaching and research with a number of European and African universities, maintained by the PGIO, should be mentioned in that context (SU Intouch 2013: 16).[454]

The ratio of international to national academic staff at SU was as follows in 2010: 64 academic staff members out of a total of 886 had a non-South African nationality – less than ten percent – of whom 16 had a nationality from another African state (namely from Gabon, Kenya, Malawi, Nigeria, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe).[455] In comparison with 13 percent international academics in South Africa's public higher education system in 2008 SU featured below average (see Chapter 6.4.4).

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the global ranking game etc. I think, it's misconceived. We can't compete globally with the top. And we shouldn't even want to compete with them. [...] I think, what we need to do is to ensure that our institutions remain excellent and do what they do well in whatever context they operate, and that's the basis in which they contribute to a global world in not trying to become Harvard or Cambridge – they can't. And they all are trying to do that, they look at the global rankings and would like to be in the top 200. I think, we should not even aim for that. It doesn't mean that we can't be excellent institutions, which will be globally recognized" (Interview 45, 2010). It is this situation of universities in developing countries, and in Africa in particular, that were earlier discussed with reference to Badat (2010).

[452] See also the Rules of Procedure regarding Extraordinary Appointments/Appointment of Honorary Professors and Appointment of Research Fellows (January 2011) (see http://www0.sun.ac.za/research/en/policydocuments [retrieved 15 January 2013]).

[453] See also Chapter 7.1.

[454] With a view to international academics from Africa at SU, it can be stated that SU got involved in three EU funded intra-ACP Academic Mobility Schemes after the period under investigation, through which a limited number of intra-African staff mobility was supported. The three project consortia were TRECCAfrica (coordinated by SU; www.treccafrica.com), AFIMEGQ (coordinated by the University of Yaoundé I, www.afimegq.org) and SHARE (coordinated by the Makerere University; www.africasharecapacity.com) (SU Intouch 2013: 16, 18).

[455] Academic staff includes professors, associate professors, senior lecturers, lecturers and junior lecturers. The figures are based on data provided by the Division of Human Resources in August 2010.

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To sum up, the origin of the majority of international degree-seeking students was the African continent, especially on the postgraduate level, while traditional student exchanges (studying one or two semesters abroad) were mostly taking place with Europe (outgoing mobility) and the rest of the world (incoming mobility).[456] Africanization with regards to appointed international academics at SU was rather negligible. Yet, among the tiny number of 64 international academic staff members (out of 886 in total) Africans had a share of 25 percent in 2010.[457] Intra-continental exchanges had slowly started to be promoted. The largest obstacles were financial resources and a considerable dependence on foreign funding. The success of SU in a number of intra-ACP (African, Caribbean and Pacific) mobility schemes funded by the European Union after the year 2010 provided the necessary means for postgraduate and staff mobility between African countries at least for the period of project funding. And SU itself, in the framework of partnerships with those African universities with a bilateral agreement, provided tuition and registration waivers plus accommodation to three African exchange students per year and accommodation plus a small stipend to visiting academics (discussion with Christoff Pauw, May 2013).

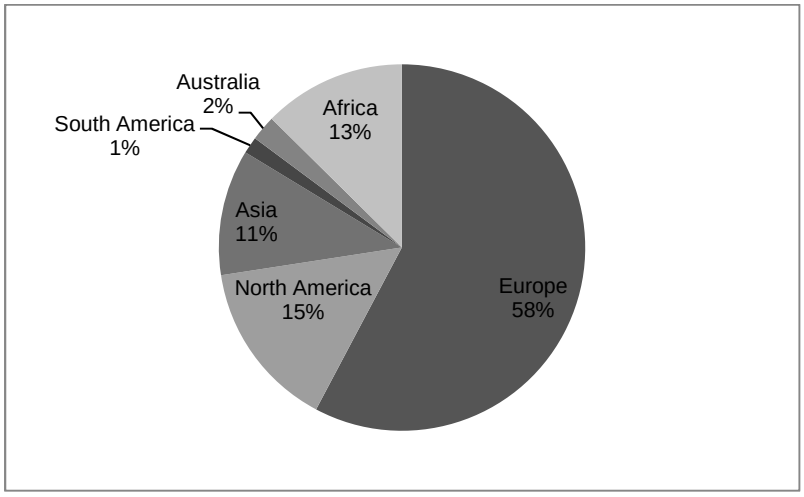
8.3.2 Bilateral Partnership Agreements

Until 2012 SU had signed partnership agreements with around 135 HEIs in 30 countries. Among them were close to 80 institutional partnerships, next to agreements on the departmental and faculty level (SU Intouch 2013: 8f). Activity levels differed and included most of all student and staff exchanges as well as joint research[458]. The 135 partner institutions were spread over six continents. A large majority, a total of 78 HEIs, was located in Europe (mainly in Germany [27], the Netherlands [12] and Sweden [8]) followed by North America with a total of 20 (four in Canada, two in Mexico and twelve in the USA). Partnership agreements in Asia had been established with a number of institutions – in the People's Republic of China (12)[459], Taiwan (1), Singapore (1) and Japan (1) (ibid.). South America featured on the list with only two institutional agreements: one institution in Argentina and one in Chile. Australian HEIs had become part of SU's partnership agreements in 2011 (SU Intouch 2013: 8). Africa, with some exceptions, was given serious attention comparatively late.[460] An active academic outreach initiative into the continent was started at the end of

[456] As already mentioned, SU got involved in three intra-ACP Academic Mobility Schemes funded by the European Development Fund (EDF), through which also the intra-African mobility on the postgraduate level was promoted.
[457] An overview of the countries in which those professors employed at SU in 2010 had earned their degrees was unfortunately not available.
[458] The agreement types were only slowly about to be extended towards joint teaching and the joint training of PhD candidates as well as exchange and learning processes on the level of management and administration. Priority partnerships were about to be established as were strategic partnerships, such as the one entered with Leipzig University in 2012.
[459] It was with the Soen-Jat-Sen University of the Republic of China that the first exchange agreement was signed in 1987 (Research at SU 2010), which goes back to a visit to Taiwan by the then Vice Rector (Operations). In terms of international students, this partnership did not show an immediate effect. There was not more than one student from China at SU in any given year between 1985 and 1990 and less than five until 1995 (figures provided by the Division for Institutional Research and Planning in January 2013).
[460] Exceptions included the cooperation agreements with HEIs in Gabon (established in 2001), the University of Ghana (2004), an agreement between the Faculties of Law with the University of Namibia from the year 2000, the partnership with Sudan's University of Gezira and its Department of Entomology and Nematology (1997), a cooperation between the Faculty of Theology and Justo Mwale Theological College in Zambia (1998) and the

2005 with a number of delegation visits in 2005 and 2006 to various African HEIs.[461] Since 2006 a total of eleven institutional agreements with African Universities had been signed.[462] This was part of the institutional attempt to increase activities on the African continent and to contribute relevant knowledge for Africa's immense developmental potential in the decades to come. It followed the logic of making SU an African University but also of opening up partnerships in the framework of North-South-South collaboration involving partners from Europe or the USA. African institutions were carefully selected in terms of their credibility, quality and reputation (Interviews 4, 20, 2010).

Figure 6: Bilateral Institutional Partnerships at SU according to Region (as of 2012)



Source: SU Intouch 2013: 8f.

Of special importance among the bilateral agreements were the early institutional agreements with the Catholic University Leuven, Gent University, Leiden University, the University of Maastricht, the universities in Tübingen, Hamburg, Leipzig, Berlin (HU), as well as Rennes and Salzburg. They were entered into during the rectorship of Andreas van Wyk in the 1990s (Claassen 2001: 118; table provided by the PGIO in August 2010; see also Interview 11, 2010). Asked why these universities were selected, Walter Claassen said that it was because most of these universities also started to open up at the same time as SU, looking for new partners abroad (Interview, 2010). SU, it could be tentatively argued, was searching for partner institutions, from which SU could (also financially) benefit. The high number of partnerships with institutions in the Netherlands, Belgium and Germany reflected historical linkages with South Africa and SU in particular (also in the context of bilateral

Department of Urology at SU's Faculty of Health Sciences with that of the University of Zimbabwe (no founding date of the partnership available) (table provided by the PGIO in August 2010).

[461] In 2005 representatives of SU's Faculty of Arts visited Makerere University and Dar es Salaam, and in 2006 members of the Faculties of Engineering, Science and Arts visited the universities of Nairobi and Addis Ababa (International Office 2008: 25f).

[462] They included the University of Dar es Salaam (Tanzania); University of Makerere (Uganda); University of Botswana (Botswana); University of Namibia (Namibia); Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (Ghana); the University of Zimbabwe (Zimbabwe); the University of Nairobi (Kenya); the Université Eduardo Mondlane (Mozambique); Kenyatta University (Kenya); l'Université de Antananarivo (Madagascar); the University of Ghana (Ghana) and, in 2013 still under negotiation, l'Université de Yaoundé I (Cameroun) (SU Intouch 2013: 16; discussion with Christoff Pauw, May 2013)

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cultural agreements and foreign policy[463]). Many of them were reactivated after the apartheid era. It is important to note that the early official partnerships of the 1990s were never discussed in the Senate or in other official decision making bodies. Agreements were rather concluded by the Director of the International Office Robert Kotzé, the Senior Director (Research) and later Vice Rector (Academic) Walter Claassen, the Academic Planning Committee and the Rector – most of all based on immediate benefits and less so on long term strategic planning (Interview 1, 2010; discussion with Robert Kotzé, September 2011). Institutional linkages with European institutions were flourishing in the 1990s, as van Wyk is reported to have most of all fostered the European partnerships (discussion, 2010).[464] This development was confirming a continent-wide trend in post-colonial Africa, where liaison with HEIs in the former colonial powers was initially considered more beneficial than with other African institutions (SU International Office 2008: 25). Yet, there were a few non-European exceptions, with which SU started to maintain partnership agreements during the 1990s. They included, for example, the Canadian University of Laval (1999) as well as four Malaysian institutions in 1996 and 1997 (two of which, however, had expired after two and five years respectively, the remaining ones were indefinite) plus a number of faculty and departmental agreements.[465] The 2010s were characterized by a diversification of partnership countries. European partnerships had been extended. More partnerships with Belgian, Dutch and German institutions were signed, and a number of partnerships with Austrian, Finnish, French, Norwegian, Swedish and UK institutions were established. Throughout the 2010s, the rest of the world, especially the Americas, Asia and Africa after 2005 and finally Australia in 2011, had become part of SU's network of bilateral institutional partners (table provided by the PGIO in August 2010; SU Intouch 2013: 8f).

To sum up, international outreach on the institutional level between 1990 and 2010 (2012) clearly focused, first of all, European partner institutions as well as the USA for faculty and departmental partnerships during the 1990s. This was before SU started to realize the strategic potential of not only rhetorically creating but also practically establishing SU as an African university – thereby building a bridge between the global North and the African continent in the 2010s at the same time as reaching out to Asia and South America and later also to Australia. Cooperation with BRIC countries, Brazil, Russia, India and China, at the time of interviewing, was rather limited.[466] Rector Russel Botman, however, indicated that he

[463] See also Chapter 5.2.4 in this work on SU's internationalization prior to 1990.

[464] In addition to the universities already mentioned, bilateral agreements were signed with the University of Antwerpen (Belgium), the University of Amsterdam and the Free University (both The Netherlands), the Technische Universität Berlin, Fachhochschule Konstanz, Philipps-Universität Marburg, Fachhochschule Neubrandenburg, Georg-Simon-Ohm Fachhochschule Nürnberg (all Germany), Universität Innsbruck (Austria) and Lund University (Sweden). Furthermore, a number of faculty or departmental agreements with an institution in Finland, one in France, one in Romania, two in Russia, two German ones, and a great number of Dutch institutions were concluded (table provided by the PGIO in August 2010).

[465] These were agreements made with the Chong-Sin Theological Seminary (North Korea), the Princeton Theological Seminary (USA), and the Justo Mwale Theological College (Zambia) (all Faculty of Theology); furthermore Oregon State University, Colorado State University and Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University (all Department of Forest and Wood Science); the University of Texas Austin (Engineering); the University of Wyoming (School of Public Management and Planning) or the University of Gezira (Department of Entomology and Nematology) (table provided by the PGIO in August 2010).

[466] In 2010 South Africa had joined the group of major emerging economies so that the acronym had been expanded into BRICS. Since 2012 there had been a lot of activities happening at the national South African level

would give more emphasis to higher education cooperation with the BRIC countries during his second term in office (Interview, 2010). From its self-perception of being an extension of Europe, which was still prevalent at the University at the end of the 1990s, SU increasingly tried to establish itself as an African institution. This development, however, was only partly mirrored in the agreements in 2012 (17 out of 135 partnerships with African HEIs), which corresponds with the findings for the South African public higher education sector (see Chapter 6.4.4).

