Producing, Transforming the Social Composition of, and Retaining a New Generation of Academics: The Rhodes University Programme of Accelerated Development

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Introduction

In South Africa, racism and patriarchy were key features of colonialism and apartheid and imprinted themselves on all areas of social life, including higher education and the social composition of academic staff. In accordance with new constitutional and social imperatives and higher education goals and policies, post-1994 South African universities have needed to confront two challenges.

The first has been advancing *redress* and *social equity* for black and women South Africans. This is a consequence of the extreme racialisation and gendering of higher education that occurred under colonialism and apartheid and which bequeathed South Africa with a predominantly white and male academic work force. The second challenge has been *producing and retaining a new generation of academics*. This, as will be seen, is the result of the interplay of various contemporary factors.

It is necessary to emphasize the *simultaneity* of the two challenges. A preoccupation with simply reproducing a new generation of academics without any purposeful attention to redress and social equity for black and women South Africans is likely to largely reproduce the inequities that characterized apartheid higher education. The overall challenge, therefore, is *to produce and retain a new generation of academics and simultaneously transform the historical social composition of the academic work force*.

There is, however, a third important challenge. To the extent that the substantive transformation and development of South Africa's universities and the enhancement of their academic capabilities are key national goals, this has profound implications for the *character* of the new generation of academics that has to be produced. The corollary is that a new generation of academics must not only be increasingly constituted by blacks and women South Africans, but must also possess the intellectual and academic capabilities related to teaching and learning, research and community engagement that are a necessary condition for transforming and developing South Africa's universities and enhancing their academic capacities.

This paper describes and critically analyses one initiative, that of the 'Programme for Accelerated Development' of Rhodes University in South Africa, that seeks to tackle the triple challenge of producing and retaining the next generation of academics, addressing the imperatives of redress and social equity, and ensuring the production of high quality scholars and researchers.

1. The challenges

To begin with, however, I wish to advance a number of propositions, which in my view are necessary for both an adequate delineation of the nature and scope of the challenges in South Africa, and for informing policies, strategies and mechanisms for producing, transforming and retaining a new generation of academics

1.1 Five Propositions

1. The first proposition concerns redress and social equity.

   For much of their history, progressive political movements in South Africa have advanced a *politics of equal recognition*, whether in relation to 'race', gender or ethnicity. With the advent of democracy, this politics of equal recognition was translated into a constitution that guaranteed equality in all spheres of society. The *Bill of Rights* unambiguously proclaims that individuals and "the state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth" (Sections 9.3 and 9.4). The state is enjoined to "respect, protect, promote and fulfil the rights in the Bill of Rights" (Section 7.2).

   A politics of equal recognition cannot, however, be blind to the effects of the legacies of colonialism and apartheid. Nor can it blithely proceed from a notion that the advent of democracy is in itself a sufficient condition for the erasure of the structural and institutional conditions, policies and practices that have grounded and sustained inequalities in higher education. It is precisely this reality that gives salience to the idea of redress and makes it a fundamental and necessary dimension of higher education transformation. Thus, the *Constitution* states that "to promote the achievement of equality, legislative and other measures designed to protect or advance persons, or categories of persons, disadvantaged by unfair discrimination may be taken" (Section 9.2). In similar vein, the 1997 *Higher Education White Paper* enunciates "equity and redress" as fundamental principles.

   While South African universities must debate and make choices and decisions on numerous issues, redress and social equity are not matters of choice but pressing constitutional obligations that "must be fulfilled", and societal imperatives in terms of which institutions must take "measures" to "advance persons, or categories of persons, disadvantaged by unfair discrimination" (*Constitution*, Sections 2 and 9.2).

2. The second proposition addresses the issues of equity and excellence/quality.

   In debates on higher education transformation, it has sometimes been contended that the increased participation of historically disadvantaged social groups and the pursuit of redress and equity must necessarily compromise excellence and quality and result in the diminution of the quality of provision, qualifications, graduates and research. While these are risks, such outcomes are not pre-ordained. The achievement of social equity with quality may be challenging, but these are not impossible goals. The imperatives of redress and social equity do not mean any inevitable reduction of quality and the compromise of standards, appropriately defined.

   Without quality, the prospect of meaningful social equity is compromised and rendered meaningless. On the other hand, an un-interrogated notion of 'quality', considered to be timeless, invariant and attached to a single, a-historical and universal model of higher education and pursued in a manner that is oblivious to the imperatives of social equity, means that equity is constrained, the racial and gender character of the academic occupation structure is reproduced rather than eroded and transformed, and the pursuit of democracy is effectively compromised.

3. The third proposition relates to the need to distinguish between equity of access and equity of opportunity and outcomes for historically disadvantaged social groups such as black and women South Africans.

   While access to employment at universities by aspiring black and women academics may be now secured through the prohibition of discrimination and employment equity laws, equity of opportunity and outcomes crucially depend on transformed and supportive institutional environments and cultures, appropriate induction and support, and effective academic mentoring. These are all vital if black and women academics are to succeed.

   The challenge of equity of opportunity must also be viewed as "part of a wider project of democratising access to knowledge" (Morrow, 1993:3). This means that beyond providing formal employment, universities must also vitally ensure "epistemological access" (*ibid:*3). As Boughey argues, this 'epistemological access' "is central...to the very institution of the university itself and to the role it can play in a new democracy such as South Africa" (2008a).

   As a consequence of colonialism and apartheid, knowledge production in South Africa has been predominantly the preserve of white men. The democratisation of knowledge requires inducting

previously excluded social groups such as black and women South Africans into the production and dissemination of knowledge. While "formal access is a *necessary* condition for epistemological access… it is…far from being a *sufficient* condition" (Morrow, 1993:3, emphasis in original).

4. The fourth proposition concerns diversity, equity and quality.

   The pursuit and achievement of redress and social equity has great value for both diversity as well as quality within universities.

   Intellectual, social, geographic, national, cultural or linguistic diversity and difference are powerful well-springs of institutional vitality and personal, intellectual, scholarly and institutional development. Diversity, as former Harvard president Neil Rudenstine argues, is a necessary condition for "human learning, understanding and wisdom", and a powerful means of "creating the intellectual energy and robustness that lead to greater knowledge" (cited in Moore, 2005:8). Further, "diversity enriches the educational experience" by providing opportunities for learning "from those whose experiences, beliefs and perspectives are different from" one's own (Moore, 2005:9). Conversely, the absence of diversity diminishes institutional and scholarly life, and "compromises an institution's ability to maintain its own missions and goals", including the commitment to quality and excellence (Moore, 2005: 2; 9).

