Chapter 13
The Role of Stakeholders in the Transformation of the South African Higher Education System

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13.1 Introduction

The current government inherited a deeply divided higher education (HE) system internally, isolated internationally and far from being coherent and coordinated (Council on Higher Education 2004). The past legacy provided a stimulus for the energy that manifested itself before and after the onset of a democratic order in the country. So the sector has not only been wrestling with the shadows of apartheid, but its isolation from international developments meant that some of the institutions could not be assessed on whether or not they would meet the 'modernity' test when compared to institutions elsewhere. Whilst the literature shows that there is no single concept of what a 'modern' university is, there is a trend that has been consistently travelled by universities in many parts of the world (Trow 2007; Amaral et al. 2012; Garrod and Macfarlane 2009). This trend starts with the movement of HE institutions (HEIs) as elite institutions to a massified system and later to a system of universal access. In many countries this comes about due to the high demand of HE, especially by nontraditional students.

In the apartheid era (1948–1994), the South African HE sector could be classified as an elite form of HE as it remained small, accessible by mainly white students and hierarchical with a guild of professors being the most important role players. In 1996 for example the South African HE participation rates were as follows: Africans: 9 %; coloured: 10 %; Indians: 35 %; and whites: 61 % (Bunting and Cloete 2007). Further, HEIs could be classified as 'progressive' and 'nonprogressive' institutions. The progressives were those institutions that claimed a distance from the apartheid regime and were openly distasteful of the apartheid policies in HE, whilst

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the nonprogressives were those institutions perceived to be supportive of apartheid policies. When the apartheid system was overthrown, there was a palpable energy in the sector for the reconstruction of HE. For a while both the new government and the stakeholders in the institutions worked together in this reconstruction. It was a very optimistic phase indeed. It was also at this stage that there was clarification both of who the stakeholders were inside the HE institutions and their roles.

The chapter seeks to explore the various roles played by HE stakeholders during the different phases in the transformation of HE in South Africa since the onset of the new democracy. These stakeholders can be divided into internal and external stakeholders as their role and impact on the system is different. The internal stakeholders include: the student councils; Institutional Forums (IFs), the councils which govern the institutions; the senates, which are the highest academic bodies in the institution; labour unions, for academics and workers; and the executive management. The strategic interests and roles of these stakeholders within the same institution vary. External stakeholders generally have regulating and financing roles to institutions, and these would include government, quality councils, industry, and civil and political groups. The role of both internal and external stakeholders can be the source of potential conflict in institutions.

In examining the role played by stakeholders in South African HE, the approach used here is that of a chronological account, starting with the apartheid era. After all it is Collingwood (1946) who said 'all knowledge is historical knowledge […] We study history in order to see more clearly the situation in which we are called upon to act' (p. 41). In this case then, the history of South African HE is very instructive to the current state of affairs. The first period analysed here is *predemocracy* including the colonial and apartheid eras. The next period is the one that I describe as the *reconstruction* era as it is during this period that all facets of South Africa were being reconstructed. This period was to be followed by a number of changes in the socioeconomic environment that, in turn, influenced the HE system.

In this chapter, I examine the role of HE stakeholders through the use of theoretical frameworks by scholars such as Gornitzika (1999) on organisational change in HE; Trow (2007) on the massification of HE; and Olsen (2005) on the institutional dynamics of European universities. I am, therefore, mindful that changes in South African HE are not unique as the system changes follow the trends proposed by other scholars of HE, and the tools provided by Gornitzka's (1999), Trow's (2007) and Olsen's (2005), writings will help us locate the role of stakeholders and the changes that ensued in South Africa, within the context of an evolving HE system.

13.2   A Brief Theoretical Backdrop

Gornitzka (1999) introduces us to the concept of resource dependency that impacts on HEIs when called upon to take action in response to governmental policies, for example, looking at internal versus external stakeholders. He further provides a framework for examining the internal dynamics in an institution, caused mainly

by the distribution of power, institutional values, identities and traditions. How institutions react also depends on the prevailing model of the state, reflecting the roles of both the state and that of HE.