8.3.3 Collaborative Projects, Research and other Agreements with Academics from African Institutions of Higher Education

Besides formal partnership agreements, there were a number of smaller cooperation projects between SU academics and international ones. According to a first survey of collaborative research and teaching with African partners at SU, conducted in June 2006, there was a record of 80 projects in 30 African countries (SU International Office 2008: 25). Four and a half years later, in December 2010, the number of projects had increased to a total of 244 current and (since 2006) completed projects (Pauw and Malete 2011: 7).[467] Pauw and Malete state that parts of this increase could be explained with "more effective data gathering" but also with a considerable growth in projects since 2008 (ibid.).

In January 2010, roughly half of the collaborative projects were research projects, followed by teaching projects, capacity development, and community interaction (Pauw and Taurai 2010). Kenya, Uganda and Malawi ranged among the top partner countries in terms of project numbers (ibid.). A look on the disciplinary distribution laid bare that the Social Sciences and Agricultural Sciences, followed by Clinical Medical Sciences and the Humanities, were those disciplines with the largest share in Africa related project collaborations (more than 30 projects). Technologies and Applied Sciences, Physical Sciences, Mathematical Sciences and Chemical Sciences were at the low end (less than five projects). Arts, Economic Sciences, Health Sciences, Basic Medical Sciences, Engineering, Information and Computer Sciences, Earth and Marine Sciences and Biological Sciences had reported between 10 and 25 projects (ibid.).

In addition to collaborative projects with Africa, SU had been involved in large numbers of research and teaching projects with countries in the global North – especially with Europe. Even though SU had started to enter all its collaborative activities into the database, they were still under-reported. The first thing one would realize, according to a member of the PGIO working with the database, was that there was much more collaboration happening with Europe than with Africa, which was a result of a longer history of cooperation with Europe, but also because there was more money available for higher education and research in Europe (discussion with Christoff Pauw, May 2013).

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to develop BRICS partnerships and networks, e.g. on the level of the state Department of Higher Education and Training.

[467] By January 2010, there were 201 projects in 36 African countries, among which 56 had been successfully completed since 2006. Within 11 months, the number of projects had increased by about 40.

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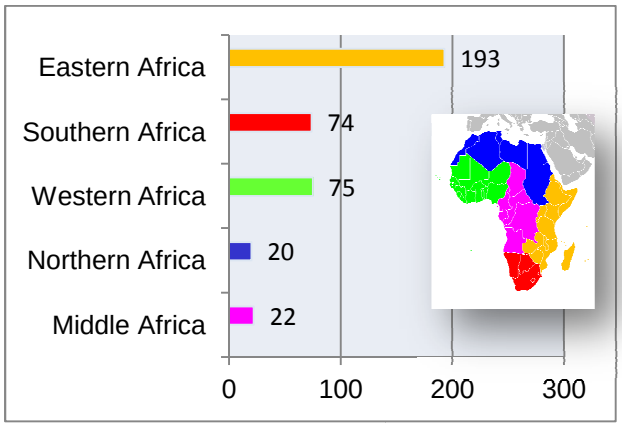
Figure 7: SU's African Partnerships according to Region
(data as of December 2010)



Source: Pauw and Malete 2011: 8.

A bibliometric analysis of SU's research output between 2000 and 2009 (with a total of 9.455 publications based on ISI's Web of Science, Scopus, AST Database) revealed that African countries were far from the top of the collaborating countries in SU's research output. The USA (with an involvement in 529 papers between 2000 and 2009) was followed by the UK (325), Germany (254), the Netherlands (224), France (160) and Canada (127). Kenya, with 14 papers, ranged on top of the continent's collaborations in publications with SU in the respective period, followed by Botswana (12), Namibia (11), Nigeria (11), Zimbabwe (9), Tanzania (7), Uganda (5) and Zambia (5). Co-publishing, one can say, happened a lot, but again mainly with colleagues from the global North and less so with African colleagues (Pauw 2010; Interview 22, 2010). One professor from the Faculty of Health Sciences emphasized, however, that on the level of faculties, departments and individuals, relations with HEIs in Africa had existed already before the "science for society" strategy and the African continent were started to be promoted (Interview 33, 2010).

8.3.4 Conclusion: Africanization as Response to Globalization?

At the time of writing, regional integration was mainly limited to the SADC region and some sub-Saharan academic centres (such as Kenya, Uganda, Nigeria)[468]. Even though continuously extended (e.g. in terms of bilateral agreements), it did not cover the whole of the continent, in none of the indicators of internationalization considered. The importance of Africa became, first of all, apparent with regards to SU's international student body. Africa was a source mainly for (international) postgraduate students coming to study at SU. Africans made up the largest share of international students.[469] In addition, Africa was most of all represented in an increasing number of collaborative teaching and research projects with academics at various African HEIs.[470] Africa was, however, no major destination for student or staff exchange. Student and staff exchange with Africa happened only few and far between, for example in the framework of full institutional partnerships with African HEIs –

[468] See Chapter 8.3.3 on collaborative projects with African academics.
[469] See Chapter 8.3.1 on international students at SU.
[470] See Chapter 8.3.3 on collaborative projects with African academics.

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paid by SU – or within projects funded from outside, e.g. through the EU's intra-ACP mobility scheme. Visiting scholars and international teaching staff originated largely from non-African countries. Co-supervision of students with academics from other African countries rarely happened, as did co-publishing. Also partnership agreements with Africa on the institutional level (as well as on the faculty and departmental level) were limited, yet slowly growing.

These findings reflect a number of aspects already addressed in Chapter 4.4, on how the recent dynamics in higher education have been experienced on the African continent, and in Chapter 6.4.4, on the internationalization in South Africa. Firstly, there are particular peculiarities and challenges for mobility and student and staff exchanges in a developing context. This is in distinction to how these exchanges take place, are funded, and are measured in a better resourced context, such as the global North, where there are funding bodies, such as the German DAAD, the British Council or the American Fulbright Programme, offering mobility grants on an intermediary level (between HEIs and national governments).[471] Even though many African governments indicated to raise their expenditure on science and technology in Africa, the dependency on funding from outside Africa (and as a consequence on outside priorities also) continue to characterize science in Africa and other parts of the developing world. Because of the financial restrictions in the field of higher education and science in Africa, intra-African mobility and exchange most of all take place when relatively wealthy African institutions (such as SU) or another donor (e.g. the EU) pay for it. Secondly, the number of African students at SU, and from the SADC region in particular, mirrors South Africa's commitment to the SADC Protocol on Education and Training and pays tribute to South Africa's acknowledgement of the government's destructive role in the neighbouring countries during the apartheid era, insofar as students from the region are treated the same as South African nationals. This means that the South African state and thus the South African taxpayer largely pay for their student places. This poses South Africa as the most stable and economically prosperous of the SADC countries in a weird "big brother" position towards its neighbours, and it contributes to what some have called the brain drain phenomenon or what is recently discussed in more positive terms as "brain circulation" or "brain gain" (Teferra 2004). The findings show, thirdly, that the internationalization of staff members is problematic in a national situation full of unresolved tension around equal opportunities. Not least the widely discussed question whether a professor from another African country would count as African or Black with a view to employment equity and the fear of white South Africans to lose employment opportunities in academia summarize the matter well.

Comparing the University's rhetoric on Africa with what really happened in the different areas of internationalization, there is still much scope for further strengthening the Africa relations. Regionalization in the form of Africanizing the University, therefore, was only one path for SU to deal with the global. In order to maintain or increase its international reputation and standing as part of the institution's vision statement, it was imperative to also distinctly

[471] The DAAD, for example, has over time developed into the largest funding agency in the field of internationalizing higher education in the world, with an annual budget of €360 million and 60.000 beneficiaries (Bode and Davidson 2011: 74).

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engage with European and North American partners as reflected in the number of partnership agreements, in student and staff exchanges and also in collaborative projects.
The focus on Africa together with the Hope Project and an intensified focus on community interaction in the second half of the 2010s served – at first rhetorically – as indicators for SU's transformation. Yet, and this had been a major objection by one of the South African higher education representatives (in this case an internationally experienced HEQC representative), this rhetoric must in a second and third step be filled with life in the sense of getting the racial profile of institutional student and staff figures right (Interview, 2011).
Notwithstanding, to rhetorically establish SU as an African university was a clever move with regard to broadening SU's field of interaction and, as a result, to diversify income through research funding and third stream money. For example, the EU increasingly promoted partnerships with more than one African university, such as in the EU's Edulink programme, which supported networks of universities composed of European universities and HEIs from the ACP countries, the EU's intra-ACP mobility schemes as well as the EU's Erasmus Mundus programmes. This had prompted Arnold van Zyl, Vice Rector (Research) from 2007 to 2011, to label SU as the "preferential portal to Africa" (Interview, 2010) for institutions from the global North, a point of departure that used the same standards as European universities and that offered stability as well as insider knowledge into the continent in a network of highly unequal partners. SU wanted to be seen as key institution in Africa-global academic networks (SU Strategy for National and International Academic Networks 2012: 3).
In consortia of African universities SU, on the other hand, would be considered the rich and dominant partner, which bore the danger of engaging in neo-imperialism. It thus became necessary that research ethics from North-South relations be translated into South African-African relations. In the case of SU, the exploitation of its in-between position and its historical background as an asset in a changing context, after all, did not come as a surprise.

8.4 Internationalization and Transnationalization at Stellenbosch University – Concluding Findings from Qualitative Interviews and Related Questionnaires

"What comes to your mind when you think of the joint training of students involving lecturers from institutions outside South Africa, joint teaching as well as joint research including joint publications?" This was the first question posed to the 42 representatives of SU with whom semi-structured qualitative interviews were conducted between August 2010 and May 2012 (of which many quotes and statements have been used already up until here). The aim of this question was to get an idea about individual's perceptions and their understanding of processes of inter- and transnationalization at SU, on the individual, departmental and faculty level as well as on the overall institutional level. With this and related questions, the researcher wanted to get to know how the interviewees interpreted the impact of processes of internationalization on the core functions of the University, what role the reference to a globalization discourse played and how the interviewees would express their perceptions and opinions linguistically. It also wanted to find out about the relation of institutional and individual strategies of internationalization to one another.

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As one can easily imagine, the answers to the opening question were manifold. It was deliberately posed in that broad form to open the field from a wide angle, leaving space for every interviewee to emphasize what he or she thinks to be most important. The following statement is a first approach towards the question and vicarious for many of the interviewees; it was given by a representative of one of SU's faculties:

> "Many things come to my mind. The whole faculty, we are actively involved in so many joint research and teaching activities and networks that it is a daily part of our life, our reality on all levels. We always have visiting students, regularly visiting staff, extraordinary professors who are affiliated to this University and who are regularly coming here. The contact and the networks are extremely important. I would say joint teaching a little bit less. Our experience in this Faculty is that we sort of have strict courses that we have to teach [...]. The cooperations work very well on a postgraduate or on a research level but less on a teaching level." (Interview 40, 2010)[472]

Three key observations crystallized from the interview material: Firstly, internationalization and transnationalization are differently understood. Secondly, internationalization is driven by individuals in departments and faculties. The extent to which decentralized activities are integrated into a comprehensive and central institutional strategy seems to determine its success. And thirdly, a push towards transnationalization, in particular in SU's teaching function, could be observed.

Different understandings of internationalization and transnationalization

Taken all interviews together, the first estimate is that talking about internationalization and transnationalization implies a multitude of different concepts, ideas and understandings as well as a certain form of confusion, ambiguity and mixing up with the concept of globalization. Internationalization and transnationalization mean different things to different people, depending on their (individual or institutional) perspective. Consequently, they are difficult or even impossible to define. As internationalization and transnationalization are mainly driven by the passion and interests of academics and as they go along with lived experiences among individuals, those scientific definitions from the literature, as presented in Chapter 2, can rarely adequately represent what internationalization may be; by no means is there a single discourse existent. A closer look into the interview material reveals the following: Internationalization is, first of all, perceived as being linked to mobility. What had been repeatedly stressed, especially by professors as well as management, was the importance of travel and "the experience of very little mobility to very high levels of mobility" (Interview 6, 2010; see also Interviews 8, 10, 14, 16, 23, 2010) in comparison to the apartheid era and the time of the academic boycott against South Africa. A fair amount of mobility of lecturers and students across a world where "there are no boundaries" (Interview 13, 2010) anymore and

[472] The strict courses, the interviewee is referring to, relate to national South African structures which must confirm that a certain programme is allowed to be run by a South African institution and that it meets all necessary requirements. First, universities must approve courses, modules, programmes and qualifications internally through a Senate decision. Then public universities must obtain the approval of the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET) in order to include programmes and qualifications in the institutions' Programme Quality Mix (PQM). Programmes must then be accredited by the Council for Higher Education's (CHE) standing committee, the Higher Education Quality Committee (HEQC), which is in charge of quality assurance. And qualifications must be finally registered by the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) (http://sun025.sun.ac.za/portal/page/portal/Administrative_Divisions/INB/Home/New%20Programmes [retrieved 6 August 2013]).