5. The final proposition relates to the issue of affirmative action, which continues to be the object of contestation.

   Pervasive inequities, as Albie Sachs writes, "cannot be wished away by invoking constitutional idealism" (2006:x), and 'equal opportunity' and "equality of treatment…is unlikely to reduce disadvantage (but) merely maintain it" (Sikhosana, 1993:10). Moreover, if for good reasons no great reliance should be placed on the 'free market' or 'natural processes' to advance social equity, specific measures and strategies are necessary. One such strategy is affirmative action, which can take different forms including quotas, targets and preferences (Moore, 2005:81-82).

   Affirmative action seeks to "take proactive steps to reduce or address the impacts of discrimination with the ultimate goal of eliminating differences between genders, race and ethnicities, underrepresented and dominant groups" (*ibid:*2005:80). Sikhosana notes other definitions of affirmative action: "an active process that attempts to reduce (or more optimistically eliminate) the effects of discrimination, namely disadvantage", and "preference, by way of special measures, for certain groups or members of such groups (typically defined by race, ethnic identity, or sex) for the purpose of

securing adequate advancement of such groups or their individual members in order to ensure equal enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms" (1993:3-4). Sachs defines affirmative action as "focussed and deliberate governmental intervention that takes account of the reality of race to deal with and overcome the problems associated with race" (2006:x).

An important distinction needs to be made between the use of race and gender to discriminate and exclude social groups and individuals, and the use of race and gender to facilitate redress and enhance social equity as part of the quest to create more inclusive and higher quality universities. However, as Sachs points, there are "two basic tensions inherent in the concept of affirmative action" (2006:ix). One is that certain social groups have to give up certain privileges and advantages; the other is that with respect to racial equity "it involves conscious use of racial distinctions in order to create a non-racial society" (Sachs, 2006:ix).

The aim of affirmative action, however, "is not to establish a form of anachronistic or disjunctive compensation for past injustices. It is to rectify the way in which these injustices continue to permeate the world we live in" (*ibid:*ix). A further aim is "to overcome all forms of structured advantage" (*ibid:*ix). Sachs, however, correctly makes the crucial point that "we should never lose sight of the fact that the goal is to establish a non-racial society in which social and cultural diversity is celebrated and seen as a source of vitality, and in which race as such ultimately has no political or economic significance. That must always be our goals" (2006:xi).

The five propositions advanced above are intended to serve two heuristic purposes. One is to ensure that the challenges related to the development and retention of a new generation of academics in South Africa are appropriately conceptualized. The other purpose is to ensure that the policies, strategies and mechanisms that are innovated for producing, transforming and retaining a new generation of academics indeed address the identified challenges.

1.1 National challenges

In 1994, as Table 1[1] below indicates, academics at South African universities were overwhelmingly white (83%) and male (68%).

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[1] I wish to acknowledge my sincere appreciation to Ms. Natalie Ripley, Manager of the Rhodes University Data Management Unit, for her tremendous support related to the statistical data contained in this paper.

Table1: Permanent Instruction Staff at all South African Universities by 'Race' and Gender, 1994[2]

'Race'	Male & Female	Male	% Male	Female	% Female	% Total
African	1048					10
Coloured	312					3
Indian	384					4
White	8520					83
Total	10 267	7 051	68.7	3 217	31.3	100

The sheer inequality of representation is highlighted by the fact that although Black South Africans (African, Coloured and Indian) constituted some 89% of the population, they comprised only 17% of academics at South African universities. The under-representation of Africans was especially severe: although comprising almost 80% of the population, they constituted only 10% of the academic work force. Similarly, while women made up just over 50% of the population, they comprised only 31% of the academic work force of South African universities.

Table 2 below illustrates the situation that prevailed some twelve years later.

Table 2: Permanent Instruction Staff at all South African Universities by 'Race' and Gender, 2006

'Race'	Male	% Male	Female	% Female	Total	% Total
African	2 440	15%	1 476	9%	3 916	24
Coloured	455	3%	368	2%	823	5
Indian	755	5%	590	4%	1 345	9
White	5 629	35%	4 351	27%	9 980	62
Total	9 279	58%	6 785	42%	16 064	100

While, by 2006, the academic work force remained predominantly white (62%) and male (58%), there were significant advances in the representation of black (from 17% to 38%), and especially African South Africans (from 10% to 24%), and women (from 31% to 42%).

Overall, however, the inequalities remained stark. While black South Africans comprised almost 91% of the population they made up only 38% of academics; African South Africans although making up some 80% of the population enjoyed only a 24% representation in the academic workforce, and women, who comprised 51% of the population, made up only 42% of academics (Statistics South Africa, 2008).

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[2] The data does not include the universities of North West, Transkei and Venda.

It must be appreciated that this illustrates the social composition of academics at the level of the university system in general. Prior to 1994, South African universities were reserved for specific 'race' groups. Notwithstanding extensive changes in the institutional landscape and policy, the characterisation of South African universities as 'historically black' and 'historically white' retains some validity. In this regard, it is important to note that in 2005 black academics comprised between 12% and 90% of the academic workforce of universities and women academics comprised 28% to 52% (DoE, 2006). The differential representation of black academics at universities is related, of course, to the racialised history of South Africa's universities and exemplifies the specific challenge of the deracialisation of the academic workforce of the 'historically white' universities.

If the above indicates the social equity challenge, Table 3 below indicates one dimension of the challenge of reproducing a new generation of academics.

Table 3: Permanent Instruction Staff at all South African Universities by Rank, Age and Gender, 2006[3]

Age	Professor		Associate Prof		Sen Lecturer		Lecturer		Jun Lecturer	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Under 25	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	1
25 - 34	2	0	9	5	142	136	546	625	186	220
35 - 44	93	35	213	127	689	576	1 223	1 203	161	162
45 - 54	521	202	542	246	907	579	839	888	54	102
55 - 59	478	84	284	103	395	244	267	288	19	34
60 - 62	298	42	143	50	185	93	103	98	11	5
63 - 65	190	29	73	25	107	53	52	41	2	2
66 - 69	101	8	31	10	42	10	19	20	4	4
Over 70	19	2	2	0	3	0	5	0	3	1
Total	1 702	402	1 297	566	2 470	1 691	3 055	3 165	440	531
55 +	1 086	165	533	188	732	400	446	447	40	46
55 + (%)	63.8	41.0	41.1	33.2	29.6	23.7	14.6	14.1	9.1	8.7
Tot M+ F	2 104		1 863		4 161		6 220		971	
55 +	1 251		721		1 132		893		86	
55 + (%)	59.4		38.7		27.2		14.4		8.9	
55 +	1 972				2 025					
55 + (%)	49.7				19.5					
Total									15 319	
55 +									4 083	
55 + (%)									26.7%	

On the basis of the current retirement age of 65, in the coming decade over 4 000 or some 27% of academics will retire and need to be replaced. In so far as professors and associate professors, who

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[3] This excludes those staff below the rank of junior lecturer (144), and others whose rank was undesignated (601). The total academic work force was 16064 of which 9 279 were males and 6 785 were females.

constitute the most highly qualified and experienced academics, are concerned, almost 50% are due to retire. However, apart from retirees needing to be replaced, it is also necessary to take into account the additional academics that will be required if the university system expands, as envisaged by the 2001 *National Plan for Higher Education*, from the current gross participation rate of 16% to that of 20% by 2011 or 2016 at the latest (MoE, 2001: Scott, 2007:10). Also to be considered are the loss of academics to the public and private sectors, and loss due to emigration.

