Institutional transformation at South African universities: Implications for academic staff

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Abstract. In South Africa the restructuring of the higher education system and the transformation of higher education institutions are located within the country's broad political and socio-economic transition to democracy. This paper focuses particularly on institutional transformation, and pays attention to the implications of the process of transformation for academic staff.

The following five interlinked and interdependent issues characterizing institutional transformation in South African higher education are identified:
- democratising the governance structures of institutions
- increasing access for educationally and financially disadvantaged students
- restructuring the curriculum
- focusing on developmental needs in research and community service
- redressing inequalities in terms of race and gender.

Although the overall effect of institutional transformation is experienced rather negatively by many academic staff members, the paper concludes that academics have to be empowered by means of staff development to remain active partners in the transformation process.

Keywords: academic staff, curriculum change, equity, governance, staff development, student needs, transformation

1. Introduction

It is an undeniable fact that transformation of higher education is a global phenomenon, taking place in most countries in the world. Green and Hayward (1997, p. 3) argue that "(a)lthough higher education is often seen as slow to change or downright resistant, it has undergone rapid transformation throughout the world in the last 25 years and may be in a period of unprecedented change". This is confirmed by other authors:

There are many signs which indicate that the world is going through such major changes that we may be talking about a new epoch. Since knowledge plays the key role in the new society it is sometimes called the knowledge society. The emergence of the new society calls for a re-evaluation of the university system... (Hagstrom and Steen n.d., p. 15).
In South Africa the transformation of higher education is part of the broad political and socio-economic transition to democracy characterising the country and its people. Venter (1995, p. 267) describes the comprehensive process of national transformation as one which commenced with the liberalisation phase (the pre-negotiation phase which started on 2 February 1990), followed by the democratisation phase during which multi-party negotiations took place, ending with the first democratic elections in April 1994. At present the country and its people are experiencing the socialisation phase where the new order is being implemented.

In this context the transformation of higher education is not only a comprehensive (i.e. encompassing) process, but also a radical one (i.e. going to the roots). Furthermore, it is a precipitous process – almost daily there are shifts of emphasis and new issues which dominate the higher education debate. Within this context academic staff have to make paradigm shifts, adapt, and approach their professional endeavours in new and innovative ways.

This paper argues that the implications of institutional transformation for academic staff members is much more profound and multifarious than is generally believed. The analysis draws on research findings (although it does not represent the findings of one specific research project), as well as the author’s experience as an academic in both historically disadvantaged and historically advantaged universities in South Africa.

2. Conceptualization

A proper discussion of institutional transformation located within a broader societal transition needs to be preceded by a clarification of terminology. The term “transition” refers to changes in the political, social, economic, cultural and educational structures of a society. These changes often lead to completely new configurations of relations of power (Kirsten 1994, p. 3). Transitions are all-encompassing processes which include sub-processes and which affect every single institution and organisation of society (Esterhuyse 1992, p. 28).

In higher education the term “transition” is often employed to refer to a major structural conversion of a national system of higher education that generally takes place over an extended period of time, e.g. the transition from elite to mass higher education.

Transition in a higher education system in most cases gives rise to the transformation of higher education institutions. This implies profound and dramatic changes in institutions, sometimes occurring as a result of turbulence inside institutions or, more frequently, resulting from changes in their external environment. Transformation should therefore be distinguished from
reform or reformation, which is a process of modification without fundamental change. Transformation is usually a process by which the form, shape and/or nature of institutions are completely altered – what Makgoba (1996, p. 55) calls a “blueprint change”. It conveys a “sense of radical change, of a metamorphosis which needs to take place” (Gourley 1994, p. 1), and implies much more than cosmetic changes, window-dressing or strategic moves; “it is a moral imperative, deeply rooted in, and driven by, the will-to-truth” (Kirsten 1994, p. 5). This is confirmed by Harvey and Green (1993, p. 24) who believe that “(t)ransformation is not restricted to apparent or physical transformation but also includes cognitive transcendence”.

Transformation of South African higher education can be seen to take place at different levels. Ngara (1998) distinguishes the structural or governance level, the level of demographics, the level of the core function of the institution and the level of vision/mission and organisational culture. The first three levels are addressed in Section 4; transformation of organisational vision, mission, values and culture requires further attention.