On the other hand, Trow (2007) provides us with a blueprint on how HE systems have been evolving from elite to mass to universal systems. Whilst he traces the history of HE in the USA and Europe, he observes a global trend that has seen HEIs move from elite to massified and to universal access institutions. He points out that this growth trend is characterised by the democratisation of modern life, marked by the weakening of the elite hierarchies, values and prerogatives. Olsen (2005) classifies HEIs into four categories defined by their vision, namely the university as a meritocratic community of scholars; the university as an instrument for national political agendas; and the university as a service enterprise embedded in competitive markets. As I interrogate the role of stakeholders in South African HE, it is the university as a representative democracy that is of interest in this chapter.

13.3   The Historical Context for the Transformation of HE in South Africa: Late 1800s to Early 1990s

According to Subotzky (2003), South African HE was initially shaped by its colonial past and the underlying conflict between British and Afrikaner nationalism. Sobotzky provides an account of how the first universities, which were fashioned on the British colonial model, appeared in the late nineteenth century, in the form of the University of the Cape of Good Hope (COGH). This English-speaking university development did not sit well with the Afrikaans community, which was at the same time establishing its own republics within the country. They sought to establish links with Dutch universities in order to establish Afrikaans-speaking universities. After a number of failed attempts, the first university college of Stellenbosch, fostered by strong Afrikaner nationalism, finally took off after the First World War. These two institutions (COGH and Stellenbosch) set the country off in a trajectory of either English or Afrikaans-speaking institutions of HE, catering almost exclusively to the white population.

When the Nationalist Party, which was Afrikaner-dominated, came into power in 1948, another version of a dual social structure was introduced in HE. Institutions were now established for each race and ethnic group. The first of these institutions was the University of Fort Hare, which was established in 1915 for black[1] Africans. As apartheid progressed and introduced different forms of white domination on the African population, the institutional development of HE was also replicated to match the new developments. For example, when the apartheid regime established 'independent homelands' inside the country for the different ethnic groups, universities for these homelands were also established.

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[1] The 'black' racial definition in South Africa refers to coloured, Indians and Africans.

The last phase of the grand plan of apartheid was to introduce an HE system for technical and vocational training of technicians who were going to work as an intermediate layer between artisans and engineers in the fast industrialising economy of the country that was benefiting from the mineral resource boom of the 1950s to the 1970s. Again in this type of institution, whilst being developed along racial lines, there were also distinct language and ethnic characteristics in each of these institutions. Although on the surface these institutions appeared to have a common culture fostered by the university administration, Reddy (2004) is of the opinion that below the surface, different institutional identities could still be observed along race, language and ethnic lines.

The objective of the apartheid rulers in the creation of the various HE institutions was to ensure and maintain a rigid social order and occupational structure where blacks were being prepared for a subordinate and geographically isolated role in society (Reddy 2004; Subotzky 2003). This can be confirmed by examining the geographical location of black institutions (which were subsequently termed 'bush' universities), the disparities in funding which favoured the white universities, and the course offerings available in the different institutions. Therefore, 'under apartheid, functional differentiation meant disadvantage and inequality.' (Subotzky 2002, p. 549).

Both the advantaged and disadvantaged institutions had distinct roles in producing and maintaining the divided social order and inequality inside the institutions and for society, but they were all still elite institutions. The historically disadvantaged institutions in particular operated under harsh conditions, preventing them from operating effectively as HE institutions. These institutions were overseen by an administrative leadership imposed by the apartheid government to ensure the success of its policies. So, by the end of apartheid, the HE landscape that was to be inherited by the new government was a highly variegated one with diverse institutional profiles and culture shaped by historical, political and structural conditions around their establishment. It was clear that there was no single system of HE, but the many systems that prevailed, with the white population enjoying a huge advantage in both HE and employment opportunities. Considering Gornitzka's (1999) four models of state control of HE, one could safely conclude that for the white institutions the state adopted degrees of 'institutional state models', with some unwritten conversations of state noninterference. On the other hand, for black institutions, the 'sovereign rationality-bounded model' prevailed, where tight control and strong emphasis on their accountability to political authorities was the custom.