There are also other dimensions to the challenge. First, in 2005, South African universities graduated 7 881 Masters students and 1 176 Doctoral students (CHE, 2008:8). While these graduates constitute an important pool of potential academics, not all or even most will seek academic careers. Indeed, it is generally understood that the current outputs of Masters and Doctoral graduates are sorely inadequate for South Africa's economic and social development and have to be urgently increased. The mean age of Masters graduates is 34 years and that of Doctoral graduates is 40 years (CHE, 2008:36). If this is the norm in the case of graduates entering academic careers, this has to be a matter of concern with respect to the development of academic capabilities and research productivity.

Second, South African academics are inadequately remunerated relative to occupations in the public (state, public enterprises and science councils) sector and private sector that require similar levels of qualifications and expertise. The remuneration differentials between universities and the public and private sectors are significant and have been widening. Consequently, the public and private sectors wield a powerful pull on Masters and Doctoral graduates and also current academics. It also means that there is a minimal flow of highly qualified graduates from the private and public sectors to universities, to the detriment of universities and economy and society. Further, from the perspectives of social equity and the transformation of universities, universities are also denied the contributions of first generation black graduates from working class and rural poor origins, given the opportunity costs (lower incomes and support of families) that have to be borne by these graduates.

Third, the current outputs of Masters and Doctoral graduates constrain the transformation of the social composition of the new generation of academics. While there have been advances, white and male Masters and Doctoral graduates continue to predominate. In 2005 White students constituted 52% of Masters graduates and 59% of Doctoral graduates. Male students made up 55% of Masters graduates and 56% of Doctoral graduates Furthermore, women graduates continued to be concentrated in the humanities and social science fields (CHE, 2008:32).

Fourth, 19% of Masters and 25% of Doctoral graduates are international students; of these, 72% and 69% respectively are from the Southern African Development Community countries (45% and 32%) and other African countries (27% and 37%) (CHE, 2008:40, 42). These graduates could represent a potential pool of a new generation of academics. Two dilemmas, however, arise. One is the risk of a 'brain drain' that denudes other African countries of highly qualified graduates to the benefit of South Africa and its universities. The other is that the legislation related to employment equity in South Africa was recently amended to define only black and women South Africans as 'designated groups' that may be the beneficiaries of employment equity.

In as much as South African universities must be supported to expand the numbers of local black and women Masters and Doctoral graduates it is vitally important that they also provide opportunities for students from other African countries. In so far as the employment of international, and especially black and women, graduates of South African universities is concerned, it is ill-advised for the state to place obstacles to their recruitment. Further, while the employment of 'suitably qualified'[4] black and women South Africans must be prioritised and unethical and aggressive recruitment strategies must be shunned, it is also not advisable to place constraints on the employment of academics from other African countries and elsewhere as they have a vital contribution to make to the transformation and development of South African universities.

It was earlier argued that a crucial challenge was to ensure that the new generation of academics is intellectually and academically equipped to substantively transform and develop South Africa's universities and significantly enhance their academic capabilities related to teaching and learning, research and community engagement. The challenges in these regards are serious and must not be underestimated.

Intellectual discourse, teaching and learning, curriculum and texts, and knowledge production and research at South African universities were strongly shaped by the racist, patriarchal and authoritarian colonial and apartheid social orders. Indeed, there is evidence that discourses associated with and dominant under apartheid continue to shape knowledge production and, potentially, also the production of new acdemics (see Herman, 2008). Given this, a new generation of academics must, first and foremost, contribute to the intellectual and academic decolonisation, deracialisation and degendering of the inherited intellectual spaces of South Africa's universities, and more generally, to re-orienting universities to serve, in accordance with their social purposes, new constitutional, economic and social needs and development challenges.

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[4] To use the phrase employed by employment equity legislation.

A second challenge is to ensure that the new generation of academics possesses the teaching-learning capabilities that are essential to produce high quality graduates and enhance equity of opportunity and outcomes for students. Given current drop-out, undergraduate success and graduation rates, a substantial improvement in equity of opportunity and outcomes for especially black students remains to be achieved. As Boughey writes, if universities "are to contribute to a more equitable South African society, then access and success must be improved for black (and particularly black working class) students who, by virtue of their previous experiences, have not been inducted into dominant ways of constructing knowledge" (2008a).

Moreover, "systemic responses are essential for improving the educational outcomes" (Scott et al, 2007:73). The "necessary conditions for substantial improvement include: the reform of core curriculum frameworks; enhancing the status of teaching and building educational expertise…to enable the development and implementation of teaching approaches that will be effective in catering for student diversity; and clarifying and strengthening accountability for educational outcomes" (*ibid:*73). Thus, the extent to which there exist academically supportive cultures that promote higher learning, cater for the varied learning needs of a diverse student body through well-conceptualised, designed and implemented academic programmes and adequate academic development initiatives are moot issues.

Third, a new generation has to also contribute to the transformation of institutional cultures, especially at historically white institutions, which in differing ways and to varying degrees compromise equity of opportunity and outcomes. The specific histories of these institutions, lingering racist and sexist conduct, privileges associated with social class, English as the language of tuition and administration, the overwhelming predominance of white and male academics and administrators, the concomitant under-representation of black and women academics and role-models, and insufficient respect for and appreciation of diversity and difference could all combine to reproduce institutional cultures that are experienced by black, women, and working class and rural poor students as discomforting, alienating, exclusionary and disempowering. This has negative consequences for equity of opportunity and outcomes for these students. Even if equity of opportunity and outcome are not unduly compromised, the overall educational and social experience of such students may be diminished. The reproduction and limited erosion of class-based, racialised and gendered institutional cultures also obstruct the forging of greater social cohesion.