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the participation in international conferences and networking were particularly highlighted. This was considered advantageous, firstly, for individual academics (and students), secondly, for the reputation of the HEIs the individuals belong to, thirdly, for the formation of global citizens, and fourthly, for the advancement of science in general (e.g. Interviews 4, 7, 13, 17, 22, 28, 34, 39, 2010; 46, 2011).

The sharing of resources, of information, expertise, knowledge, capacity and experiences and more openness and willingness to engage with and learn from one another were also linked to the inter- and transnationalization of SU (e.g. Interviews 13, 14, 16, 20, 33, 37, 2010). Partnering among HEIs, for example for the reason of bringing different and complementary strengths (such as equipment or teaching modules) to the partnership, and creating synergies in order to enhance the relevance of research and teaching were interpreted as extremely positive and cost-efficient results of the globalization of higher education, especially in the context of so-called developing countries. The role of Africa for SU's international relations was emphasized in almost every interview, following the logic of SU's "science for society" approach and the official relevance rhetoric of the Hope Project[473]. An intermingling of internationalization with regionalization, therefore, and an impressively broad consensus around SU's self-conception as an African university and its contribution to a scientific footprint in Africa among those interviewed – students, professors as well as administrators and management (although at times critical and cynical regarding the Hope Project) – came to light. Yet, this language of cooperation and cooperative resource management as represented, for example, in many of SU's Africa related projects, came along with a market-related competitive ideology around benchmarking, niche areas, rankings and increasing SU's international reputation. The establishment of a "brand of excellence that attracts the best students to stay in an African university" (Interviewee 24, 2010, professor) and a brand of research excellence that helps to attract (international) funding and to increase the institution's "global footprint" (Interviewee 20, 2010, manager) was deemed important. Rector Russel Botman even proposed that, in a fast changing world, competition and collaboration should be brought together to make a difference to the world:

> "[B]ut what it will mean to the identity of a university over time that is going to be the challenge, because we build these brands as competitive not as a brand for collaboration. [...] How to turn all these brands into partnerships will be an interesting thing. Because up to now, [...] the partnership part is very small in it, because the universities were not ready yet for that." (Interview, 2010)

Partnerships with international universities (mainly in the global North) were considered crucial for SU in building up a level of credibility (Interviews 23, 24, 2010), for example through the awarding of joint degrees, and not least also with a view to the institution's attempts of transformation and overcoming the injustices of the past (Interview 39, 2010). And "of course it pushes the attention on you if you are associated with reputable institutions, which says you can't be too bad. [...] It's the Star Alliance network" (Interview 4, 2010).

> "[I]t is about who wishes to associate with you also. If some of the top universities find it worthwhile to work with our academics, it's a compliment and we have to rise to the challenge. It is a way of calibrating

[473] See also Chapter 7.3 on the coming into existence of the Hope Project and Chapter 8.3 on the role of Africa in SU's international relations.

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> yourself, playing in a certain league. We are fortunate that a few very good universities want to work with Stellenbosch and are working with us." (Interview 17, 2010)

As desirable as these partnerships with institutions in the global North had been described by some professors, they are at the same time burdened with some form of power imbalances and the fear of being regarded as the unequal partner, who has to one-sidedly adapt to the procedures and measurements of the institutions in the North and who has nothing more to contribute than an interesting environment for interesting research, a laboratory in the backyard: "So, I think in terms of our own globalization and international partnerships we are always faced with the challenge of being real partners rather than just being an add-on or a place where data collection can be done" (Interview 23, 2010; see also Interviews 8, 10, 23, 32, 33, 2010). One SU professor problematized the unidirectional conversion of external phenomena and standards into internal ones, which, from the perspective of SU, restricted an orientation towards other parts of the world:

> "When the world opened up again, people measured themselves against what happened in Europe and in the USA. So, the North became a kind of measurement for what is good in research and there is nothing inherently bad in that, but I think that different kinds of traditional thinking could benefit perhaps even more or contribute even more towards relationships in other parts of world." (Interview 8, 2010)

It was, after all, for its own (also financial) survival – and this is in accordance with the rationales for internationalizing SU that had been identified in Chapter 7 – to create a strong local university with an internationally convincing image, to recruit good students, to retain good academics by offering an attractive academic environment and to be able to cooperate with key international institutions and academics. The Hope Project, with its attempt to internationally advertise SU as the South African "University of Hope", was a good example of strategic institutional branding, as "[SU] wants to be an international University that is recognized and benchmarked against some of the best, but it simultaneously wants to use the research to serve societies" (Interview 13, 2010).

The fact that SU (until 2010) did not feature in the most popular international rankings of HEIs was brought up in the interviews again and again. It was mostly explained with SU's insularity during the apartheid past. It also related to the fear of being good only in one's own local terms. Julian Smith, the Vice Rector for Community Interaction and Personnel, for example, stated:

> "[Y]ou cannot just be good in your own terms, you need to benchmark and you need to compare [...] it's generally our approach that we like to be compared with the best in the world, not just locally. [...] So, we are recognized as an important University standing for excellence and having pockets of great excellence, and we are playing on the international field, I think." (Interview, 2010)

International partnerships and the aspiration of playing in a certain league, therefore, were also seen as a counter-strategy against the self-satisfaction and self-centredness that was regarded a typical SU characteristic in the past (Interview 28, 2010).

According to one SU professor, all the top universities in South Africa were carefully watching the rankings. As a consequence of the globalization of higher education, the reference group had changed from South African institutions to international ones (Interview 7, 2010). The same yardstick seemed to be applied to the whole world (Interview 28, 2010).

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> "That competition has heated up because of the rankings and because of the biases in the rankings. Now this university has taken a slightly less utilitarian view of excellence in saying that the University's efforts and the academic product, be that a graduate or a publication, must bear some relevance and must have some benefit for the local and the continental environment." (Interview 22, 2010)

Bringing an international perspective into the local teaching and research context through international students and lecturers was another prominent aspect in the interviews. Especially in a rather homogenous undergraduate body, such as SU's at the time of interviewing (2010 to 2012) (largely made of the white middle class), internationalization paved the way for an influx of alternative ideas, fresh perspectives and a broader world view as well as for new teaching techniques (e.g. Interviews 4, 12, 20, 23, 33, 34, 37, 2010). This formed part of an "internationalization at home" approach, which was considered important as the majority of SU's students would financially not be able to spent parts of their studies abroad.[474] Also the quality of higher education had been addressed by the interviewees (e.g. Interviews 7, 22, 26, 2010). The Vice Rector (Teaching), for example, mentioned a certain form of pressure that the exposure of SU to the international university world entailed:

> "Higher Education is an international business. You are just much more exposed internationally in terms of your quality. So, there is no way that any university in South Africa can run the risk of lowering standards or of not putting graduates out there that can actually compete well." (Interview, 2010)

With a view to international research collaborations, the interviewees coherently stated that the international had been part of SU's research function all along and continued to do so – for expertise as well as funding opportunities (e.g. Interviews 4, 5, 14, 17, 20, 33, 34, 37, 40, 2010). As SU academics had been predominantly publishing in English, international publishing took place a lot.[475] One interviewee stated:

> "By and large there is co-publication with the European continent, the British Isles, North America, Canada included. Now, whether in fact that happens a lot in practice is the question. And I think in terms of globalization, this University does not exploit co-publication with the English-speaking world as much as they could have or should have, should they wish to rank higher in the international rankings. If globalization was your main aim, your main goal, you should be doing that." (Interview 22, 2010)[476]

Not only was this appraisal quite in contrast to SU's rhetorical commitment regarding the role of the African continent for SU's self-understanding (co-publishing with colleagues from Africa rarely happened). The fact that international rankings and SU's "ambitions of international recognition" (Interview 17, 2010) were repeatedly referred to accentuates once more SU's dual interest in the local (regional) and international level. What appears on paper with a view to approaching internationalization on the institutional level (e.g. the focus on Africa), therefore, is not necessarily congruent with what happens on the individual level (e.g. publishing in international journals, being involved in non-Africa related research projects, applying for an NRF rating, which values international reputation but not one's Africa

[474] See also Chapter 8.3.1 on international students at SU.
[475] The South African government incentivized publications in international journals through its funding formula for subsidizing HEIs, in particular through the publications output component, as well as through the NRF rating system of individual scholars, which acknowledged their international reputation. In addition, international publications were counted for the international university rankings. So, SU incentivized international publications in the attempt to feature there. See also Chapter 8.2.3 on institutional incentives for internationalization.
[476] See also Mouton (2010: 247ff) on research output in South Africa, its visibility and foreign co-authorship.

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commitment). Yet, and this was mentioned by one of SU's professors, in order to become internationally active on an individual level it is a prerequisite to have not only the expertise and the resources but also the time. "While this might be true for a few individuals in general, I think, staff is so kind of occupied and overwhelmed by the amount of work that they have to do it's quite difficult to take up and maintain all these international links" (Interview 31, 2010; see also Interview 15, 2010).

Different rationales on the level of academics and the institutional level

The second key realization from the interview material concerns the relation between the different levels of a university. Internationalization practically happens, first of all, on the individual level (e.g. Interviews 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 25, 26, 28, 33, 37, 39, 2010). Thus, it is usually on an individual basis that joint undertakings get started, and it is through the careers of academics and researchers that internationalization is lived. Any institutional strategy of internationalization is, therefore, to a considerable extent dependent on what happens on the level of individual academics and their departmental and faculty environments. It was in this line of thought that one of SU's NRF A-rated scholars stressed the fact that in order to initiate international contacts, it is necessary to have the financial means available to make collaboration possible.

> "I think, people have to get those kinds of things funded, so that I can say, I want to invite so and so from such a university so that we can sit and work together. That's not always easy. It's much easier to go to the International Office and say, guys we want an agreement with [this, SB] university, and then it works. [...] I think, there should be ways driving it the other way round [...]. I am in a fortunate position. If you have a good NRF rating, you have access to funds." (Interview 8, 2010)

SU's management and those interviewed from the PGIO did well recognize the fact that, inevitably, all "institutional" cooperation can only be through individuals, who are doing the work (Interviews 1, 2, 37, 39, 2010). At the same time, they expressed that it is on the institutional level that internationalization must be given a formal framework. Any "individual" cooperation immediately gets some form of institutional status, because the people involved are staff members of a certain university. The central management of a university has the task to strategically internationalize in the interest of the whole institution, by following a certain agenda and by fostering particular forms of internationalization, thus pooling resources in a common direction. One of the deans expounded:

> "In this University, that kind of initiative will come from below rather than from above. It's not the kind of thing that management will push on to departments. [...] I actually think that the major driving force in the University is in the academic department. [...] And the structure above [...] is an enabling structure to do its work. I don't see a lot of central direction. The problem with this structure is that you are not always pulling in the same direction." (Interview 28, 2010)

Both of these forms of internationalization, institutional as well as individual, therefore do happen. Internationalizing an institution, however, is different from individual international research careers, as individual interests in internationalization are not necessarily identical with strategies on the institutional level. Not all activities on the individual level may fit into an overall institutional internationalization strategy (or even the goals of one particular faculty), howsoever overarching it is structured. The same dean with regards to his faculty used the

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metaphor of “warring tribes” to illustrate the power relations even within the faculty and the role of the dean in bringing the different parties together:

> “There can be a lot of competition and fraction between these strong groupings. And one of my colleagues said, we are not really a Faculty, we are not really a team, we are a loose alliance of warring tribes. So, the dean is now the head of this loose alliance of warring tribes, and his job is to [...] try to minimize the conflict between the tribes so that we have the same end goals. And we work towards the same end goals, and we cooperate towards that as far as we can.” (Interview 28, 2010)

As a result, it is a continuous process of adaptation and negotiation between the institutional (or faculty) level, an International Office as intermediary and facilitating institution and those internationally active academics at departments (and faculties) in order to avoid that one’s strategy does not hamper the other’s and vice versa. Additionally, the processes may follow different rhythms. It can, for example, be taken for granted that international relations on the individual, departmental and faculty level have already existed before an institution decides to define an official internationalization strategy. Once an institutional strategy towards internationalization has been approved and is officially implemented at a certain point in time, it may, for example, lead to some forms of internationalization being superseded by other forms of internationalization (because, for example, a certain geographical region is not in the focus of the [new] strategy). The rising role of Africa in SU’s international relations, for example, which can be considered as an institutional internationalization strategy has most probably led to the (temporary?) supersession of other areas of interest on the individual level. Certain channels of internationalization may, as a result and over time, “become silent”, however, without disappearing completely, as they may well continue to exist on the level of individual academics. Thus, they could reappear (or be reactivated) in case of a change of institutional strategies.

As a result, internationalization could be described as a number of potentialities, which only need to be discovered or made visible by the institution as a whole. If the gap between international initiatives on the level of individual academics in the departments and faculties and the moment when an official internationalization strategy is started to be defined, is too wide, intra-institutional suspense-packed power struggles over institutional foci, priorities, the distribution of available institutional funding and not least about the importance of different university units are bound to occur. In the worst case, this may lead to an incapability of acting, e.g. when international projects (with funding expected from external sources) had been approved by central management, including the often expected promise by the funding bodies that the project would be sustained after external funding has dried up.