The inherited inequalities in the HE system set the transformation agenda for the new government. It was easy to understand that this variegated and highly unequal HE system was undesirable going forward. A National Commission for Higher Education (NCHE) was the first body to be appointed by the new government to deliberate on the future direction of HE in the country. The Commission decided on the following central features to 'guide and direct the process of transformation':

- Increased participation in the system by a diverse range of constituencies
- Increased cooperation and more partnership between HE and other social actors and institutions

- Greater responsiveness to a wide range of social and economic needs (NCHE 1996, pp. 47–49)

These guiding principles set an expectation for the different stakeholders to participate in shaping the future HE system.

13.4   The Reconstruction of Stakeholders in the HE System: Early 1990s to Early 2000s

Moja and Cloete (1996) characterised the HE system inherited by the new government in 1994 as a 'state interference' model. All the different variegates of the system were in one way or another experiencing some state interference. Historically advantaged institutions had some form of autonomy, but were dictated to on what they could and could not teach, whilst historically disadvantaged institutions experienced the full force of the 'apartheid vision' regarding separate development. The discussions that prevailed within and outside the HE system were about the model(s) that the new South African HE system was going to take. Moja and Cloete (1996) observe that this debate can be traced to the three seemingly incompatible positions that Africa has had always about the role of HE in the continent. One position is that of the autonomy of the HE institutions with no interference from the state. The second position is that of a HE system whose purpose is to service the socioeconomic development needs of society. The third position is that of making the goal of HE highly participative by a large segment of the population as a basis for restructuring social relations or redress. In the South African context, the participative model won the day as issues of equity and redress were prominent at the time and moving towards Olsen's (2005) representative democracy. Therefore, the main stakeholders that were going to steer the reconstruction of HE from the ravages of the apartheid were composed of the state, the Council on Higher Education and a restructured institutional governance system.

   The reconstruction of HE in South Africa must also be understood within the overarching socioeconomic framework that was developed during the period 1994–1999. The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was seen as the blueprint for steering the country away from apartheid. It was a product of wide consultation and debate by a range of stakeholders including civil society. Two years after the establishment of the new government, the Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) programme was introduced as a 'substitute' for the RDP programme. GEAR introduced significant shifts in the economic policies as well as state–civil society relations (Weeks 1999). First, unlike the RDP programme that was a result of participation by a very wide range of stakeholders, GEAR was crafted by a small group of international consultants and the emerging government technocrats. Secondly, GEAR also changed the policy content and emphasised efficiency and effectiveness in government and public institutions. This process signalled a very important shift for HE on the priorities of the new government. The

adoption, in 1996, of the GEAR policy to replace the RDP changed the direction of the country in many ways, and HE was visibly redirected. Unlike the RDP, GEAR put a cap on spending and this meant that no significant amount of new funding would be available for the education sector. Trow (2007) has also observed the same trend in the massification of European HE system where the growth of student numbers takes place often without a parallel increase in state support.

Jansen (2001, 2002) describes the period that followed immediately after the new government took over as that of 'policy symbolism'. Here he contends that the broad consensus that was derived through the initial policies was that of symbolism about where the new government stands on matters that were concerning the nation in all educational spheres. In fact Jansen (2001, p. 50) goes as far as to argue that, 'politicians do not always invent policy in order to change practice.' It is political symbolism and often represents a search for legitimacy[2]. Pinheiro et al. (2012) also acknowledge that compliance with stakeholder demands and expectations is essential for leveraging external legitimacy.