It has been noted that almost 50% of professors and associate professors are due to retire in the next decade. These categories are also the most productive researchers. More generally, academics over

the age of 50 have increasingly come to bear responsibility of publishing. Thus, whereas in 1990 20% of (research) articles were published by scientists over 50 years old", by "2000 nearly 50% of publications were authored by scientists over the age of 50" (COHORT, 2004:14). Thus, the new generation of academics will also need to be equipped to discharge the responsibility of conducting research and publishing, so that the knowledge needs of South Africa are effectively met.

1.2   The Rhodes University challenges

Having set out the nature and scope of the national challenges, we can now turn to the specific case of Rhodes University, located in the small town of Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa. Table 4 below indicates the social composition of academics at Rhodes University in 1994.

Table 4: Permanent Instruction Staff at Rhodes University by 'Race' and Gender, 1994

'Race'	Male	% Male	Female	% Female	Total	% Total
African	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	40	13
Coloured	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	3	1
Indian	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	2
White	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	263	84
Total	217	70	94	30	311	100

As at the national level where blacks constituted only 17% of the academic workforce in 1994, black, and especially African and Coloured, academics were also severely under-presented at Rhodes University. Similarly, women comprised only 30% of the academic work force (nationally, 31%).

By 2006 and 2007, as table 5 exemplifies, the social composition of academics had changed only minimally, and remained overwhelmingly white and male (83% and 66/65% respectively).

Table 5: Permanent Instruction Staff at Rhodes University by 'Race' and Gender, 2006 and 2007 (2007 figures in brackets)

'Race'	Male	% Male	Female	% Female	Total	% Total
African	21 (22)	7 (7)	16 (15)	5 (5)	37 (37)	12 (12)
Coloured	3 (3)	1 (1)	7 (7)	3 (3)	10 (10)	3 (3)
Indian	6 (7)	2 (2)	2 (2)	1 (1)	8 (9)	2 (2)
White	178 (177)	56 (55)	83 (87)	27 (28)	261 (267)	83 (83)
Total	208 (209)	66 (65)	108 (111)	34 (35)	316 (320)	100 (100)

The greater inequalities in the racial composition of the academic work force and more severe under-representation of black academics (17%) relative to the national profile of the academic workforce (38% black) can be attributed to the character of Rhodes as a 'historically white' university.

Still, it has to be noted, as table 6 well-illustrates, that in comparison with other 'historically white' universities Rhodes has made significantly less progress in both deracialising and degendering its academic work force.

Table 6: Permanent Instruction Staff at Select Historically White Universities by 'Race' and Gender, 1994 and 2006

University	Year	Black	White	% Black	Male	Female	% Female
Cape Town	1994	58	690	8	578	170	23
	2006	180	671	21	559	292	34
RAU[5] Johannesburg	1994	2	286	1	202	86	30
	2006	279	702	28	563	418	43
Stellenbosch	1994	8	834	1	639	203	24
	2006	116	706	14	497	325	40
Witwatersrand	1994	88	850	9	612	326	35
	2006	352	912	28	687	577	46
Rhodes	1994	48	263	15	217	94	30
	2006	55	261	17	208	108	34

Thus, whereas by 2006 only 55 black academics were employed at Rhodes (an increase of just 7 since 1994) significant numbers were employed at other 'historically white' universities, most of them during the period 1994-2006.

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[5] In 2003 the Rand Afrikaans University merged with the Technikon Witwatersrand to become the University of Johannesburg.

As far as women are concerned, while their representation at Rhodes was similar to that of other 'historically white' universities, today they are more strongly under-represented relative to most other 'historically white' universities and especially relative to the national norm of 42%. Why this is the case is also matter for investigation.

Table 7 below indicates the equity challenges at the level of academic faculties at Rhodes.

Table 7: Permanent Instruction Staff at Rhodes University by Academic Faculties, 'Race' and Gender, 2008

Faculty	Black	White	% Black	Male	Female	% Female
Humanities	20	105	16	75	50	40
Science	8	86	8	67	27	29
Commerce	11	30	27	30	11	27
Education	1	18	5	11	8	42
Pharmacy	5	13	28	12	6	33
Law	2	12	14	7	7	50

Given social composition of academic staff at the level of the University, the severe under-representation of blacks and women at the level of academic faculties is to be expected. In the case of blacks, the under-representation is acute in all faculties; in the case of women it is most acute in the faculties of commerce and science. At the level of academic departments, blacks make up between 0% and 67% of academics and women comprise between 0% and 100% of academics[6].

Turning to the reproduction of a new generation of academics, Table 8 below indicates the age and gender profile of Rhodes academics by rank.

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[6] As a small university, there are some very small departments at Rhodes made up of no more than a few academics

Table 8: Permanent Instruction Staff at Rhodes University by Rank, Age and Gender, 2007[7]

Age	Professor		Associate Prof		Sen Lecturer		Lecturer		Jun Lecturer	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Under 25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
25 - 34	0	0	1	0	2	4	15	10	3	2
35 - 44	0	1	9	3	15	12	24	24	0	1
45 - 54	26	4	15	3	14	10	19	14	1	2
55 - 59	11	2	4	3	3	1	4	2	0	0
60 - 62	13	2	2	0	3	3	4	1	0	0
63 - 65	6	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	0
66 - 69	4	1	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	0
Over 70	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Total	60	11	34	11	42	31	69	52	4	5
55 +	34	6	9	5	11	5	11	4	1	0
55 + (%)	56.6	54.5	27.0	45.5	26.2	16.1	15.9	7.7	25	0
Tot M+F		71		45		73		121		9
55 +		40		14		16		15		1
55 + (%)		56.3		31.1		22.0		12.4		11.1
55 +				54				31		
55 + (%)				46.6				16.0		
Total										310
55 +										86
55 + (%)										27.7

If the retirement age is to remain 65 years, in the coming decade 86 or 27.7% of academics will retire and need to be replaced. This percentage is similar to the national proportion of 27%. More specifically, almost 47% (nationally 50%) of the professors and associate professors are due to retire during the next decade.

Rhodes University plans to grow at 2.5% per annum in coming years and, more immediately, to increase its student enrolment from some 6 000 in 2007 to 6 500 students in 2010, and probably to 7 000 by 2013. It also plans to expand postgraduate enrolments from the current 25% and establish new niche postgraduate and research programmes and facilities. There will also inevitably be some loss of academics to other universities and the public and private sectors. Consequently, new and additional academic staff, especially with doctorates and research and supervision expertise, will have to be found, and together with impending retirements this creates opportunities for changing the social composition of academics.

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[7] This excludes 1 staff member below the rank of junior lecturer. Total staff numbered 320 - 209 male and 111 female.