Organisational culture consists of values, norms and behaviours and is shaped by the people in the organisation. It is therefore inevitable that changes in the staff and student populations of higher education institutions will bring about changes to the organisational culture. The presence of different groups in the organisation with different values, norms and behaviours makes the forging of a new organisational culture quite problematic. South African higher education institutions are currently struggling to effect the shift from an organisational culture which was acceptable and appropriate for the “old” South Africa to one that will be appropriate for the “rainbow nation”.

Shared values are considered to offer considerable benefits for the organisation. According to Hoy and Miskel (1987, p. 250)

(s)hared values define the basic character of the organisation and give the organisation a sense of identity. If members know what their organisation stands for, if they know what standards they should uphold, then they are more likely to make decisions that will support those standards. They are also more likely to feel part of the organisation.

Transformation of higher education institutions is therefore not only about changes in the composition of staff and students, or changes in governance structures or course content. Essentially, it is about the transformation of the organisational culture and the development and acceptance of new, shared values. This can only be achieved through fundamental changes in the mindset (“cognitive transcendence”) of all stakeholders and role-players, amongst which academic staff requires particular attention.
3. A South African perspective on the transformation of higher education

Even before 1994 there has, for many years, been a strong drive for change from within South African higher education, complemented by external pressures such as the academic boycott against South Africa. Spearheading the move towards transforming higher education was the student sector, particularly student organisations such as the South African Students Congress (SASCO) and the Pan African Students Organisation (PASO). Workers' unions like NEHAWU (the National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union) and staff associations like UDUSA (Union of Democratic University Staff Associations) also consistently demanded change in higher education.

Following on the country's transition to democracy, the demands and expectations arising from the new political dispensation gave new impetus to the internal drive towards a more open, relevant and non-discriminating higher education system. The government now expects a transformed higher education system to redress past inequalities, to serve a new social order, to meet national needs for personpower and development, and to respond to new realities and opportunities (RSA DoE 1997, p. 1).

As part of the restructuring of the higher education system, the transformation of higher education institutions is high on the government's agenda. In 1995 the Minister of Education, Professor Bengu, sent a communiqué to all universities and technikons, urging them to establish institutional transformation forums. During 1996 the Minister called two conferences on the transformation of higher education. At the first conference on 23 February Professor Bengu said: "Our first task is to agree on a national framework which would shape and provide urgency to the transformation agenda and project" (Bengu 1996, p. 3). The government's Green Paper on Higher Education moots the establishment of a council for higher education to manage transformation, whereas the Draft White Paper on Higher Education (RSA MoE 1997, p. 26) makes provision for the Council on Higher Education which should "play a leading strategic role in the envisaged transformation of the system ...". In a keynote address delivered by the Minister on 4 August 1997 he said: "The transformation of the higher education system to reflect the changes that are taking place in our society and to strengthen the values and practices of our new democracy is, as I have stated on many previous occasions, not negotiable" (Bengu 1997, p. 2).

Transformation in South African higher education has been characterised by a considerable degree of conflict. In the local context this conflict mostly emanates from contesting paradigms, evidence of which is provided by the continuing battles on our campuses (Mail & Guardian May 24-30 1996, p. 5; Die Volksblad 17 May 1966). Since the first democratic elections in
1994 there have been, if not more, then certainly no less demonstrations and mass actions by students countrywide (The Sunday Independent 11 August 1996; Sunday Times 30 March 1997). Even universities that in the past had experienced no disruptions, have suffered much damage (Die Volksblad 22 July 1996; Die Volksblad 30 July 1966).

However much class boycotts, protest marches and student mass action influence academic staff in terms of being prevented from performing their daily duties, working in a volatile and unpredictable context, and even fearing for their own safety, these are not the only ramifications of transformation they have to contend with. Transformation of South African universities over the past five years has been characterised by, amongst others, five closely inter-linked and interdependent issues that have particular implications for academic staff. They include the democratisation of institutional governance, increased access for financially and educationally disadvantaged students, the restructuring of curricula, a shift in the focus of research and community service, and the redressing of race and gender inequalities.