The first example of a new policy that started the move away from the policies created by broad consensus was the 'size and shape' policy proposal that sought to undo the geopolitical imagination of the apartheid era. The significance of this policy is that for the first time, the Minister of Education relied on his new statutory body that had advisory powers, the CHE, to develop proposals about reforming South African HE, thus abandoning the usual consultative processes. The consultative process followed later on. Secondly, this was a policy that was beginning to speak about issues of efficiency that the government as a whole was concerned about, and not only redress issues. However, the representative democracy that was emerging inside institutions was concerned primarily about redress and equity issues. Thirdly, the government was beginning to centralise the function of policy development, and the role of stakeholders in this process was put into question. Fourthly, it was clear that the actions that would emanate from the policies of the 'size and shape' policy were posing a serious threat to the previously disadvantaged institutions and more so, the transformation agenda towards massification and representative democracy.

In the midst of all these changes, it is important to take note of the fault lines that began to appear with respect to the stakeholder roles inside the institutions themselves. The new HE policy required that IFs be established in HE institutions (Department of Education 2007). The IFs are uniquely South African, and were established to ensure the participation of civil society in HE transformation (Griffin 2012). Griffin further notes the various and contradicting findings on the IFs' roles and effectiveness. On the one hand, those who found them to be ineffective attributed this to the prevailing confusion about their accountability. On the other hand, there were groups that had a view that IFs were wielding an appropriate influence in certain instances. This was happening at a time when councils and senates in institutions were being successfully democratised. So, the much anticipated role of IFs as outlined in policy declarations of the HE system was being rendered redundant, and

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[2] Jansen's contention, therefore, is that the reconstruction policies developed were not necessarily meant for implementation, but to legitimise the new government.

their role was put into question as other parts of the institutions transformed. Griffin (2012) is of the opinion that IFs were increasingly becoming redundant because the councils themselves had already diversified their membership as part of the internal democratisation process. The role of the councils has not only been changing but has been gaining internal prominence as the highest decision making authority in HEIs.

In this instance, whilst the IFs were weakening, managerialism was strengthening. In other words, there is evidence that professional management and output-based performance began to emerge as institutions were struggling to respond to external demands resulting from policy shifts in both the whole education system as well as in the macroeconomic policies (Muller et al. 2004). This would out-rule, if not marginalise, a cooperative system of governance based on democratic principles of decision-making. The change experienced during this period can best be described in terms of the resource dependency theory espoused by Gornitzka (1999). Accordingly, dynamics in a resource-dependent relationship are not simple and can be characterised by an active and volatile response from the resource owner and the resource dependant. When South African HEIs were faced with the reduction in the number of institutions through the size and shape policy, internal stakeholders were forced to suspend the agenda of the further development of a representative democracy and fight for the survival of their institutions. This temporarily disrupted the momentum inside the institutions in pushing the agenda for access and equity. Some would say that this weakened the various internal stakeholder groupings (Griffiths 2012) and also paved the way to a new form of leadership in HEIs which was not co-operative.

13.5   Managerialism and Disengagement: Early 2000s to Present

At the onset of the new democracy there was an unwritten pact between government, institutions and society that transformation was to be taken forward in a context of a cooperative and participative governance system. As the government pushed for growth and efficiency in its macroeconomy policy[3], the rhetoric of stakeholder participation in the transformation project was increasingly taken over by managerial power in the institutions, and was beginning to mimic private business management practices (Muller et al. 2004). However, in the historical past of these institutions one could trace the 'path dependency' in the role that they would play in response to the changes that were demanded by the shape and size policy. For example, it is reported that the Afrikaans-speaking institutions, which had a history of highly centralised and autocratic management practices, responded favourably and quickly to the new managerial tendencies and got on with the business of transformation in a shorter period of time. This is often contrasted with the English-speaking

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[3] For example, the GEAR policy.

institutions which had strong collegial traditions and university management was characterised by more participative decision-making processes. The latter institutions, with a few exceptions, found it more difficult to usher in radical changes from the centre (Kulati 2000; Pinheiro 2012).

On the other hand, the immediate results in the historically disadvantaged institutions for the black majority were mixed. Some had developed emotional attachments to these institutions and viewed them as institutions of black pride in the future, whilst some continued to be reluctant to foster a geopolitical plan imagined by apartheid planners. But, it was clear that, irrespective of sentiments displayed in this group of institutions, the bottom line was that they constituted a very low base in terms of all kinds of resources to respond to a changing environment (Muller et al. 2004).