2. Addressing the Challenges

2.1 The national situation

The challenge of producing and transforming the social composition of a new generation of academics has been raised at various national fora, been the object of various reports, and is well-understood at the levels of the Education and Science Technology Ministry's and higher education and science and technology bodies (Badat, 2002; COHORT, 2004). Unfortunately, to date neither have dedicated concerted and co-ordinated national initiatives been designed and implemented nor have public financial resources been devoted to tackle the challenge.

Instead, to date whatever initiatives have been implemented have emanated from specific individual universities and supported largely by international donor funding.[8] In May 2008, the issue was discussed at the President's Higher Education Working Group and in August 2008 Higher Education South Africa approved an initiative to bring together the universities currently involved in 'new generation' projects to share ideas and experiences and develop a proposal that can be the object of discussions with the Ministry of Education.[9]

2.2 The Rhodes 'Programme for Accelerated Development'

Rhodes University's 'Programme for Accelerated Development' (PAD) was established in 2002, following a grant in 2001 by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation to help the University 'accelerate (its) staff profile transformation initiative" (RU, 2000:1). The Mellon Foundation had previously provided support for Rhodes' "'growing our own timber' Postgraduate Scholarship Programme" (*ibid:*1).

In setting out the "purpose and intent" of the PAD, it was acknowledged that Rhodes "operated in circumstances moulded by a colonial and apartheid history which systematically privileged some and disadvantaged others" (RU, 2001b:1). The University was therefore "committed to providing opportunities to members of designated groups in order to enhance their ability to compete successfully for permanent posts", and considered such opportunities to "include the provision of development posts in academic departments" (*ibid*:1).

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[8] The universities include Cape Town, Rhodes, Witwatersrand, KwaZulu-Natal, Cape Peninsula University of Technology and, more recently, University of Johannesburg. Principal donors have been the Carnegie Corporation and Mellon Foundation.

[9] The initiative is co-ordinated by the Chairperson of the HESA Funding Strategy Group, Dr. Salem Badat.

The aims of the PAD were described as three-fold:

- To enable Rhodes "to offer suitable black postgraduates academic posts to retain or attract them to Rhodes" (RU, 2000:1).
- To offer black postgraduates three-year contract posts that would facilitate their entry into "an academic career in a supportive environment so that they do not lose momentum as researchers while establishing themselves as teachers" (*ibid*:2).
- To "provide the incumbent with an establishment post" if the contract appointment was successful and the person wished to continue at Rhodes (*ibid*:2).

An '*Employment Protocol*' of 2001 set out the requirements of PAD lecturers. These included undertaking a reduced teaching load, completion of a Masters degree or substantial progress towards completion of a PhD, or active involvement in research if a lecturer was already in possession of a PhD. In addition, lecturers had to complete the Postgraduate Diploma in Higher Education (PGDHE) offered by the University's Academic Development Centre.[10]

The *Employment Protocol* also set out eligibility criteria for candidates, recruitment procedures, criteria for selection of candidates, procedures for selection and placement, conditions of placement, conditions of service for staff members, conditions of service for mentors and funding of the development posts (RU, 2001b:2-4).

While the references above are to black postgraduates, "eligible candidates" were described as "postgraduate students from Rhodes and other universities in South and Southern Africa who are black and/or women" (*ibid*:2). Additional criteria were that candidates had to "show exceptional abilities in the academic sphere" and "demonstrate a willingness to make their careers in the university environment" (RU, 2000:2).

It was noted that "in an equal contest between two candidates for a single post, the candidate from the more disadvantaged background would be given preference" (RU, 2000:2). In equal contests between candidates for a post, preference would be given to national rather than international candidates. Other considerations would be the demographic profile of an academic department and the need for diversity, and "the demographic profile and succession planning of the University" (RU, 2001b:2).

Incumbents of the three-year contract posts were to be appointed as junior lecturers or lecturers and supported by a "mentoring support system". The Academic Development Centre of the University was to

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[10] Initially called the Postgraduate Certificate in Higher Education

support the lecturers with respect to the development of their teaching capabilities, research support was to be provided by an "academic support programme" organized by the Dean of Research, and a senior academic was to serve as a mentor for each lecturer (RU, 2000:2).

During the first phase of Mellon Foundation support between 2001 and 2005 some 15 apprentice academics were to be contracted. Recruitment through internal and national advertising in 2001 resulted in 403 applications.[11] It was noted that the "number and quality of applications...exceeded the University's expectations" and that it "confirmed that a larger number of potential academics from designated groups[12], who have promise and talent but who are reluctant to apply for 'standard' lecturing positions, are interested and eager to join academia" (RU, 2001a:1).

It was further stated that Rhodes had learnt from the recruitment process that there was an "enormous pool of potential talent" and that "established academics (were) enthusiastic about sharing their expertise and wealth of experience and knowledge with people from disadvantaged backgrounds who demonstrate commitment and passion for their disciplines" (RU, 2001a:2-3). An especial lesson was "the untapped pool of potential candidates for routinely advertised posts and the need to actively encourage and seek out prospective candidates who display the promise and talent" (*ibid*:3).

In 2003 the view was expressed that "a critical part of this programme is the mentor support provided to the beneficiaries", including the "provision of ongoing feedback to the staff member by the mentor, including formal assessment of progress made" (RU, 2003:3). It was noted that

> in the first year of employment, the mentor is required to write two progress reports on the individual, each at six monthly intervals. This is to ensure that the development of the staff member is on track and that s/he is receiving the kind of support required. The report is then read and signed off by the Head of Department, Dean of Faculty and Vice-Chancellor. In the second and third year of the programme, mentor reports are written on an annual basis (*ibid*:3).

During the "ongoing evaluation of the programme", concern was expressed "by the 2002 staff and mentors regarding the affirmative action nature of the programme and the potential for this to be

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[11] There were 135 in Humanities, 123 in Education, 63 in Science, 45 in Commerce, 33 in Law and 4 in Pharmacy.

[12] In terms of South African labour legislation this includes blacks – Africans, Coloureds and Indians - women and the disabled.

stigmatizing to participants" (RU, 2003:4). In the light of this "the fast tracking aspect of the programme was emphasized in the employment protocol and in meetings with mentors and staff on the programme", and this was deemed "successful" (*ibid*:4). According to the PAD lecturers, the "interplay of opportunity and challenge is seen to set the programme apart and distinguish it from being a programme for the disadvantaged" (RU, 2003:4).

A further observation on the part of PAD lecturers was that there was pressure "to perform given that there are development plans to be drawn up, regular mentor meetings and mentor reports on their progress" (i*bid*:4). On the other hand, staff members employed on 'normal' contracts were considered not to have these pressures. One practical difficulty experienced was that "insufficient consideration had been given to issues such as office space, equipment, furniture, computer, whether the new staff member would have access to email" (*ibid*:4).