Many of these issues are not peculiar to South African higher education. Gallego (1998, p. 3) reports of US higher education that "(t)he critical issues of change that we are facing on our campuses now and into the next century go beyond growth, funding, and collective bargaining or labor relations. The more challenging issues will be met as our campuses become more diverse, and as we attempt to transform the curriculum to meet the many needs of students in a technological society of rapid change".

4. Issues related to institutional transformation and their implications for academic staff

4.1. Democratisation of institutional governance: the rise of transformation forums

Governance is one of the most thorny issues that South African higher education has to deal with during the transitional period. Institutional governance and management structures and processes have been under constant attack from staff, students and the broader community. Councils, particularly, have been accused of being undemocratic, unrepresentative and even illegitimate. At several institutions Council members have been asked to resign in order to make way for more representative Councils to be constituted.

Senates too have attracted considerable criticism. Academics feel that their interests are not adequately represented by Senate members nor that their views are being reflected in the decisions that Senates take. A study of institutional governance by Fourie (1996, p. 269) showed that there even was
a lack of interest by Senate members themselves in their Senate duties. The same study (Fourie 1996, p. 269) showed that the conflicting paradigms of Senate members hampered the effective functioning of these bodies during the transition phase.

When institutional governance structures are perceived as no longer effective, representative or functional, “shadow” governance structures often come into being. This happened at the majority of South African higher education institutions. Some institutional role-players found the formal structures of Council, Senate and institutional management unable or unwilling to respond to demands for rapid change. In addition, the perception reigned that sources of institutional policy and planning and processes for inclusive decision-making were lacking. Hence transformation forums emerged as a political strategy embarked on by the democratic movement to prevent the unilateral restructuring of institutional governance and management. At the same time transformation forums represented attempts by previously excluded groups to gain entry to policy-making arenas (Cloete and Mohamed 1995, p. 8). Although transformation forums as structures were originally conceived by the student sector and its allies, notably NEHAWU and UDUSA, as mechanisms for institutional change, they were (and still are) in many institutions also seen as alternative governance structures.

At some institutions transformation forums consist of only internal role-players and stakeholders – more or less equal numbers of students and staff (both administrative and academic) (Fourie 1996). In a few cases management structures are excluded from transformation forums, because they are regarded as representing the “old order”. At other institutions, representatives of internal role-players make up only about 50 per cent of transformation forums, and representatives of external community structures form the remaining half. Many institutions see the purpose of the transformation forum primarily as providing an opportunity for negotiations between stakeholders. A second important function is that of advising university management and governance structures (cf. De Montfort University 1996, p. 6), whereas a third function is the dissemination of information (Fourie 1996, p. 272). At some institutions transformation forums embarked on a systematic programme of institutional transformation, with mixed results.

For many academic staff members their involvement in transformation forums was their first experience of negotiation and joint decision-making with other non-academic structures, and their reactions differed on account of their paradigms and perceptions of transformation. Some senior academic staff members found the entire idea and process of transformation unpalatable and completely withdrew from it. In the absence of those with much-needed
experience and expertise, junior academics had to wage battle on behalf of academia which they did enthusiastically, though possibly not always wisely.

Because of the context within which transformation forums originated, their meetings often degenerated into political power struggles between the representatives of the various constituencies. Academic staff found it difficult to adapt to the style of negotiations adopted by student structures who, coming from a historical context of the "struggle", have a much politicised perception of most issues. Staff not only found it frustrating to spend long hours in meetings without apparently achieving anything, but also had to adapt to a style of negotiation according to which decisions arrived at one day, would be revisited the next.

On the positive side, transformation forums afforded academic staff and students the opportunity of exchanging ideas on a wide range of matters, and they have been very fruitful in terms of cross-fertilisation between these two groups. Many staff members probably for the first time became acutely aware of the unique problems and needs of their students.