In the universities themselves, the rise of managerialism was also met with contestation by other internal stakeholders such as academics, students and unions, irrespective of the history of the institutions. Trow (2000) also notes the effects of changes fostered on HEIs have on academics in particular:

> It is not a matter of administrators seizing power from academics, rather the size and complexity of universities, the variety of specialised problems that confront them, and above all the speed of change, together increase the necessity for central administration to act decisively and rapidly. (p. 3)

The role of internal transformation was now delegated to the vice chancellors and the senior executive managers. The new internal organs such as the IFs, councils and senates would often feel excluded. Although it cannot be said that the extent of this problem was universal and felt to the same degree by all institutions, it became clear that who the vice chancellor was made a considerable difference to the direction that the university would take as this was the individual who was seen to be steering the ship, rather than the collective. This confirms Gornitzka's (1999) postulation about the importance of leadership and how internal power distributed in HEIs is the important factor in determining how an institution will respond to change in the face of governmental pressure.

The institutions with a history of centralised administration, mainly Afrikaans-speaking universities, reformed quickly to meet the new requirements. The academically strong universities, mainly the English-speaking ones, relied on their academic strength and continued 'business as usual', and the weaker institutions that were predominantly serving black students were unable to regroup quickly and respond to the requirements of transformation and innovation that were looming (Kulati 2000; Muller et al. 2004).

13.6   Effects of Earlier Policies on the Role of Stakeholders: Mid 2000s to the Present

NCHE proposals were intended to move the system from an elite to a mass-based system, in the same vein as articulated by Trow (2007), and increased participation was a logical goal that had to be attended to with urgency. It was clear that if the matter of fewer students, mainly white students, who participated in HE was not addressed, the HE system not only was not sustainable but also would not be able to play a meaningful role in the new South African society. The role of stakeholders in galvanising around this objective was made easier because increasing participation and success in schools was already taking place, and thus the qualifying numbers of students were on the increase already (2003 to the present). But institutional stakeholders, especially students, were much better organised to put pressure on institutions regarding admissions, exclusions and throughputs, especially in previously advantaged institutions. The government expanded the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) to support students who qualify to study in HE but are financially disadvantaged. For example the NSFAS grew from R2, 2 million in 1991 to R3, 12 billion in 2009 and to R5, 8 billion in 2013/2014, and assisted 1.4 million students over the 22-year period (National Student Financial Aid Scheme of South Africa 2013). The expectations created by the new policy environment, the demands made by students and the financial support made available by government contributed greatly in changing the racial composition of institutions that historically had been the preserve of white students. Participation rates also increased over a period of time as shown below (Fig. 13.1).

The racial composition of students in universities has also changed significantly. For example, Fig. 13.2 illustrates the shifts in participation from 1986 to 2004 in South African universities (Figs. 13.2 and 13.3).