Whereas since its inception the PAD had been managed by the Human Resources Division of the University, in 2004 the Academic Development Centre (ADC)[13] took over the management, as "by virtue of the role of ADC staff in the University…they would be better placed to oversee a programme involving the development of academic staff" (RU, 2004:1).

In further evaluation of the programme it was commented that "most of the lecturers feel that every effort has been made to dispel any sense of stigma (with regard to affirmative action) from the Programme both with staff and students" (*ibid*:5). A PAD lecturer, however, commented that "being a young black woman at an institution such as Rhodes is difficult" (RU, 2004:5). It was noted that "issues specific to black academics in the University" were raised at meetings to discuss "issues around race and gender in the University" (*ibid*:5).

As noted, lecturers on the PAD were required to register for and complete the PGDHE offered by the ADC. The PGDHE comprised of four modules: Learning and Teaching in Higher Education, Curriculum Development, Assessment of Student Learning and Evaluation of Teaching and Courses. In addition, the lecturers had to develop a Teaching Portfolio.

The PGDHE was championed by the University's Human Resource Development Manger, an academic turned administrator who had undertaken the programme. More generally, the PGDHE emerged as part of the quality assurance and promotion discourse at Rhodes, which

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[13] In 2008 the ADC became the Centre for Higher Education Research, Teaching and Leaning (CHERTL), with the director also serving as Dean of Learning and Teaching.

as an institution sought to emphasise the enhancement of the student experience. However, its especial value lay in encouraging and supporting academics to theorise and critically reflect on their practices related to programme, course and curriculum design, teaching, student learning and assessment. Completion of certain modules of the PGDHE became part of the probation and tenure requirements of new academics.

Through the PGDHE, the ADC provided invaluable expertise and mentoring to PAD lecturers to develop their teaching capabilities, including the teaching of large classes, and assessing and grading of students. There was also the opportunity for peer learning. However, while the PAD lecturers found it "a positive and helpful experience in terms of their teaching practice", some felt that "expecting lecturers to complete a postgraduate degree in their disciplines as well as the PGDHE in the space of 3 years was placing undue pressure on them" (RU, 2004:7). It was therefore decided to "reduce the employment requirements for the Mellon lecturers who do *not* hold PhDs to two modules of the PGDHE as opposed to the whole qualification" (*ibid*:7).

The 2005 evaluation made recourse to focus groups with PAD lecturers and semi-structured individual interviews with mentors. A few lecturers expressed concern regarding their status in academic departments: there was sometimes inadequate induction and recognition of them as academics, with a tendency to treat them as junior members or postdoctoral candidates (RU, 2005:7). In view of this, it was proposed that heads of academic departments should be included in the PAD orientation programme (*ibid*:7). The issue of affirmative action was again raised: PAD lecturers wondered whether their status was not "a broader institutional issue since Mellon posts were seen as affirmative action posts with some of the concomitant negative perceptions that accompanied such a designation" (*ibid*:7).

Nonetheless, the PAD was seen as "an excellent means through which to facilitate the University's attainment of staff equity" (RU, 2005:9). PAD lecturers, however, were of the view that "the success of the programme depended a great deal on the quality of the candidates" (*ibid*:9). They also suggested that social class should become "a criterion for selection" so that opportunities to become academics could be afforded to candidates of working class origins (*ibid*:9). Two concerns were raised. One was that perhaps "adequate consideration had not been given to the issue of succession planning and ensuring that all Mellon lecturers who were capable and desired to stay on at Rhodes, had the opportunity to do so" (*ibid:*9). The other concern related, in the light of escalating property prices in Grahamstown, to affordable accommodation as a retention issue (RU, 2005:10).

In the 2006 and 2007 evaluations, PAD lecturers were highly complimentary of the role and contribution of the ADC to their development (RU, 2006:7). It was again stressed that great care had to be taken in the selection of PAD lecturers and that the "choice of mentor is vital" (RU,2007:5) Concerns were raised about work permit issues for international PAD lecturers (*ibid:*9), the lack of support in one department (RU, 2006:9), and the challenge of trying to balance teaching, research and community engagement (*ibid:*10; RU, 2007:6). It was also observed that large classes could make the requirement of a 50% teaching load onerous. Finally, mentors were of the view that progress reports on PAD lecturers provided an opportunity for deep and critical reflection.

On the basis of the description above of the PAD, its salient features as it has evolved between 2002 and 2008 can be distilled in the following way.

1. The PAD is an initiative that seeks to advance redress and social equity through providing opportunities to aspiring black and women academics to accelerate their development as high quality academics
2. The programme is organised and coordinated by CHERTL, which is a specialist entity with considerable expertise and experience on higher education learning and teaching issues
3. The PAD enjoys the strong support of the University leadership, which champions and is involved in the PAD in various ways
4. Candidates are recruited and generally carefully selected from within and outside Rhodes University and accorded the status of academics within academic departments
5. The PAD lecturers have a reduced teaching load and are expected to pursue higher degrees or undertake postdoctoral research under the guidance of a supervisor
6. Each PAD lecturer has a mentor who is a senior academic. The mentor may also be the research supervisor or may be different from the research supervisor
7. The PAD lecturers must complete either specific modules of the PGDHE or the whole PGDHE qualification offered by the CHERTL
8. Orientation workshops are held for PAD lecturers and mentors to build shared understanding of the programme and of specific roles and responsibilities
9. The PAD lecturers are required to attend a new lecturers orientation workshop that is organised annually by CHERTL to induct academics that are new to Rhodes University
10. Three year development plans are formulated by lecturers and mentors and are a critical component of the PAD
11. There are regular progress reports by mentors on the PAD lecturers, which the lecturers have sight of and are also read by the Head of Department, the Dean of the Faculty and the Vice-Chancellor

12. There are annual critical evaluations of the PAD to inform its ongoing development
13. PAD lectureships are linked to forthcoming retirements in academic departments, and anticipated resignations or growth in student enrolments that would require additional academic staff
14. PAD lecturers are guaranteed appointment to posts in academic departments on the basis of successful screening[14].

The PAD has had an *impact* at a number of levels. The first, and foremost, is at the level of the PAD lecturers. Between 2002 and 2010 19[15] aspiring black and women academics will have been afforded the opportunity to acquire higher degrees and develop as teachers and researchers, with prospects of ongoing employment at Rhodes. The second level of impact has been on mentors, for whom the PAD has been a useful learning experience in mentoring of new academics, and with potentially valuable lessons also for dedicated postgraduate supervision. There has also been an impact at the level of the academic department, with the PAD offering additional teaching support and the PAD lecturers serving as catalysts of new ideas around learning and teaching and research. In addition, the PAD has suggested a new model of the development of new academics.