One of the key questions in that regard concerns governance and strategizing at a HEI. To what extent is the institution capable of including individual initiatives into an overall strategy? And what happens if an innovative idea with an international outreach does not fit into the current internationalization strategy? Will it disappear and be lost for the institution? Or will there be means and ways to support it anyway? The Hope Project, as has been demonstrated, could be interpreted as an institutional attempt to offer a common framework, into which a majority of stakeholders could buy in. It helped management to control the diffuse chaos so typical for HEIs. The central positioning, for example, of the ideas of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences around African doctoral training and creating Africa’s

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next generation of academics (and others, such as the Africa Centre on HIV/AIDS management or the Africa Centre for Dispute Settlement) within the hope initiative was a clever stroke of SU's management. For the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, the seed money came at the right moment in order to breathe life into the ideas of Dean Hennie Kotzé and his colleagues at the faculty. The role of incentive funding in order for people to at least rhetorically buy into a larger institutional initiative (such as the R320 million seed money for flagship projects that would later subsumed under the Hope Project) cannot be underestimated (Interview 14, 2010). The Hope Project built on existing strengths created, for example, with the help of earlier NRF funding. So, the already existing institutional and individual strengths were intermingled with the Hope Project. It would, however, become a problem if the latter claimed everything as own initiative or as success due to the central Hope Project. On the one hand, the nature of the Hope Project was to enhance, to help and to accelerate. This means, many things would have happened whether or not there was a Hope Project. But on the other hand, the fact that such good progress was made (e.g. with the initiatives of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences around African doctoral training and other projects) was also partly due to the Hope Project's injections.

A Beginning Process of Transnationalization

A third observation from the interviews relates to a beginning transnationalization, especially (but not only) of the teaching function at SU. While the promotion of incoming and outgoing mobility of students and lecturers had been the main focus of what would be called internationalization, new ways of addressing the global in higher education and new forms of collaboration between SU and international partner HEIs became increasingly important, in particular over the second half of the 2010s. SU started to become more involved in transnational endeavours, in a process of transnationalization, e.g. through border-crossing teaching and wider research experiences and, as has been shown, through the increasing involvement in the conferring of joint and double degrees.

In order to get more systematic information on the different manifestations of the transnational at SU, the researcher, in addition to the semi-structured interviews, used a standardized questionnaire. Only deans, vice deans and active professors were asked to complete the questionnaires, as explained in the method's part.[477] The information collected with that questionnaire covers nine out of ten of SU's faculties, excluding the Faculty of Military Science.[478] It allows drawing tentative conclusions on what (international and transnational) activities in the fields of teaching and learning, research and innovation as well community interaction were practiced in 2010 at the various institutional environments

[477] The questionnaire was not completed by the representatives of the Rector's management team, nor by those interviewed from the PGIO, the Research Division, from Student Support or by students. Some of the interviewed professors were not able to complete the questionnaire for time reasons. One dean, the dean of the Faculty of Theology, was not interviewed but he was asked to complete the questionnaire and send it back to the researcher via e-mail, what he did. A total of 17 questionnaires were completed (eleven of them by deans or vice deans of the faculties) and used for the study. An overview of the responses is provided in Appendix 2.

[478] The Faculty of Military Sciences has a special status, as it is most of all run by the South African Defence Force (SADF). As explained above, representatives from the Faculty of Military Sciences unfortunately did not complete the questionnaire sent to the dean's office via e-mail several times.

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(faculties, institutes, etc.) and since when (or not yet), but also on which programmes or parts of the University were not (yet) subject of transnationalization.

It must be emphasized, however, that the overview of the answers gives no precise picture. In some categories deans and vice deans from the same faculty would differ in their answers. They differed, for example, in the question whether at the faculty active recruitment of foreign students was taking place (Education), regarding the question whether a "diversification of the SU curriculum through the incorporation of modules from international institutions" was happening (Education), whether at the faculty distance education was practiced or whether there existed international accreditation for certain programmes (both examples from the Faculty of Science). Sometimes academics would contradict the answer given by the dean of the same faculty. One explanation for the observed differences could be that there were initiatives and activities going on among academics from SU and their individual networks in other countries that the deans were not aware of. It could equally mean, however, that the understanding of certain phenomena – for example transnational activities in the field of teaching that were slowly on the rise in 2010 – was still rather limited or differed, which may have resulted in misunderstandings regarding the posed questions.

What became bluntly obvious from the answers to the questionnaire was that the transnationalization of research was far more advanced (and incentivized on the institutional level) than the transnationalization of teaching and learning or community interaction. This was not unexpected as the strengthening of the University's research function and the establishment of SU as one of the top South African universities and as an internationally renowned research institution had already been the strategic focus from the 1990s onwards. Many of the mentioned activities in the questionnaire related to research had been practiced for a long time, in many cases predating the South African change of 1990/1994. All faculties, for example, were involved in joint publishing with colleagues from non-South African universities, and its members published in international journals (also incentivized by the South African state). Also international research collaborations in Africa (with the exception of the Faculty of Law) and also beyond Africa were common practice. All faculties were involved in cross-border research networks or consortia. Third stream income from non-South African sources was received by all faculties and also from transnational companies (with the exception of the Faculties of Education, Economics and Theology).[479] Research of international scope, according to the faculties' representatives, was carried out at all faculties. International reviews of research were happening at all faculties, not least through a possible rating of individual academics by the NRF. International referees were also involved in different kinds of research activities at all faculties, for example, to examine PhDs (a system which SU had already been using for decades).[480]

[479] According to the Senior Director (Research and Innovation), Therina Theron, international funding and obtaining international funding for research had developed as a very big focus in SU's Research Development Division over the first decade of the 2000s. A lot of capacity had been build in terms of how to prepare proposals for joint projects and how to access funds through collaborations (Interview, 2010; see also Interview 37, 2010).

[480] Under the rectorship of Chris Brink, the examination process, however, was changed insofar as the supervisor of a study was no longer allowed to act as examiner. All examiners from then on had to be external to the study. The introduction of this examination model had resulted from Brink's experiences in Great Britain and Australia and the examination procedures of PhDs there. The model was expected to better assure quality.

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In contrast to the early transnationalization of research, the transnationalization of teaching (namely the participation of different institutions in joint degree programmes and related activities, such as joint teaching, the joint development of curricula and learning materials with partner HEIs involved) was a rather new phenomenon and only about to start at the faculties of SU when this research project was carried out. Internationally, it was in the last decades of the 20th century and the early 2010s that transnationalization in the teaching function started to become visible. It appeared in the form of foreign elements in national higher education contexts, for example, as a consequence of the European Commission's Erasmus Mundus programmes at the beginning of the 2010s and through a new generation of academics exploring new forms of collaboration even more extensively.[481]

While at SU the decade of the 1990s had been mainly dedicated to an upgrade of research, the first half of the 2010s was additionally centred on improving the teaching function. This was done by introducing a focus on the learner and by establishing a number of support services to cater for an increasingly diverse student body. SU was one of the first HEIs in South Africa to adopt a teaching and learning strategy in 2002 (Leibowitz and Adendorff 2007). Its implementation mainly followed the rationale of good student outputs, through increasing the institutional throughput rate as well as to limit dropouts.[482]

By 2010 SU slowly started to embark on the train of the transnationalization of teaching. On the undergraduate level, for example, joint degree programmes were non-existent at SU. On the postgraduate level, they had only started in the second half of the 2010s, e.g. in the framework of Erasmus Mundus programmes. As a result of joint teaching programmes, as described in Chapter 8.2.4, it had become possible to award joint and double degrees on the master's and on the doctoral level involving partner institutions, which can be regarded as the highest form of transnational cooperation. As this became only possible at SU in mid-2009, many respondents ticked "not yet" in the questionnaire, indicating that in their respective environments discussions about becoming involved in such joint initiatives had already started. Those faculties, in which certain institutes and academics were involved in these kinds of joint undertakings with non-South African partner institutions, confirmed that along with the coming into existence of a formal joint graduate programme a couple of hurdles need to be passed. They included several kinds of harmonization processes between the institutions involved, e.g. on the level of teaching contents, of requirements, or with regard to dealing with common problems, such as e.g. plagiarism.[483] The harmonization of student assessments with partner institutions, however, was nowhere discussed. This can be explained insofar as assessments were national South African standards that an individual institution must follow. Equally not happening were joint events, such as a jointly organized opening or closing ceremony with partner institutions. All respondents confirmed that studies and examinations carried out in the framework of international mobility and exchanges had been recognized already for quite some time. Distance education, according to the answers of the deans and vice deans, was only happening at the Faculties of

[481] See also Chapter 2.4.
[482] As explained earlier, the teaching output of an institution was important with regards to the subsidies paid by the South African state on the basis of its funding formula (de Villiers and Steyn 2007; CHE 2007).
[483] See overview on the answers to the questionnaire in Appendix 2.

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Education, Arts and Social Sciences and Medicine and Health Sciences.[484] And only the Faculties of Theology and Agricultural Sciences delivered education programmes abroad. International accreditation played a role in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, in the Faculty of Economics and the Faculty of Engineering. This is exemplified in SU's Business School, as described earlier. As only a limited number of joint teaching programmes were run on the master's level in 2010, many of them in the framework of Erasmus Mundus Action 1 programmes, in which SU had been one of the consortium partners (Table 3), the interviewees rather referred to joint teaching experiences with international guest lecturers that spent some time at SU. The latter happened regularly at all of SU's faculties. This form of joint teaching, however, was considered rather incidental, on a short-term basis and frequently as a once off undertaking without a sustaining impact on the teaching function (e.g. Interviews 4, 5, 2010). Yet, out of these visits of international academics and resulting return visits or out of other connections from individual networks, more than a few postgraduate projects under co-supervision had evolved (e.g. Interviews 5, 7, 8, 14, 26, 2010). One Vice Rector summarized:

> "So, I think, in terms of our University, there are a few joint formal programmes and then probably with some more universities there would be the recognition of credits across the borders of the campuses. But I don't think, it's that pronounced; it probably could be much more pronounced in the future." (Interview, 2010)

With regards to the third so-called leg of universities, it was only in the second half of the 2010s that the service function, labelled by SU as community interaction (CI) since 2007, had received a major push. The establishment of a Vice Rector responsible for Community Interaction (and Personnel) in 2007 (SU Annual Report 2007: 10) was a structural indicator for SU's ambitions to establish community engagement as a proper core function of the University and to overcome the ivory tower image of the institution by reaching out to the community.[485] According to SU's policy on CI, "building sustainable knowledge partnerships in and with the community" (SU CI Policy 2009: 1) is defined as the third of SU's core functions. Rector Russel Botman, in his introductory speech to the symposium of CI organized by SU in September 2010, had put it in the following way:

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[484] The Faculty of Education, for example, had offered a Bachelor of Education (Honours) through distance education. The Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences offered many master's programmes in modes approaching distance education. Yet, all students had some form of contact tuition during block courses on campus. With regards to the South African government subsidizing higher education through its funding formula, it is important to understand that distance education on the undergraduate and honour's level would only receive 50 percent of the state subsidy. At the master's and doctoral levels no distinction was made between contact and distance education; all programmes would get 100 percent subsidy. It is for this reason that SU formally did not offer any single distance education programme at the first named levels. Master's and doctoral programmes, on the other hand, were not classified as distance or contact education at SU. The question on distance education was thus difficult to answer for the interviewees and produced inconclusive results from the questionnaires.

[485] On the choice of terminology, SU's policy on community interaction states: "Internationally the term "community engagement" is commonly used to describe the mechanism through which teaching and research is integrated into a university's engagement with and in society. The University prefers the term "community interaction" that offers in essence the same meaning as community engagement, but with an emphasis on reciprocity between the University and the community. The term [...] describes in the broadest sense the process of interaction between the University and communities" (SU CI Policy 2009: 4).