There has been a further 12 % growth in the university enrolments from 837,779 in 2009 to 9,382,000 in 2011, confirming an HE system that is massifying (Department of Higher Education and Training 2013), and also confirming some of the characteristics described by Trow (2000) of a massifying HE system, namely the diversity of the forms of students with respect to social class, age and ethnicity. However, the South African HE system still does not have the other important characteristics identified by Trow for a massifying to a universalising system such as a diversity of forms of HE beyond universities, a large proportion of older part-time employed students, a substantial component of vocational/professional education, and credit accumulation and transfer. Although there is growth in numbers, the nature of the HE system is still elitist, with the majority of students representing a younger cohort (18–24), and all institutions aspiring to be research-intensive. This poses limitations for any further radical growth in the system.
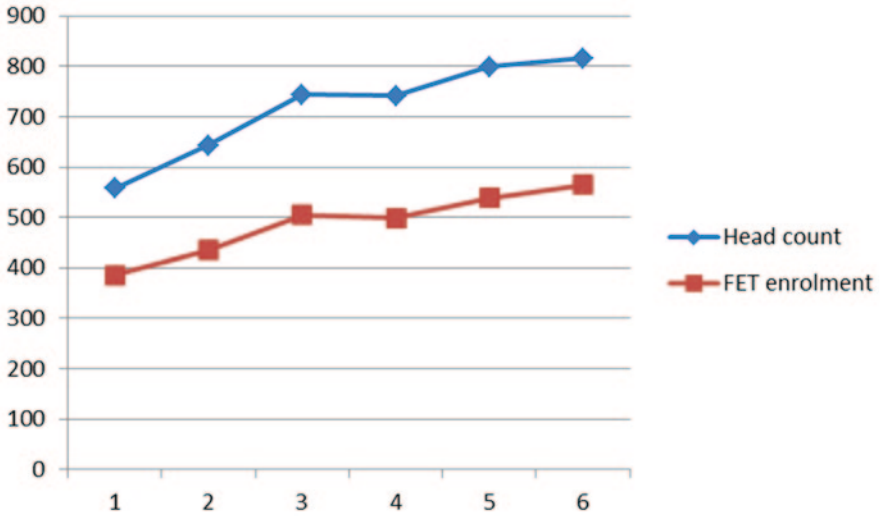
Fig. 13.1 Higher education enrolment rates in South Africa (2000–2008). (Source: Bunting et al. 2008)

Key:

1	2000	Actual
2	2002	Actual
3	2004	Actual
4	2006	Actual
5	2008	Actual
6	2010	Approved target

Source: Bunting et.al. (2008)

Head count enrolments by race group: 1986- 2004

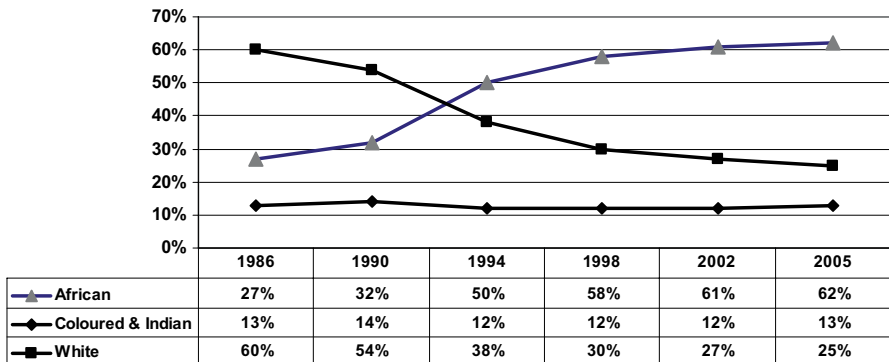|	1986	1990	1994	1998	2002	2005
African	27%	32%	50%	58%	61%	62%
Coloured & Indian	13%	14%	12%	12%	12%	13%
White	60%	54%	38%	30%	27%	25%

Fig. 13.2 Race classification of head count in South African higher education (1986–2004). (Source: Bunting and Cloete 2007)
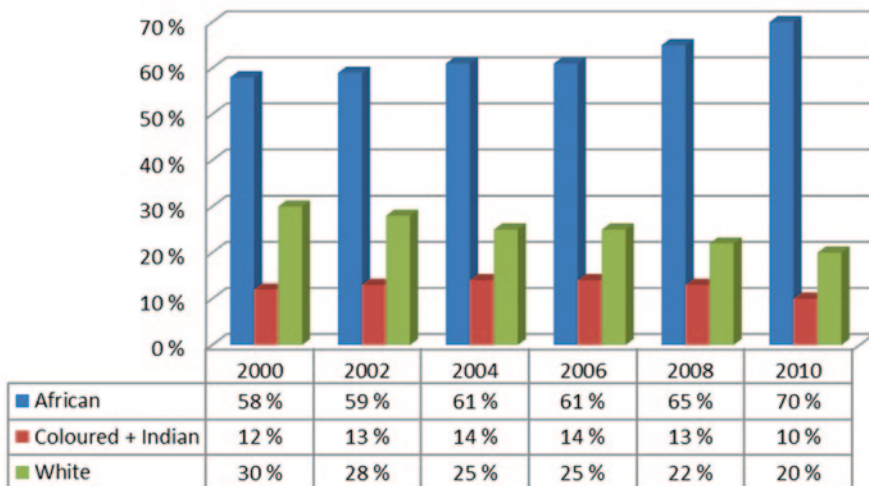
Fig. 13.3 Race classification of head count in South African higher education (2000–2010). (Source: Bunting et al. 2008)