There has also been a significant impact on CHERTL, as the coordinator of the PAD. Invaluable experience and expertise have been acquired year by year of the PAD, which has benefitted new cohorts of PAD lecturers, advanced thinking on the design and practice of mentoring, and also more generally on the induction of new academics into higher education learning and teaching and on research supervision. Finally, there has been an impact on the University as a whole, with important lessons learnt regarding the design and implementation of a structured development programme for a new generation of academics. Further, although the PAD has been an accelerated development programme for new academics that has had a redress and social equity intent and affirmative action dimension, expertise and experience have been more generally acquired with respect to creating opportunities for new academics to succeed.

The *outcomes* of the PAD in relation to its purposes and aims have been mixed. Table 9 below provides information on the 'race' and gender of the PAD lecturers, their disciplines, the higher degrees they have acquired and their current location.

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[14] Law requires that PAD lecturers that are not South Africans cannot be screened but must compete for posts
[15] The slower than anticipated roll-out of the PAD and interest earned on Mellon funds income made it possible to support 19 lecturers than the 15 originally envisaged.

Table 9: PAD Programme, 2002-2010

Discipline	Race		Gender		Achievement	Current Location
	B	W	F	M		
Psychology	2		2		Masters; PhD ong	RU post/R&D
Sociology	1		1		Masters; PhD ong	RU post
Anthropology	1		1		Masters; PhD ong	RU post
History	2		1	1	Masters; Postdoc ip	RU post**/ PhD
Political Studies	2		2		PhD/PhD ongoing	RU post*/ R&D
Education	2		1	1	Postdoc/PhD ip	RU post**/State
Mathematics	1			1	Postdoctoral ip	RU post*
Economics	1			1	PhD ongoing	PhD ong – UCT
Geography		1	1		PhD in progress	RU post**
Chemistry	1	1	1	1	Postdoc/ Postdoc	RU post/UP post
Ichthyology & Fisheries Science		1		1	PhD	National Parks
Zoology & Entomology	1		1		PhD	US post
Biochem Micro. & Biotechnology	1		1		Postdoctoral	RU post
Pharmacy	1			1	PhD in progress	RU post*
Total	16	3	12	7	5 PAD lecturers awarded RU posts; 3 invited to apply for posts*; 3 eligible for posts on completion**	
	19		19			

Between 2002 and 2010, 19 lecturers will have been on the PAD, with 5 currently still on the programme. 16 (84%) are black, 12 (63%) are women and 16 (84%) are South Africans. 5 of the lecturers completed Masters degrees, 3 completed doctoral degrees, and 4 undertook postdoctoral research. 2 lecturers that have completed are continuing with doctoral study. Of the 5 lecturers still on the programme, 3 are undertaking doctoral study and 2 postdoctoral research.

Overall, of the 19 PAD lecturers, 26% (5) have been appointed to permanent posts. The most recently appointed 3 lecturers are all eligible for posts on completion of their three-year contracts. Thus, of the 19 lecturers, 42% (8) could assume academic posts at Rhodes. 3 lecturers have been invited to apply for available posts. Of the remaining 8 lecturers, 3 have opted to assume posts at other South African universities, 2 are working in the research and development field, 2 are employed by the state and 1 is undertaking doctoral study at another South African university.

The retention of only 5, and possibly only 8 out of 19 lecturers on the PAD, is disappointing and is cause for some concern. Wherein, then, lie the problems? On all accounts the PAD is an excellent, well-managed academic accelerated development programme. There is no doubt scope for further improvement. However, the problems appear to have less to do with the academic model as much as with the original design of the overall programme.

Recall that one of the expressed aims of the PAD was to "provide the incumbent with an establishment post" if the contract appointment was

successful and the person wished to continue at Rhodes (RU, 2000:2). Yet, unfortunately, no explicit commitment was given to PAD lecturers and there was inadequate planning in this regard. For example, PAD lectureships were not linked to posts in academic departments that could become available through retirements, anticipated resignations or student enrolment growth. Only in 2007, when the final 3 appointments were made, were the lectureships effectively linked to succession planning and to posts that would become available through retirements. Further, no funds were committed to create, if required, supernumerary posts to accommodate successful PAD lecturers. The critique of PAD lecturers that "adequate consideration had not been given to the issue of succession planning and ensuring that all Mellon lecturers who were capable and desired to stay on at Rhodes, had the opportunity to do so" had some force (2005:9).

Debate is essential on what the retention target should be and the changes needed to achieve the agreed target. A target of 100%, while probably difficult, is not impossible. Lecturers could, of course, seek to leave the PAD during their three-year contracts, as four did, to take up posts at other universities or elsewhere. This raises the issue of whether they should be bound to certain contractual obligations. A further issue is whether lecturers should be bound to a stipulated period of service on completion of their contracts. The PAD is a major investment of resources and an expensive programme, and if retention is to be improved some firm decisions in these regards seem necessary.

It is evident that there are other necessary conditions to ensure the success of the PAD. For one, an entity such as CHERTL is critical to the effective design and implementation of the academic dimensions of the accelerated development programme and to its ongoing monitoring and review. For another, the PAD must receive strong support from the University leadership, which must also be involved in various ways. The vital importance of selecting the 'right' lecturers and appropriate mentors has already been noted, as have issues such as the status of the lecturers, effective induction within academic departments, and practical matters related to office space, facilities and equipment.

It was earlier argued that the triple challenge of South African universities encompasses not only producing and simultaneously changing the social composition of a new generation of academics, but also ensuring that they possess the teaching and research capabilities necessary for enhancing the academic capacities and transformation of universities. Universities today operate in an environment, as Barnett puts it, of 'supercomplexity' (2000), myriad pressures and demands, 'massification', internationalization and increasing student diversity. These pose significant curriculum and pedagogic challenges. Pedagogy, as induction into "knowing amidst a world of uncertainty…is as much an ontological challenge…as it is an epistemological challenge" (Barnett,

2008:14). CHERTL has raised awareness of the complexities related to universities and teaching and learning and the dilemmas they pose. Through the PGDHE and other mechanisms it has sought to provide effective support and also enhance the teaching capabilities of PAD lecturers.

One issue, however, that has received inadequate attention in the PAD is research supervision. This is, of course, of vital importance if the goal is to enhance research, knowledge production and publishing and ensure a much stronger representation of black and women academics in these arenas. For capacity reasons little support around research, supervision and writing was provided by the University's Research Office. Supervision can be fraught with challenges at the best of times, and these can be heightened when overlaid with epistemological, theoretical and methodological differences, and differing conceptions on how emerging academics should be inducted into "a community of practice which is based on shared values and attitudes about what can count as knowledge and how that knowledge can be known" (Boughey, 2008b). Thus, there could be more effective utilisation of the opportunities provided by PAD to share ideas and practices as a community of supervisors and supervisees, and perhaps innovate new models of supervision that enhance lecturer capabilities related to theorizing, research methodologies, methods and techniques, and analysis, argument and writing.