Table 3: Collaborative Teaching Programmes at SU

Erasmus Mundus Programmes	Coordinating Institution	SU Partnership Status	Period
International Vintage Master of Science: Vine, Wine and Terroir Management	Angers Higher Agricultural Education Institute (Groupe ESA), France	Full partner	2007-
Vinifera Euromaster (MSc Viticulture & Oenology)	Montpellier Supagro (International Centre for Higher Education In Agricultural Sciences), France	Associate partner	2010-
SUFONAMA: Erasmus Mundus Master Course in Sustainable Forest and Nature Management	University of Copenhagen, Denmark	Associate partner	2012-
EMMAPA: Erasmus Mundus Master in Adapted Physical Activity	KU Leuven, Belgium	Full partner	2007-
EMGS - Global Studies - A European Perspective	Leipzig University, Germany	Full partner	2008-
ALGANT: International Integrated Master course in Algebra, Geometry and Number Theory	University of Bordeaux 1, France	Full partner	2010-
Master in Applied Ethics	Linköping University, Sweden		2007-
TRANSGLOBE: International Doctorate in Transdisciplinary Global Health Solutions	VU Amsterdam, the Netherlands	Associate partner	2013-
Other Collaborative Programmes	**Coordinating Institution**	**SU Partnership Status**	**Period**
Joint International Master in Sustainable Development	Karl Franzens University Graz, Austria	Associate partner	2013-
Master in International Politics	Jointly offered by SU, the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) and Bjørknes College	Full partner	2010-2013
Oenodoc international doctorate in oenology and viticulture	University of Bordeaux Segalen, France	Full partner	2010-
Double Degree Master Development Economics	Jointly offered by SU and Georg August University Göttingen, Germany	Full partner	2012-
Double Degree Master German as a Foreign Language	Jointly offered by SU and Leipzig University, Germany	Full partner	2011-

Source: table provided by the PGIO in January 2014.

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> "[C]ommunity interaction is not an optional add-on. Community interaction becomes essential for excelling in both research and in learning & teaching. Community interaction contributes to an environment where student learning is enriched and research relevance is enhanced. This is how universities become role models in society, how they begin to change the lives of the people. It is important because excellence in itself can be empty and dry if you don't ask excellence for whom and for what purpose. We look at excellence in research and excellence in learning & teaching to see it connected to the community interaction work that we are doing." (Botman, 2 September 2010)

Emphasizing the relevance of a university's output and the application of science to the needs of the community may be particular to the context of a developing country. In the case of SU, it is in addition a rhetorical commitment to overcoming parts of its history and the role the University played in producing the ideology of apartheid (see also SU CI Policy 2009). This goes again in line with one of the rationales of the Hope Project. The Vice Rector for CI and Personnel, Julian Smith, summarized:

> "[W]e have [...] migrated from a very anarchical, chaotic approach to community engagement: everybody does what they think is good either as an individual or as student volunteers or as staff volunteers or in interaction with industry and so on. We have started three or four years ago to move towards greater coherence, and we have introduced service learning, for example, which has expanded quite rapidly which means students get exposed to communities outside [...]. [H]aving established a sort of a national leadership role we must now also make an impact in the global community." (Interview, 2010)

Asked about the impact of globalization and internationalization on community engagement, one respondent stated:

> "I think, the impact on community engagement is actually minimal. In the cases where I have been involved – in liaison with universities on the European continent even in Britain, to a lesser extent American universities – community engagement is actually no serious part of the mission. They would have first and foremost a research mission and a teaching mission perhaps. But community engagement is something new. That's something less significant in terms of a globalization agenda at this point in time, I would say." (Interview 22, 2010)

This interviewee, it can be said, is correct to some extent, but there are new trends ongoing all over the world in this regard, which might put the statement in new light.[486] If one looks once again at SU's policy on CI, its alignment with the global higher education context as well as the local, national and global development agenda are highlighted, and especially the link to the UN's Millennium Development Goals is stressed (SU CI Policy 2009).

It is striking that there was large consent among the interviewees regarding SU being a relevant institution aimed at solving the current problems of humankind and with a special focus on Africa. All respondents agreed that SU was increasingly taking responsibility for the local, regional and national South African community and in addition for the African continent. Problem-solving in Africa, especially in the SADC region, was on the agenda of all of SU's faculties. This is obviously in connection with the "science for society" approach that SU had adopted and which had manifested itself in the Hope Project. SU explicitly participated in

[486] Engagement with local *and* international communities is increasingly encouraged, for example, by a number of American universities (e.g. by Ohio State University, Cornell University, http://outreach.osu.edu/for-faculty-and-staff/awards.html; https://mannlib.cornell.edu/library-services/services-international-community [retrieved 12 December 2013]) as well as in other regions (see also the edited volume of Imman and Schuetz [2010] or the position paper on Universities and Community Engagement by the Australian Universities Community Engagement Alliance [2008]).

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South African nation-building. However, as one respondent stressed by referring to what Russel Botman had said, CI should not be misunderstood as something different from what the academics are doing anyway. It should reflect their research and teaching and it should make accessible to the community what they are doing (Interview 8, 2010).

According to SU's community interaction website and its database on SU's CI projects[487], there were a total of 140 projects in 2010, mainly maintained by nine of SU's faculties (the Faculty of Military Science was not involved in any project). The Faculties of Agricultural Sciences, Arts and Social Sciences and Sciences had the largest share.[488] The majority of CI projects had a local/sub-national scope. Only 20 out of the 140 projects in 2010 had an international scope and explicitly addressed a community that was not only located within the borders of the South African state. Among them were eight projects with an exclusive international scope.[489] The ten flagship projects in the field of CI that were selected by the University in 2008 all had a local/sub-national scope, with the exception of the earlier mentioned Africa Centre for HIV/AIDS Management.[490]

The community service function, it can be argued, is the least developed area with a view to the university's transnationalization. Yet, as the CI projects and the addressees of them showed, a certain number of activities address communities not located in direct proximity of the University. The projects with an international outreach included most of all African Research Centres and scientific advisory as well as the involvement of professors in NGOs and editorships of international scientific journals.

The outcomes of the questionnaire and related information lead to the conclusion that at SU the transnationalization of the research function was well under way in 2010. It was accompanied by a beginning transnationalization of the teaching and community engagement functions. Many of the developments at SU built on the observation and adoption of international trends in higher education, such as collaborative study programmes, which had evolved in the EU during the 1990s and which were further promoted by the European Commission's Erasmus Mundus Programme.

8.5 Conclusion: From Institutionalizing Internationalization to New Forms of International Collaboration

Given the opportunities in the new South Africa after the regime change and the euphoria from abroad with regards to South African higher education development, SU's early emphasis on new practices of dealing with the international was a promising undertaking. The chapter on internationalization and transnationalization at SU has at first discussed the institutionalization and formalization of internationalization at the University. It looked at the rationale and the procedure for the establishment of an International Office and its

[487] See http://admin.sun.ac.za/CIDB/home.aspx [retrieved 12 December 2013].
[488] See http://admin.sun.ac.za/cimi/ [retrieved 12 December 2013].
[489] The figures are based on data provided by the responsible for SU's community interaction projects database in December 2013. Regarding project scope, no distinction was made between Africa and beyond Africa. The projects with an exclusive international scope included, for example, the Centre for Bible Interpretation and Translation in Africa, Agribusiness in Sustainable Natural African Plant Products (ASNAPP), NetACT (Network for African Congregational Theology) and serving on NGO's boards whose outreach is local, national and international.
[490] See http://www.sun.ac.za/english/ci/projects/ci-flagship-projects [retrieved 12 December 2013].

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development in the decades of the 1990s and 2010s. With the early establishment of an institutional structure dedicated to international affairs, SU institutionalized and formalized internationalization and substantiated that it should be pursued purposefully. While the IO's initial brief was to facilitate exchange and mobility, its duties had grown and expanded over the first decade of the 2000s, for example with regard to the offering of study abroad programmes, the IPSU courses, summer and winter schools and short programmes. To that part of duties, the additional responsibility of the provision of postgraduate student services was added with the restructuring and extension of the IO into the Postgraduate and International Office (PGIO) in 2010. New activities, relating to the development and implementation of joint teaching programmes with non-South African partner institutions, e.g. in the framework of the Erasmus Mundus master's and doctoral programmes, were integrated. Furthermore, it was the involvement of SU in international and, in particular, African networks that had been strengthened through the creation of an own section within the PGIO (and not least also in terms of personnel with a responsible for International Academic Networks and one for African Academic Networks). It is, amongst others, anchored in that same section what this work regards as processes of transnationalization. Networks have become an increasingly attractive way of sharing the training of students, of cooperating in research and even in doing service to the community. The presented PANGeA network and joint activities in the field of doctoral training at SU's Graduate School are paramount examples.

Internationalization at SU can be interpreted as part of a larger strategy to reposition SU nationally and internationally as an institution of high quality teaching and high-level research after the end of apartheid. It was conducive for the establishment as well as for the maintenance of SU as a research-led university. Throughout the whole period under investigation (1990 to 2010), the diversification of income sources had also been among the major driving forces for the process. SU had been actively seeking money in order to realize its ideas, as in the case of the Hope Project as fundraising campaign. Yet, the understanding of the rationales of internationalization differed. Representatives of the PGIO, for example, rejected the idea of income generation as driving force of internationalization (even though the sources have stated otherwise). From the perspective of the IO/PGIO, internationalization had always been a goal in itself (discussion, October 2013).

The subsequent section has addressed the institutional handling of processes of internationalization, and it considered the question how the different levels of SU were interacting with one another. It has taken a look at how SU, on the level of central management, steered and governed processes of internationalization, especially those taking place on the level of individual academics, departments and faculties. Elements of steering and governing included the International Office as intermediary institution, policies for internationalization, technical tools to manage networks, partnerships and projects as well as incentives set up to foster international activities. Countering the rather centralized narration of SU's internationalization from the perspective of the IO/the PGIO, the chapter took a look on a few international projects that were initiated and/or run on the level of faculties, departments or individuals. Among them were projects that also had gained

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prominence in the framework of the Hope Project. In so doing, the chapter hypothesized that the better the central management of an institution understands to integrate activities and ideas from the levels below central management into an overall institutional strategy (yet without creating a corset that does not leave any space for the free development of the individual academic), the higher the probability of a buy-in by those individuals representing the different levels and, as a result, the better the institutional success in terms of internationalization and international institutional visibility. As has been demonstrated on the basis of the activities at the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences in the area of African doctoral training and creating Africa's next generation of academics, it was a clever stroke by SU's management to centrally position ideas from within the faculties as elements of the Hope Project. This was part of an attempt to integrate the jumble of initiatives into a larger institutional strategy and of coordinating the typical disparities on the faculty, departmental and individual levels so characteristic to institutions of higher education.

The chapter on SU's inter- and transnationalization continued by presenting statistical material on a number of aspects of internationalization, namely international students and academics, cooperation and partnership agreements as well as collaborative projects. These indicators were compared with SU's official Africa commitment, as represented in policy papers, mission and vision statement. What has become evident from the analysis is that the increased focus on Africa was in parts rather rhetorical and by no means encompassing. In SU's international relations, Africa was but one region of interest amongst others. Africa was a main source of international postgraduate students; yet, it was not a major destination for exchange for Stellenbosch students. Visiting scholars largely came from non-African countries, and among the international teaching staff only a tiny number were from other African countries, restricted funding opportunities being the main constraint. As a result of limited intra-African mobility and the long tradition of collaboration with European and American HEIs, also co-supervision of students merely happened with non-African academics, as did co-publishing. Also official partnerships on the institutional as well as on the faculty and departmental level with African universities were rather limited, though slowly on the rise. Smaller collaborative projects in research and innovation, teaching and learning as well as community interaction, however, happened in great numbers among SU academics and colleagues from other African countries. They were incentivized through the intra-institutional mechanisms for the allocation of resources. In the case of SU, Africanization was initially only an add-on to the established partnerships with European and US American HEIs. The latter played an important role with regards to new sources of income (e.g. through international student exchange, study abroad, and research cooperation) and in view of exploiting joint research and publishing opportunities more aggressively in order to increase SU's international reputation. Yet, strengthening Africa in SU's international relations, together with the Hope Project and the rising focus on CI as an explicit third function of the University, was a form of addressing national transformation. It was also a way of rendering new sources (e.g. from philanthropic organizations) and new partnerships or projects with universities in the global North accessible (SU as "preferential

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portal to Africa"). As a matter of fact, it can be concluded that different regions in SU's international relations fulfilled different purposes.

The chapter concluded by summarizing the main findings of the semi-structured qualitative interviews and the attached standardized questionnaire with regards to SU's inter- and transnationalization from the perspective of various SU stakeholders, of which the following main conclusions can be drawn: Firstly, the understanding of internationalization (and transnationalization) differed much between individuals. To define the concepts is, therefore, a challenging undertaking, which easily impedes further insights into the processes. Secondly, internationalization is driven by individuals in departments and faculties. The extent to which decentralized activities are integrated into a comprehensive and central institutional strategy seems to determine its success. Thirdly, based on the semi-structured qualitative interviews, the related standardized questionnaires and additional information from different University divisions on existing activities in the framework of inter- and transnationalization, a push towards transnationalization, in particular in the teaching and learning function of SU, was found.

Comparing the findings on SU's internationalization endeavour between 1990 and 2010 with the reforms and developments in higher education on the national South African level, as outlined in Chapter 6, the most interesting conclusion is SU's early effort to deal with international trends in higher education and to enact a conscious process of internationalization well before it addressed redress. During the first decade of the 2000s, SU has prompted both processes at the same time, its transformation as well as its internationalization.