13.7   The Role of Stakeholders in the Further Expansion of the System

Nineteen years after the democratic government took over, policy drivers from the state point strongly to the need to accelerate the massification of HE. The Green Paper for Post-School Education and Training, which was published in April 2012 for comments, is now being translated into government policy. The Green Paper emphasises the need to expand the postschool system within a diversified and differentiated system:

> The post-school system aims to contribute appreciably to overcoming the structural challenges facing our society. One of the greatest of these is the large number of young people who appear to face a bleak future if major changes are not introduced…. One of the first challenges for the post-school system is therefore to expand access to education and training over the next twenty years…. By 2030, South Africa ought to have a post-school system that provides a range of accessible alternatives for young people. (Department of Higher Education and Training 2012, pp. 4–5)

Although the expanded system includes non-HE institutions, there is an explicit expectation that the HE system will also expand significantly.

> The aim is to raise the participation rate in universities to 23 % by 2030 from the current 16 %. This expansion will be relatively modest as attention goes towards increasing throughputs as well as towards a large expansion of alternative study opportunities through the college system and other post-school opportunities. (Department of Higher Education and Training 2012, p. 37)

Clearly, the government expects a growth of a differentiated system which promotes diversification. According to van Vught (2008), such a system would improve

access for students with different educational backgrounds; enable social mobility; meet the needs of the labour market; meet the needs of various interest groups; permit the combination of the elite and mass HE; and increase the effectiveness of institutions. This would be a perfect solution to the needs and expectations of the South African society of its HE system.

Although further growth is inevitable, there is a new role for the stakeholders to push the HEIs further on the growth trajectory. The question is: which stakeholders will they be and what role will the current internal and external stakeholders play in this new capacity. Gornitzka (1999) suggests two theoretical perspectives to be used in understanding changes in organisations, namely *resource dependency and neoinstitutional perspectives*. Resource dependency speaks about the choices institutions make when faced with a need to change, which are influenced by the vital resources controlled by the external stakeholder. In the instance of changing the shape and size of the entire South African HE system, we saw how the internal stakeholders came together to fight for the survival of their own institutions because the pressure of resource dependency was high. On the other hand, the neoinstitutional perspective emphasises the value of institutional norms and environments.

> Well-developed institutions with stable values, interests, perceptions and resources exhibit inertia or friction when faced with efforts to reform. (Gornitzka 1999, pp. 9–10)

At the present moment, the HEIs can be described as responding to this new pressure to massify by adopting the various behaviours identified by Maassen (2000) on how institutions deal with this external pressure to expand. Some institutions can be said to be acquiescing; some avoiding the pressure; whilst some can be said to be in defiance as they stick to their positions of being research-intensive and elite HE systems. The problem at the moment is not just about increasing access of African students to the HE system; it is about a small and elite system.

> How can South Africa have a system where the majority of the students are African, but whites and Indians have participation rates of more than 50 %. The problem is that within a relatively small elite system, almost all students can be African, and participation rate will still be under 20 %. The only way to increase significantly the access of Africans to higher education is to increase participation in post-school colleges and possibly the stimulation, rather than restriction, of private higher education. (Bunting and Cloete 2007, p. 31).