It cannot be assumed that the vital lessons that an initiative such as the PAD may have for institutional policies and practices will necessarily be absorbed, embraced and trigger institutional changes. Three examples will suffice. First, in 2001 in recruiting for the PAD it was observed that "potential academics from designated groups… who have promise and talent but who are reluctant to apply for 'standard' lecturing positions, are interested and eager to join academia" (RU, 2001a:1). In the light of the extremely poor representation of black academics at Rhodes and the fact that the University has been considerably less successful than other 'historically white' universities in improving its representation of black academics, this is hugely important insight arising out of the PAD process. However, why academics from designated groups could be "reluctant to apply for 'standard' lecturing positions" at Rhodes does not appear to have been given much attention. Certainly, there is no evidence that this triggered any discussion on whether and to what extent institutional culture could be an issue.

Second, it was also recognized that there was an "untapped pool of potential candidates for routinely advertised posts" and that there was a "need to actively encourage and seek out prospective candidates who display the promise and talent" (RU, 2001a:3). Yet, this does not appear to have any immediate significant impact on institutional

recruitment procedures[16] and concomitantly on the staff profile. This has to raise the question of the permeability of the institutional culture to absorbing certain lessons and changing key institutional practices.

Third, the lessons learnt from the PAD have not been sufficiently drawn on to shape the development of new academics on 'normal' contracts. While financing may be a major constraint in this regard, there is a need to explore how new academics could be provided some of the opportunities for development enjoyed by PAD lecturers.

Finally, a recurrent issue in the PAD has been that of the 'stigma' of affirmative action and the perception of PAD lectureships as affirmative action posts. It was suggested that emphasising the PAD lectureships as accelerated development opportunities had largely addressed this matter. That may be so, and it is correct to consider the PAD as providing aspiring academics the opportunity for accelerated development. However, this reasoning does not confront why special measures, such as affirmative action, that are permitted by the *Constitution* should cause discomfort. In any event, the reality is that the PAD has been an initiative restricted to aspiring black and women academics. Nothing, in principle, precluded it from being designed as a programme for all aspiring academics.

The usual charges against affirmative action – of "discrimination' and 'reverse racism' an inevitable erosion of 'quality' and 'standards', the perpetration of 'psychological damage' on beneficiaries - should be given little credence (Sikhosana, 1993). More serious are the concerns about affirmative action primarily benefiting blacks and women of wealthy and middle class social origins, reinforcing class inequalities, the efficacy of the use of race and gender as proxies of advantage and disadvantage and the possibility of race categories becoming ossified rather than eroded (Alexander, 2007). These concerns need to be considered and, indeed, there was a suggestion by PAD lecturers that opportunities should be especially created for aspiring academics from economically disadvantaged social groups. Moreover, given that disadvantage takes myriad forms "how should an institution weigh different forms of disadvantage?" (Kapur and Crowley, 2008:60). Further, "what criteria (or sunset clauses) should be used to phase out affirmative action?" (ibid: 60).

The feelings on the part of PAD lecturers of stigma associated with the PAD could be more a commentary on attitudes and anxieties related to affirmative action and institutional culture at Rhodes, and the challenges in these regards, than on the qualities and potential of the PAD lecturers. Note in this regard, the comment of one lecturer that

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[16] It was only in 2007 that public adverts for posts at Rhodes stated a commitment to diversity and specifically encouraged members of designated groups to apply.

"being a young black woman at an institution such as Rhodes is difficult" (RU, 2004:5). The statement is suggestive in that it could raise the question of institutional culture and its permeability and openness to learning and transformation from at least five specific perspectives: those of 'race', gender, being young, being junior and being new to the institution. However, from the discussion above it should be apparent that institutional culture also rears itself as a more general issue. It, of course, has a critical bearing on the ability of Rhodes to attract and to retain PAD lecturers, and black, women and new lecturers more generally.

Mamdani's concerns regarding affirmative action in the South African context raises a further important issue: the danger that the PAD could help "alter the racial composition" of academic staff and yet women and especially black academics could still largely be excluded, with particular, and largely unspoken, notions of 'quality', 'merit' and best' constituting the key exclusionary mechanisms. The danger, as he points out, is that programmes such as those of accelerated development and affirmative action could become substitutes that "obscure the very task that must be central to democratisation in a 'new' South Africa, that of institutional transformation" (cited in Sikhosana, 1993:16). This is, indeed, a danger, and helps to make the crucial point that while initiatives like the PAD may be a necessary condition, they are not a sufficient condition for the institutional transformation and development of South African universities.

Conclusion

It is clear that with respect to the current social composition of the academic labour force and employment equity South Africa has an immediate and serious challenge, whose roots are located in South Africa's colonial and apartheid past. It is also evident that with regard to the reproduction of a new generation of academics there is a looming and potentially grave further challenge. This is a consequence of the age profile of the academic work force, the inadequate remuneration of academics, the pull of the public and private sectors, the opportunity costs for first generation black graduates and the emigration of scholars.

It is indisputable that urgent interventions are required on the part of the state and universities. A failure to invest in and cultivate a new generation of high quality academics will have far-reaching consequences. Redress and social equity and the pace and extent of the deracialisation and degendering of the academic work force will be negatively affected. The quality of academic provision will be increasingly debilitated by the dearth of high quality academics, with consequences for the capabilities of universities to produce high quality

graduates and knowledge. The goal of transforming and developing South African universities, including enhancing their teaching and research capabilities, will also be compromised. Finally, the ability of universities to contribute to development and democracy through a new generation of outstanding scholars that are committed to critical and independent scholarship and social justice will be hampered.

Fortunately, there are pioneering initiatives and accumulated knowledge, expertise and experience related to developing a new generation of academics that can be called upon to support further initiatives and more systemic responses. The PAD at Rhodes University is one example - a committed and concerted initiative that seeks to facilitate redress, advance social equity and contribute to the production of a new generation of high quality academics that can play a pivotal role in the transformation and development of South African universities. It is, concomitantly, also an attempt to erode and transform the previous social relations and conditions of the production of academics, and more generally, of knowledge in South Africa. However, as has been noted, to derive maximum value from initiatives such as the PAD, there has to be a permeability and openness of institutional culture. Moreover, while initiatives like the PAD can contribute to institutional transformation, they cannot on their own realise institutional transformation.

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