The way SU has addressed its internationalization after 1990 followed the same sequences of steps observed by de Wit (2002) on the internationalization of higher education in Europe and the USA (see Chapter 4.2), however, with the difference that the respective phases replaced each other much faster. At the beginning of the 1990s, internationalization at SU appeared as an incidental, individual and voluntarist activity, yet being grounded in some form of organized institutional activity and bilateral exchange arrangements reaching back to the pre-1990 era[491]. With the creation of an institutional structure dealing with internationalization processes on the institutional level, it became an organized and a conscious activity that was carried out for a distinct set of purposes. At the end of the 1990s, internationalization became increasingly systematic and strategic while, over the first decade of the 2000s, a growing attempt to integrate the different kinds of international activities on the institutional level into overall strategies could be observed.

The majority of actors is aware of the strategic role of internationalization and transnationalization at SU. Yet, a continuous empirical observation of its further development and a comparison with experiences from other institutional contexts are of vital importance, as higher education is a dynamic field, which does not only depend on local parameters.

[491] For further details see Chapter 5.2.4 on SU's internationalization prior to 1990.

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Chapter 9: Concluding Remarks on University Politics under the Impact of Societal Transformation and Global Processes in South Africa and at Stellenbosch University (1990–2010)

This dissertation concludes with a summary of what has been discussed. Next to highlighting the main findings of the different parts, this final chapter will contextualize the South African higher education experience and that of Stellenbosch University globally and will outline further research that would be warranted in the broader framework of the research question.

On the theoretical level, this study demonstrated the erosion of the national as *the only* appropriate frame of reference for the analysis of social processes in the recent phase of globalization. Here, the author's interest in different spatial framings and references went beyond the often-cited denial of the nation-state within the current wave of globalization. The author argued that spatial layers do not disappear but that they are part of a rapid process of reconfiguration, spurred by different forms of de- and reterritorialization that go along with the creation and dissolution of hierarchic relations between the respective layers. These spatial reconfigurations unveil a particular impact in times of societal transformation, as in South Africa. And they require special competencies among the actors involved. Therefore, this study traced the impact of the different spatial references of the local and the national level for the field of university politics. It asked, in particular, how the local related to the national and both of them to the regional and the global. Simultaneous spatial references to the different spatial layers were imagined as proof of multiple realities and different strategic interests within higher education and among all actors involved. For example, the intensification of internationalization processes in higher education over the last decades and emerging processes of transnationalization were identified as expressions of a shift in the relative importance of the different spatial orientations for HEIs. At the same time, the South African government repeatedly limited border-transcending activities in higher education in the attempt to protect the nation-state. Thus, the study has looked at the different actors that were exercising control (or attempted to assert power) in the process of reconstructing South African higher education and at how they acted in the tangle of proposals and negotiations. Next to HEIs and government, these actors included the commissioners in the National Commission on Higher Education, international experts as well as different groups representing South African higher education.

The literature review in Chapter 2 on the internationalization and transnationalization of higher education revealed that related terms and categories were used ambiguously; they were neither consistently developed nor systematically applied. This was especially true for recent developments in the field of higher education, which have been referred to as transnational education. The literature review further indicated that the understanding and meaning of internationalization and transnationalization in higher education varied greatly, depending on the perspective from which they were viewed (e.g. national, institutional, and individual). Grounded in the overview on the term "transnational", the transnational turn in the Social Sciences and the dealing with the transnational in higher education research, the author has argued that research on current higher education developments should be

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broadened. It should include the study of the travelling of ideas, of mutual observation, learning and adoption processes as well as the analysis of actors enabling or hindering these forms of exchange in historical perspective. This could facilitate an exchange between educational historians and current higher education researchers, and it could contribute to a better understanding of how processes of globalization affect the field of higher education.

For the purpose of creating a template against which to read the South African example and that of SU, a generic account of the history of the university with regards to international developments in higher education preceded the case study. The investigation of academic mobility and the international dimension in worldwide higher education, as outlined in Chapter 4, has shown that periods of more international exchange alternated with phases of less international connectedness, also reflecting general socio-political developments. Yet, there is no doubt that throughout the 20th century the international dimension in higher education became more important, especially during the last decades. Additionally, internationalization processes have increasingly become intermingled with processes of transnationalization. In Chapter 4, the conclusion was reached that national higher education systems enter processes of globalization in higher education (and internationalization and transnationalization as expressions of and response to it) at different moments in time and to different extents, largely depending on a country's historical background as well as on socio-economic and political circumstances. The same goes for the HEIs constituting these national systems. The extent and the way of involvement are usually determined by different factors, such as human capacity, structures and facilities and, in particular, the availability of financial resources. HEIs and national higher education systems usually prepare their entrance into processes of globalization by observing other higher education systems and general developments in the field and thus by collecting information on international best practice. As a consequence, change and reform are often legitimized by referring to assumed successful performers in higher education outside of the own country, even though the implications sometimes differ a lot.

Chapter 5 and 6 of the study have provided a historical overview of how "the global" was experienced by South African higher education and how the international dimension in South African higher education developed over time. In particular, the apartheid era has often been described as period of academic isolation. This made some authors refer to South Africa as a "latecomer in international education". However, this research showed that foreign involvement and academic mobility did not stop during apartheid. For SU, as demonstrated in Chapter 5, the international boycott against South Africa and most of all the academic sanctions had only a marginal effect on the incoming and outgoing academic mobility of people, most notably during a short period at the end of the 1980s. On the basis of the interview material collected for this study and the source material from the archive of SU, the often referred to hypotheses of academic isolationism and SU's increasing insularity within South Africa were re-evaluated. The findings of this study on SU's internationalization, furthermore, accentuate that prior to 1990 there were many international activities going on at SU. Some well-established views were, therefore, challenged. Many of the developments in the field of internationalizing higher education during the 1990s built on existing networks,

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contacts and exchanges from the apartheid period and before. As a result, the intuitive hypothesis that apartheid and the consequences this policy brought about in the international community were suppressing internationalization tendencies in South Africa must be complemented by acknowledging a reverse tendency from within some of the universities. Yet, what the source material revealed was an increasing nationalism with a view to the appointment of professors at SU between 1949 and 1989. This, however, reflected major trends worldwide rather than being unique to South Africa.

Chapter 6 investigated the role of globalization processes in reforming South African higher education in the 1990s, and it looked at which external higher education systems were referred to in that context. On the basis of a document analysis, it was demonstrated that the discourse about globalization with an economic imperative had provided the larger context in which higher education reform in South Africa took place. The negotiations around reform were transnationally informed by policies from different parts of the world. The majority of external references found in the analysed policy documents, however, mainly reflected developments in the global North. Yet, the dominance of the American system, as often suggested in the literature, and the hypothesis of the Americanization of worldwide higher education could not be supported. Australia and New Zealand, in particular, were found as important role models, from which South Africa attempted to learn. This was due to the contribution of some individual experts, South Africans as well as international consultants, who appeared as knowledge brokers in the negotiations. Next to the settler-colony link as binding element between Australia and South Africa, the author observed quite some enthusiasm about the assumed efficiency especially of the Australian style to manage universities. What did not play a role in the documents were the transformation experiences in the newly independent states of the former Soviet Union. No mention was made to Eastern European countries or post-1990 discussions among former Soviet scientists and higher education specialists, except for that South Africa should avoid repressive and ideological approaches characteristic to what was perceived as the Soviet higher education model.[492] Yet, this is hardly surprising given the different historical contexts and preconditions as well as the limited opportunities for interaction especially in times of crisis.

Chapter 6.4.4 on South Africa's academic "inter"nationalization post-1990 demonstrated that academic mobility received a major push even though the internationalization of higher education only played a marginal role in the respective policy documents of the 1990s. Especially the attractiveness of South Africa's higher education system to foreign students, mostly from other African countries, resulted in South Africa's positioning among the ten major academic host countries in the world during the 2010s. Also the presence of international academics employed at South African universities had considerably increased between 1990 and 2010. Academics of European origin represented the majority, followed by academics from other African countries. However, the period under investigation did not show the active promotion of internationalization and transnationalization processes by the

[492] Yet, by retrospectively reflecting the reform experiences in South Africa through the book "Transformation in Higher Education – Global Pressures and Local Realities in South Africa", edited by Cloete et al. (2004a) a case study on Central and Eastern Europe was comparatively included as were case studies on Brazil, India, Cameroon, Japan, the USA and Australia.

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South African government. While general policy development during the 1990s had been largely influenced by experiences from different higher education systems in the world, the national government initially did not show a proactive engagement towards the internationalization of higher education or towards many of the transnational developments in teaching, research and community interaction that were slowly appearing on the level of individual HEIs. At the time of writing (2013), there was still no national regulatory framework for the award of joint degrees by South African and foreign universities, for example. Furthermore, South Africa had not liberalized the trade in educational services in the context of the General Agreement on Trade and Services negotiations, which could have facilitated transnational forms of education amongst many other things, such as the commercialization of education and greater competition. The government also raised entry requirements for foreign providers of transnational education, such as branch campuses or transnational universities, as well as the terms and conditions of private HEIs. Given the current developments in worldwide higher education, presented in Chapter 4 on the Bologna Process and new forms of higher education provision, one could have argued that globalization processes lead to new forms of the convergence and homogenization of academic norms and measurements, which has been referred to as “isomorphism” in the literature. In South Africa, however, these developments were initially registered with a lot of scepticism and caution. It was feared that they could endanger the process of post-apartheid nation-building, of increasing equity and equal access. Thus, the government had increased its influence on the public higher education system and its institutions with a firm planning and quality assurance approach to steer institutions towards contributions to the national transformation agenda while protecting the nation-state against apparent non-controllable outside interference. But the government did not intervene in the individual universities’ experiments with new forms of international collaboration. It allowed islands of transnationalization at certain universities it expected to be internationally successful. This form of transnationalization and the enforcement of the international competitiveness of some South African research universities through transnationalization were obviously interpreted as beneficial to the national project and to South African nation-building. Therefore, some form of convergence and homogenization of academic norms and practices appeared in the South African higher education system via globally active HEIs.

By comparing the patterns for internationalization developments for Europe and the USA, as described by Hans de Wit and discussed in Chapter 4, with South Africa’s internationalization route between 1990 and 2010, the following conclusions can be drawn from Chapter 6: On the national level, the international dimension initially played a role mostly in the higher education reform process by looking at other national systems of higher education and by using international expertise. International academic mobility, however, was neither prioritized nor regulated. International academic matters were only addressed in national legislation and policies at the beginning of the 2010s. The *strategically and intentionally driven* process that de Wit had allocated to the time succeeding the Cold War for higher education systems in Europe and the USA was only about to appear on the national South

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African level. Notwithstanding, some South African HEIs already started in the 1990s to strategize about internationalization, as demonstrated with the experiences of SU.

A view of the discourses that accompanied the transformation of higher education in South Africa and the features selected for implementation reveals that South Africa tried to cope with a number of challenges in higher education within a rather short period of time, compared to countries from the global North. The latter had gone through the stages of mass higher education, strategic internationalization and transnationalizing higher education during the second half of the 20th century until the first decade of the 2000s. South Africa, in contrast, administered the huge task of increasing access to higher education while streamlining South African higher education with international developments only from the 1990s onwards. It, therefore, reacted simultaneously to the dual challenge of national transformation and processes of globalization. The first phase of the reform process (1990–1994) was dominated by a discourse of counter-privileging the previously excluded and disadvantaged, and thus by the diversification of access and the eradication of grievances. What followed soon were discourses about increasing the national skills base for national development and international competitiveness. They were accompanied by the discussion of more concrete goals for higher education, such as quality assurance or internationalization. These discourses entered the debates during the phase of policy writing and implementation. Therefore, the initial and almost exclusive focus on the national had been quickly complemented, and increasingly superseded, by global policy issues around increasing efficiency, effectiveness and competition, which was similar to experiences in other countries. In comparative perspective, the immediate focus on counter-privileging, which loses its relative importance over time, comes as a main feature of many post-revolutionary higher education reforms, including the ones in Central and Eastern European after the end of the Cold War.[493]

Against these developments on the national higher education level, the case of SU was empirically investigated with regards to transformation and self-renewal as well as inter- and transnationalization between 1990 and 2010 (Chapters 7 and 8). The first insight that crystallized from the research is that SU embarked comparatively early on a purposeful process of internationalizing the University in the first half of the 1990s. Institutional internationalization attempts, according to the source material analysed for this study, occurred prior to SU's national opening in the form of transformation and redress. The latter was only spelled out in the "Strategic Framework for the Turn of the Century and Beyond" (SU 2000). This development was quite in contrast to the post-1990 dealing with higher education on the national South African level and in contrast to many other South African HEIs, which initially considered "transformation" as the supreme requirement of any reform discussion. By the turn of the century and following the release of the Strategic Framework, SU's transformation process thus started to parallel processes of internationalization. Under the Rectors Chris Brink and especially Russel Botman the two processes became increasingly interwoven. In addition, during the 2010s, first steps into a process of what could be called "Africanizing SU's international relations" were set in motion, also in order to right

[493] See also Chapter 4.1 on historical aspects of the university and higher education.