In the face of expectations for the massification of the HE system, the HEIs have seemingly retreated to a neoinstitutional perspective, where the expectation to expand is externalised to the nonuniversity type of institutions with very little involvement from the universities. Resource limitations, values and purpose of universities are often cited as reasons why massification would not work, thus shielding the core functions from the pressures of change (Maassen et al. 2012).

What the South African HEIs are called upon to do in the twenty-first century could be considered to be foreign to the norms and environment of a HE system that is elite. Internal stakeholders are not likely to drive the process of massification, and it is going to be the government as an external stakeholder which will have to steer the HE sector towards increased massification and eventually to universalisation of HE in South Africa. After all, government is still a resource owner and HEIs

are still resource-dependent. But current institutions are limited in their capacity to expand, and institutional diversification might be the policy needed at this point to expand the system. Civil society outside of HEIs might have to step in. Industry has traditionally played a limited role as a stakeholder in the South African HE system (Kruss 2006). In order to increase the vocational and professional content of HEIs, there is a need for this stakeholder to step up and play a meaningful role in shaping the HE system towards a service enterprise model, closer to the needs of the labour market as described by Olsen (2005).

All this points to the fact that the representative democracy is limited as the only tool to propel the South African HE system to further growth. All organisational visions proposed by Olsen (2005) for an HE system are now needed and should all feature in the HE system. These organisational visions are described by Olsen as being: the university as a community of scholars; as an instrument for national agendas; as a representative democracy; and as a service enterprise embedded in competitive markets. When all these organising ideas are incorporated in the South African HE system, the system will expand, the nature of stakeholders will expand and so their role will also expand.

13.8   Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, I have described the context of policy developments in the HE system and located the role of the different stakeholders in this process. First, there was a government that had to change track soon after its installation with respect to the stated values that were prescribed right at the onset of the new democratic order. The participatory and cooperative governance trend that was emerging impacted strongly on a number of transformation projects, including the transformation of HE. In other words, there was a deep conviction that the transformation of HE requires joint collaboration and participation in the realm of governance. The participatory or corporate-pluralistic model (Gornitzka 1999) referred to at the onset somewhat mirrored the developmental trajectory of the country as a whole, where different groups were called upon to give input in the reconstruction of a new society. So, the expectation of an active role of stakeholders in HE was not unrealistic.

However, it became evident that HE is clearly part of a larger social system and, as a result, is directly affected by changing external circumstances in the macroeconomic sphere. When the government suddenly emphasised efficiency and effectiveness instead of equity and redress, HEIs were forced to change track midway, and managerialism crept in. Managerialism is not something that is done through stakeholder participation. Trow (2000) has also observed that academic committees, although desirable for the legitimacy of the decisions taken, are often not the most appropriate structures for making speedy decisions. Institutions adopted new forms of managing and responding to new demands. This change resulted in some 'disengagement' by some of the institutional stakeholders and their role was put into question. As the state developed its capacity to govern, and a stronger

steering of the system emerged, the state–HE relationship also changed. The institutions began to be the critics of the state and the latter was not shy to intervene directly in the affairs of institutions that were poorly performing.

South African HE has now entered a different stage in its development. The need to massify the HE system is still a national question, no doubt, but the rules of engagement have changed; with HE following the worldwide trend of wanting to become a 'modern' system (Amaral et al. 2012; Garrod and MacFarlane 2009). Issues that have come to the fore almost a decade after the first transformation efforts include differentiation and responsiveness. The question to be asked is whether the stakeholders defined during the reconstruction phase are the right stakeholders to address these issues. They probably are not. Then, we have to ask if the managerialism that was evident in the second phase of the transformation project is the best model to use in dealing with these new issues. Again the answer must be in the negative. I would argue that there is a need for existing stakeholders to take a stronger role when it comes to tackling the challenge of differentiation in order to meet the equity and expansion goals. These new players include academia, industry and civil society, whose role in stakeholder participation has been subsumed under the political rubric of institutions. This new challenge is neither political nor managerial, but it goes to the core of HE. van Vught (2008) has provided us with a convincing argument that problems faced by South African society with respect to its HE system will best be met by a diverse and differentiated system.

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