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the wrongs of the (institutional and national) past. This process went in line with the continent- and countrywide commitment to better integrate higher education on the African continent. On the institutional level, it led to the first bilateral partnership agreements with African HEIs and to the set-up of mobility schemes fostering inner-African mobility. Furthermore, an emphasis was laid on application-oriented research, addressing, for example, the most pressing needs of the African continent.

Many activities and practices, centralized under the roof of SU's International Office (or carried out on the level of faculties, institutes or individual academics) that were about to be put into effect from the early 2000s onwards, increasingly went beyond traditional forms of international academic mobility and exchange. They were inspired by global developments in higher education, increasingly ventured beyond the borders of a territorialized institution and became part of a process of transnationalization, characteristic to worldwide higher education. The introduction of SU's institutional policy on joint and double degrees with non-South African HEIs has been discussed as important phenomenon in that regard.

From the analysed source and interview material, it can be concluded that, up to a certain point in time, SU followed an approach of "inter"nationalization only, which was characterized by the mobility between different national entities and clearly demarcated territorial boundaries (similarly to the developments on the national South African level, yet more outspokenly and aggressively). Later on, SU also embarked on a journey of becoming involved in processes of transnationalization. At SU this occurred well before these processes were actively addressed by the South African government. In this work, it could be demonstrated that SU had repeatedly managed to use the spaces of non-regulation within the national higher education system to its benefit (e.g. "international students" and their subsidy, joint and double degrees). This is one of the explanations for its good positioning within the South African higher education landscape as well as internationally. Processes of internationalization naturally continued to exist side by side with processes of transnationalization. In many instances, the former were a prerequisite for the latter. Internationalization, such as the mobility of students and lecturers in the framework of cooperation and partnership agreements, opened the doors for more intensive and more diverse collaboration in the different core functions of the University, which resulted in different forms of international cooperation and different degrees of integration of the respective partners (and of their commitment to the cooperation). For SU's teaching function, they included, for example, study programmes with integrated elements abroad, joint programmes leading to two qualifications and joint programmes resulting in joint degrees. Internationalization, as a result, had in parts reached a new level with various developments going beyond pure mobility. These developments were triggered by personal interests of individual academics and external funding opportunities. More intensive collaboration with international partners, however, necessitated negotiations about which norms and practices to follow. As such, they occasionally challenged national legislation.

In addition, SU continuously monitored international trends in higher education over the period under investigation, as it attempted to learn and benefit from international lessons for its own institutional development. Through international study and research experiences of

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SU professors and administrators prior to 1990 and through the presence of a few international academics at SU, international developments in higher education, especially in Europe and North America, were not foreign to SU. As has been demonstrated, during the 1990s and the 2010s, SU purposefully studied selected developments in other parts of the world. In this connection, one can mention partnership agreements, the institutionalization of internationalization processes in international offices and the dealing with international students, Centres of Advanced Study, the increasing marketization of higher education or the strategic management of a university, to name but a few. Non-South African reference points were most of all the European, American and Australian systems of higher education.

As a result, and enhanced by its good financial standing as well as by the established structures and management processes inherited from its apartheid past, SU was capable to adapt faster to the international professionalization of universities than the majority of the other South African universities. This is exemplified in elaborated planning processes, entrepreneurial activities and the modernization of academic services as well as the capability to increase the number of administrative posts. It is also mirrored in the rigorous documentation of developments and decisions, and the communication of these decisions to relevant stakeholders, for example, in the form of policy papers, strategies and glossy brochures. Many of these activities predated both the outcomes of the national transformation process in higher education and the resulting requirements for HEIs, as formulated in the National Plan on Higher Education (2001), as well as the publication of the first international rankings of universities since 2002. The rankings certainly provided a new momentum for continued processes of adoption and reform. They stipulated a performative and entrepreneurial culture in the framework of the new public management discourse, and they increased the awareness of the competition among universities worldwide (see also Chapter 4.3). However, the national South African reform process in the field of higher education was already grounded in international best practice, e.g. regarding institutional planning or quality assurance. Thus, the modernization of South African HEIs already happened via national legislation and government steering. What may be interpreted as institutional reaction towards the publications of the rankings was an increased impetus for micro-regulation, e.g. through the mentioned system of strategic management indicators at SU, that were calculated in 2005 for the first time, or through the creation of a system of incentives on the institutional level to reward those activities that add up to the fulfilling of set institutional targets. The promotion of the research function, which Hazelkorn (2009) had identified in many cases as an institutional response towards the rankings, in the case of SU already happened in reaction to the publication of the first national South African university rankings in the 1980s, and it was reinforced by the process of transforming South African higher education during the 1990s. Following the official University rhetoric, many of the institutional reforms officially originated in response to national needs and requirements (e.g. the enlargement of the International Office through an extension of tasks towards postgraduate students or the dismantling of the Research Development Divisions in the framework of institutional development). Yet, their role in also adding to SU's international profile and success is obvious.

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This presentation of the developments between 1990 and 2010 suggests that, since the end of the 1990s, the University has been addressing the different spatial dimensions of the local, the national, the regional and the global all at the same time. In particular the different speeches of the three Rectors heading the University during the period under investigation, as analysed in Chapter 7, illustrated that SU contributed to South African nation-building while reaching out globally. Or more pointedly formulated: internationalization and SU's global orientation furthered institutional change and SU's engagement on the national level. SU's role during the apartheid era and the uncertainties in the new dispensation, especially among Afrikaans universities in the immediate aftermath of change, contributed to a feeling of crisis at SU. This required new and innovative forms of dealing with the national situation and the contemporaneous exposure to global forces. And it necessitated strategies to protect the institution and its character in a situation of substantial changes and in a situation of felt destabilization.

Overall, SU's approach of opening the University could well be read as a proactive reaction towards both national and global pressures. The generation of income was one of the major institutional motives for internationalizing (and later transnationalizing) the University, besides the general promotion of the sciences and the focus on the (local and international) relevance of research. However, when conducting research, it became evident that internationalization meant different things to different people, as it has been discussed in the literature. It became clear that internationalization meant something else to the individual academic or a single unit within the University than to the institution as a whole. Representatives of the International Office, for example, did not necessarily agree with the identified institutional rationales for internationalization; they considered internationalization as a goal in itself. This situation implied the potential of continued tension as well as repeated negotiation processes of what could be officially communicated to the outside. And it leads to the conclusion that the classical literature on internationalization and related rationales must be interpreted differently for different elements of universities. Performance indicators and goal assessments used by an institution as a means of translating the institution's goals towards internationalization for the different levels of a university, especially for individual academics, do not necessarily lead to better forms of internationalization. But they might increase the understanding of the other side's perspective and the underlying rationales.

In conclusion, SU's overall development in the "new" South Africa between 1990 and 2010 could be declared a success story. Generally speaking, the University managed to turn the challenges of societal transformation and global processes into an advantage. SU's success in purposefully entering processes of globalization in higher education by promoting internationalization and transnationalization, and thereby also tackling national transformation, can be summarized as follows: There were, first of all, the favourable conditions from the time prior to 1990 and SU's institutional past, including well-established structures and management processes as well as financial capacities. Secondly, the rectorate of the 1990s insisted on institutional autonomy vis-à-vis government. It did not rush into transformation, but initially lived out the earlier described efficiency paradigm more so than immediately following the national redress discourse. Thirdly, there were a number of

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far-sighted people that prepared the ground for SU's development at a time when the majority of the University was maybe not even aware of the challenges and problems accompanying the South African political change and the recent phase of globalization. What finally contributed immensely to the building of international relationships was the great interest and support from abroad in search for African partners in higher education at the beginning of the 1990s. SU, with its good financial standing and infrastructure as well as its experiences in international collaborations prior to 1990, was among the preferred partners.
The extent to which internationalization and transnationalization are a firmly established, integral part of SU's culture is yet another aspect. Given the number of international students, academics, projects and partnerships as well as the first cautious experiences with a modest number of joint teaching programmes, which are so far rather small islands of transnationalization with only a limited impact on the university's culture, there is still much room for development.

Future Research

This research must be considered as part of a huge puzzle. Some pieces could be found and put together; many others still have to be searched and revealed. The author, therefore, suggests the following aspects as important for further investigating the internationalization of higher education in South Africa.
On the national South African level, as has been argued in Chapter 5 of this study, a number of additional sources would be worth studying in order to develop a more comprehensive understanding of the early history of higher education in South Africa and its interconnection to higher education developments in other parts of the world. They include the debates from the National Assembly on universities as well as the yearbooks and minutes of decision making bodies of the University of the Cape of Good Hope and the universities founded during the first half of the 20th century as well as their predecessors. A systematic analysis of all of these documents was beyond the scope of this project.
Furthermore, there is no overall assessment of the international interconnectedness of higher education in South Africa and its integration into global processes in higher education. A history of the international dimension – especially for the time preceding the political change in South Africa – still needs to be compiled. Such a compilation would deepen our understanding of historical and contemporary processes of globalization. Although Chapter 5 of this study has contributed important analyses, they constitute not more than a point of departure for a broader research project. Especially a comparison of international students and the internationalization of the professoriate (in its broadest sense, including international study experiences of South African professors) between the different South African HEIs would promise substantial insights with regards to whether the identified developments at SU constitute unique developments and to what extent they represent general South African trends. This would finally allow a further specification of the hypotheses of South African academic isolationism and increasing localism.
With a view to the post-apartheid period, a more detailed account of those international advisers who were involved in policy formulation and writing, their background, political

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standing and their strategies in the process could bring further insights into the extent to what South African higher education policies were influenced by an international agenda. This work has identified many of the international advisers. Yet, their concrete contribution to the policy documents and an attribution of particular ideas was impossible, as the final consensus documents did not allow for a reconstruction of the debates and negotiations among the writing teams.

For the institutional level, a systematic comparison of the post-1990 experiences with internationalization and transnationalization at different South African universities could be interesting. Especially a reconstruction of the rationales and directions of learning processes would promise new insights: Why did South African universities internationalize? Did they attempt to learn from those South African universities that seemed to be more successful, or did they rather investigate developments in other parts of the world, or both? Who were the drivers of change towards internationalization within the institutions, and what kind of prior working experiences did they have? What may be considered prerequisites for a successful institutional internationalization? Are processes of transnationalization observable to a similar extent? And to what extent are processes of internationalization and transnationalization firmly established, integral parts of the universities' cultures?

Internationalization processes in higher education usually have been considered as "add-on" or "nice-to-have" and not as necessity for fulfilling the central, largely nationally defined responsibilities and duties of (public) higher education. There are many accounts in the history of internationalization, in which internationalization became less important when internal or external tensions increased. For South Africa, we have seen that internationalizing higher education did not play an important role in the policy documents of the 1990s. That internationalization could also be used proactively as means to overcome situations of crisis demonstrate the developments at Stellenbosch University. However, a more systematic research on the extent to what strategizing about internationalization really contributes to institutional change is yet to be carried out.

The same goes for the approach South Africa has chosen after the end of apartheid towards transforming higher education, namely the counter-privileging of those groups that had previously experienced disadvantage and exclusion. As indicated in Chapter 4 with the American post-Second World War GI Act and the way the Soviet Union had approached higher education, there are a number of developments in other countries that could serve as comparative background against which one could contrast the decisions and developments in South African higher education.

And finally, what is missing with regards to SU is a critical and comprehensive history of the University, written from a post-1994 perspective and looking back in particular at the period from 1948 to 1994. Such a study could be conducted in the context of the 2016 centenary celebrations.

All of the above-mentioned suggestions and research proposals invite not only the continued observation of processes of inter- and transnationalization in South Africa as well as at SU but also research with a comparative design, for which this study has sought to provide a basis.

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List of Interviews conducted by the Centre for Higher Education Transformation

Interviewees	Description	Interviewer and Date
Dr. Trevor Coombe	member of the Minister of Education’s Strategic Task Team from May 1994 until May 2000	Richard Fehnel, May 2001
Prof. Brian Figaji	former Vice Chancellor of Peninsula Technikon, former member of the National Commission on Higher Education	Richard Fehnel, May 2001
Prof. Njabulo Ndebele	former Rector of the University of Cape Town	Richard Fehnel, May 2001
Dr. Fred Hayward	former Senior Associate to the American Council on Education (ACE)	Teboho Moja, August 2001
Prof. C. Reinecke	former Rector of Potchefstroom University	Peter Maassen, November 2001
Prof. Sibusiso Bengu	former Vice Chancellor of the University of Fort Hare and first Minister of Education in the post-1994 government	Peter Maassen, February 2002

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Standardized Questionnaire

QUESTIONNAIRE – PART II

Dear Sir or Madam,

Thank you very much for your willingness to participate in this questionnaire. The following questions and items were developed in order to increase the understanding of university processes that are connected to internationalisation but that go beyond mobility patterns.

We kindly ask you to tick those boxes that in your personal opinion apply best to the aspects mentioned in the first column and if possible refer to the year in which activities were first introduced. Page 4 offers space to give further explanation if necessary.

Name of person completing questionnaire: _____

Working at the university since: _____

Faculty/Department/School: _____

Would you allow me to come back to you in case further clarification is needed? Yes ☐ No ☐

1) In your opinion, is **your faculty/department/school** involved in the following activities (with universities/institutions outside South Africa) related to teaching?

Activities related to teaching	Yes	No	Not yet	if yes-since when (calendar year)
a) joint degree programmes				
undergraduate level	☐	☐	☐	
graduate level	☐	☐	☐	
b) joint curriculum development	☐	☐	☐	
c) joint teaching	☐	☐	☐	
d) joint development and use of learning materials	☐	☐	☐	
e) joint/double/dual degree awarding	☐	☐	☐	
f) joint ritual practices (opening, closing ceremonies, summer/winter schools)	☐	☐	☐	
g) recognition of studies and examinations carried out abroad	☐	☐	☐	

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h) harmonisation of contents of teaching and studying with partner HEIs	☐	☐	☐	
i) harmonisation of requirements and studying with partner HEIs	☐	☐	☐	
j) harmonisation of student assessment and studying with partner HEIs	☐	☐	☐	
k) harmonisation of dealing with common problems (e.g. plagiarism)	☐	☐	☐	
l) diversifying the Stellenbosch curriculum by incorporating modules from international institutions	☐	☐	☐	
m) distance education	☐	☐	☐	
n) delivery of education programmes abroad	☐	☐	☐	
o) international accreditation	☐	☐	☐	
o) Other (please specify):				
	☐			
	☐			
	☐			
	☐			

2) In your opinion, is **your faculty/department/school** involved in the following activities related to research?

Activities related to research	Yes	No	Not yet	if yes-since when (calendar year)
a) third party funding for research from outside South Africa	☐	☐	☐	
b) third party funding for research from transnational companies	☐	☐	☐	
c) active international research collaboration...				
... in Africa	☐	☐	☐	
... beyond Africa	☐	☐	☐	
d) involvement in cross-border networks/consortia	☐	☐	☐	
e) publication of internationally reviewed journals	☐	☐	☐	
f) international quality control + review of research	☐	☐	☐	
g) international referees in advisory boards	☐	☐	☐	
h) research on topics of international scope (e.g. global environmental issues)	☐	☐	☐	
i) Is there a faculty reward system to foster border crossing research?	☐	☐	☐	
... including publications outside SA	☐	☐	☐	
... including joint publications with international researchers	☐	☐	☐	
... including the participation in international networks/consortia	☐	☐	☐	
... including the organization of international conferences/workshops/seminars/colloquia	☐	☐	☐	
j) Other (please specify):				
	☐			
	☐			
	☐			
	☐			

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3) In your opinion, is **your faculty/department/school** involved in the following activities related to community interaction?

Activities related to community interaction	Yes	No	Not yet	if yes-since when (calendar year)
a) responsiveness to local communities' needs	☐	☐	☐	
b) responsiveness to the regional community	☐	☐	☐	
c) community interaction outside the national borders	☐	☐	☐	
d) African problem-solving...				
... in the SADC region	☐	☐	☐	
... in Africa beyond SADC	☐	☐	☐	
e) consulting	☐	☐	☐	
f) redress to disadvantaged people outside South Africa	☐	☐	☐	
g) Other (please specify):				
	☐			
	☐			
	☐			

4) In your opinion, is **your faculty/department/school** involved in the following activities related to recruiting?

Activities related to recruiting	Yes	No	Not yet	if yes-since when (calendar year)
a) active recruitment of foreign students	☐	☐	☐	
b) active recruitment of foreign young academics	☐	☐	☐	
c) active recruitment of foreign faculty/researchers	☐	☐	☐	
d) active recruitment of foreign professors	☐	☐	☐	
e) recruiting processes with international referees	☐	☐	☐	
f) Other (please specify):				
	☐			
	☐			
	☐			

5) In your opinion, is **the University of Stellenbosch** involved in the following activities related to university governance?

Activities related to university governance	Yes	No	Not yet	if yes-since when (calendar year)
a) creation of infrastructures, offices + positions to deal with external relations and internationalisation				
... on the university level	☐	☐	☐	
... on the faculty level	☐	☐	☐	
... on the department level	☐	☐	☐	
b) active recruitment of foreign investors	☐	☐	☐	
c) strategic and goal-oriented observation of developments in other higher education systems	☐	☐	☐	
d) Other (please specify):				
	☐			
	☐			
	☐			

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Could you advise, whom else to contact within the University of Stellenbosch to get to know more about these processes and personal experiences?

Name: _____

Position: _____

E-Mail: _____

Is there anything you wish to add?

_____

_____

_____

_____

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Thank you for your support!

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Appendix 2: Overview on Responses to Standardized Questionnaire

Q / Int	1a1	1a2	1b	1c	1d	1e	1f	1g	1h	1i	1j	1k	1l	1m	1n	1o	2a	2b	2c1	2c2	2d	2e	2f	2g
xx	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
4		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
5	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0		0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1
10	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	1
13	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1			1	1	1
14	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
15	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1			1	1	1	1
17	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0			0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
22		1	0	0		0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
26	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
31	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0
33	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
34		1		1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
50	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0
52	0	1	1	1	1	0		1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Total	1	10	7	9	6	5	0	15	4	6	1	2	5	5	2	4	14	10	14	15	14	13	15	15

Q / Int	2h	2i1	2i2	2i3	2i4	2i5	3a	3b	3c	3d1	3d2	3e	3f	4a	4b	4c	4d	4e	5a1	5a2	5a3	5b	5c
xx	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1
8		0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1				1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
13	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0
14	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1
15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1		1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0
17	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0		1	0	0	1	1
22	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1
26	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1
28	1						1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1
31	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1
33	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1
34	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1
50	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1		1	1	0	1	1
52	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total	14	7	7	9	9	10	17	15	9	15	14	13	10	12	4	6	8	6	15	8	4	12	13

yes = 1; no = 0; no answer = left blank; highlighted in grey = not yet.

Teaching
1a1 joint degree programme: undergraduate
1a2 joint degree programme: graduate
1b joint curriculum development
1c joint teaching
1d joint development and use of learning materials
1e joint/double/dual degree awarding
1f joint ritual practices
1g recognition of studies and examinations carried out abroad
1h harmonisation of contents of teaching and studying with partner HEIs
1i harmonisation of requirements and studying with partner HEIs
1j harmonisation of student assessment and studying with partner HEIs

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1k harmonisation of dealing with common problems (e.g. plagiarism)
1l diversifying the SU curriculum by incorporating modules from international institutions
1m distance education
1n delivery of education programmes abroad
1o international accreditation

Research
2a third party funding for research from outside South Africa
2b third party funding for research from transnational companies
2c1 active international research collaboration in Africa
2c2 active international research collaboration beyond Africa
2d involvement in cross-border networks/consortia
2e publication of internationally reviewed journals
2f international quality control and review of research
2g international referees in advisory boards
2h research on topics of international scope (e.g. global environmental issues)
2i1 Is there a faculty reward system to foster border crossing research
2i2 including publications outside South Africa
2i3 including joint publications with international researchers
2i4 including the participation in international networks/consortia
2i5 including the organization of international conferences/workshops/seminars/colloquia

Community Interaction
3a responsiveness to local communities' needs
3b responsiveness to the regional community
3c community interaction outside the national borders
3d1 African problem-solving in the SADC region
3d2 African problem-solving in Africa beyond SADC
3e consulting
3f redress to disadvantaged people outside South Africa

Recruiting
4a active recruitment of foreign students
4b active recruitment of foreign young academics
4c active recruitment of foreign faculty/researchers
4d active recruitment of foreign professors
4e recruiting processes with international referees

University Governance
5a1 on the university level
5a2 on the faculty level
5a3 on the department level
5b active recruitment of foreign investors
5c strategic and goal-oriented observation of developments in other higher education systems

Appendix 3: List of Interviewees

Interviewees	Description	Interview Date and Place
Interviewee 1	Representative of SU's PGIO	02.08.2010, Stellenbosch
Interviewee 2	Representative of SU's PGIO	02.08.2010, Stellenbosch
Interviewee 3	Representative of SU's Division for Institutional Research and Planning	03.08.2010, Stellenbosch
Interviewee 4	Professor	04.08.2010, Stellenbosch
Interviewee 5	Professor and Dean	04.08.2010, Stellenbosch
Interviewee 6	Professor, former Dean, Senior Director	04.08.2010, Stellenbosch
Interviewee 7	Professor	05.08.2010, Stellenbosch
Interviewee 8	Professor	05.08.2010, Stellenbosch
Interviewee 9	Member of SU's Convocation	10.08.2010, Stellenbosch
Interviewee 10	Professor	10.08.2010, Stellenbosch
Interviewee 11	Retired Professor, former member of SU's Executive	11.08.2010, Stellenbosch
Interviewee 12	Professor	11.08.2010, Stellenbosch
Interviewee 13	Professor and Dean	11.08.2010, Stellenbosch
Interviewee 14	Professor and Vice Dean	12.08.2010, Stellenbosch
Interviewee 15	Professor and Vice Dean	13.08.2010, Stellenbosch

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Interviewee 16	Member of SU's Executive	13.08.2010, Stellenbosch
Interviewee 17	Professor and Dean	16.08.2010, Stellenbosch
Interviewee 18	Representative of SU's Division for Research Development	16.08.2010, Stellenbosch
Interviewee 19	Student	17.08.2010, Stellenbosch
Interviewee 20	Senior Director	17.08.2010, Stellenbosch
Interviewee 21	Representative of SU's PGIO	18.08.2010, Stellenbosch
Interviewee 22	Retired Professor and former Senior Director	18.08.2010, Stellenbosch
Interviewee 23	Senior Director	20.08.2010, Stellenbosch
Interviewee 24	Professor	20.08.2010, Stellenbosch
Interviewee 25	Retired Professor, former member of SU's Executive	23.08.2010, Stellenbosch
Interviewee 26	Professor	23.08.2010, Stellenbosch
Interviewee 27	Representative of SU's Division for Research Development	24.08.2010, Stellenbosch
Interviewee 28	Professor and Dean	24.08.2010, Stellenbosch
Interviewee 29	Senior Director	25.08.2010, Stellenbosch
Interviewee 30	Representative of SU's Division for Research Development	25.08.2010, Stellenbosch
Interviewee 31	Professor	26.08.2010, Stellenbosch
Interviewee 32	Member of SU's Executive	26.08.2010, Stellenbosch
Interviewee 33	Professor and Vice Dean	27.08.2010, Tygerberg
Interviewee 34	Professor and Dean	30.08.2010, Stellenbosch
Interviewee 35	Member of SU's Council	30.08.2010, Stellenbosch
Interviewee 36	Student at SU	01.09.2010, Stellenbosch
Interviewee 37	Member of SU's Executive	03.09.2010, Stellenbosch
Interviewee 38	Senior Director	03.09.2010, Stellenbosch
Interviewee 39	Member of SU's Executive	07.09.2010, Stellenbosch
Interviewee 40	Professor	09.09.2010, Stellenbosch
Interviewee 41	Representative of South African higher education landscape	12.08.2011, Bellville
Interviewee 42	Retired Professor and former Head of Central Unit	19.08.2011, Stellenbosch
Interviewee 43	Caretaker at one of SU's Institutes	25.08.2011, Stellenbosch
Interviewee 44	Representative of South African higher education landscape	30.08.2011, Pretoria
Interviewee 45	Representative of South African higher education landscape	30.08.2011, Pretoria
Interviewee 46	Representative of South African higher education landscape; former Professor and Dean at SU	30.08.2011, Pretoria
Interviewee 47	Representative of South African higher education landscape; former member of SU's Executive; member of the National Commission on Higher Education	30.08.2011, Pretoria
Interviewee 48	Representative of South African higher education landscape	31.08.2011, Johannesburg
Interviewee 49	Representative of South African higher education landscape; member of the National Commission on Higher Education	03.09.2011, Cape Town
Interviewee 50	Professor and Dean	10.05.2012, Stellenbosch
Interviewee 51	Retired Professor, former member of SU's Executive; member of the National Commission on Higher Education	10.05.2012, Somerset West
Interviewee 52	Professor and Vice Dean	21.05.2012, Stellenbosch

*The description of interviewees is not a detailed one in order to avoid identification. 42 out of the 52 interviews were conducted with current SU stakeholders and another five with former members. Seven out of the 52 formal interviewees were representing the national higher education system, such as the Council on Higher Education (CHE), its Higher Education Quality Committee (HEQC), the National Research Foundation (NRF), Higher Education South Africa (HESA) – the body of Higher Education Leadership, representing all the Vice Chancellors of South African Institutions of Higher Education, furthermore the Cape Higher Education Consortium (CHEC) and representatives of other South African universities. Among the interviewees were three who had participated in South Africa's National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE) in the 1990s.