4.2. Increased access for financially and educationally disadvantaged students

All over the world the massification of higher education is prevalent. "The UK saw a 400% increase in numbers in the last 30 years, while there was a tripling of enrolment in the US between 1960 and the mid-seventies" (Pan 1996, p. 1). In South Africa the massification phenomenon took shape differently from the rest of the world. The expected spectacular growth in student numbers at higher education institutions did not materialise, probably because of, *inter alia*, poor performances by school-leavers and the weak economy of the country. However, the number of Black enrolments in higher education has mushroomed. Since 1988, for example, the numbers of Black students at universities and technikons have averaged an annual growth of 24 per cent, compared to an average annual growth of four per cent for White students (NCHE 1996a, p. 11). The most spectacular growth in numbers of Black students has occurred at historically White institutions. At the University of the Orange Free State, for example, the numbers of White students have decreased by 17 per cent between 1990 and 1995, whereas Black student numbers grew by 219 per cent. Another example is that of the Port Elizabeth Technikon where White students formed 86 per cent of the total student population in 1988; by 1996 this proportion has shrunk to 41.7 per cent. Massification or increased access has therefore not so much brought about an increase in the absolute numbers of students, but at historically advantaged institutions did result in bigger proportions of students coming from educationally and financially deprived backgrounds.
The school system in South Africa has traditionally focused on rote learning, memorisation and theoretical knowledge. Furthermore, the old “Bantu” education system was of notoriously poor quality with high pupil:teacher ratios, large numbers of un- or underqualified teachers, poorly resourced schools, etc. Students coming from this milieu into higher education face tremendous learning problems, resulting in poor throughput rates (NCHE 1996b, p. 36), and they are in dire need of tutoring, supplemental instruction and personal guidance. However, those are the services for which many academic staff members, used to the formal lecturing mode, do not feel competent or ready.

A factor complicating matters even further is the medium of instruction. For the overwhelming majority of Black students the medium of instruction in higher education is a second or even third language, which has a detrimental effect on students’ ability to conceptualise properly. Whereas the medium of instruction at historically Black institutions and the “liberal” universities has always been English, several of the Afrikaans-medium institutions have been compelled by the demands of growing numbers of Black students to institute a parallel-medium teaching programme which makes provision for both an English and an Afrikaans group. In most cases no additional staff members were appointed and the existing staff complement has to repeat lectures in both languages. This implies a massive increase in the workload of academics.

The admission of larger numbers of students who come from financially deprived families is exacerbating an already difficult situation. Like many other higher education systems, the South African system too is experiencing tension between rising social and economic demands and a finite pool of public resources. An additional problem is that personal contributions to the costs of higher education have reached a ceiling for most students and their families. These factors have caused on the one hand, a decline in the income of institutions through state subsidy and prohibited them from raising student fees to make up for lost income. On the other hand, it has led to massive amounts of unpaid student fees which are posing a real threat to the survival of a number of institutions. According to the Star (20 January 1999) the total amount of student fees owed to the ten historically disadvantaged universities is in excess of R 350 million, whereas just more than R 102 million is owed to the eleven historically advantaged universities.

This dark picture requires from institutions a reduction in unit costs through greater efficiency and more cost-effective methods of delivery. Several universities are already embarking on programmes of rationalisation in terms of staff, courses and research projects. Non-tenured academic staff are facing an uncertain future, and even tenured staff may be required to
opt for early retirement or severance packages. The uncertainty about their future and an absence of job security contribute to a low morale among many academics (Koorts 1992).

4.3. Restructuring the curriculum

Transformation processes at higher education institutions in South Africa, as in the rest of the world, have challenged traditional approaches to education, calling into question the fundamental assumptions upon which academic staff built their disciplines and curricula (Schmitz 1998a). Some of the new approaches that academic staff have to accommodate include the shift from teaching to learning, the National Qualifications Framework, modularisation, outcomes-based education, programme planning, continuous assessment, recognition of prior learning, the Africanisation of the curriculum, etc. In the past academic staff have relied on internally defined needs for change, such as research findings, experience and new disciplinary inroads. At present, however, new approaches to curriculum issues are mainly responses to the changed student body and to externally defined and imposed measures such as those required by the National Qualifications Framework and higher education policy.

Only one of the dominating debates pertaining to the curriculum and teaching and learning content in South African higher education will be discussed in more detail. This is the issue of programme planning related to the requirements of the National Qualifications Framework.

The organisation of higher education curricula into programmes of study has been established as a basic principle for the reconstruction of higher education in South Africa. The National Commission on Higher Education (1996a&b) proposed a new funding formula for higher education based on programmes rather than institutions. These recommendations were subsequently inscribed in legislation in both the Higher Education Act (1997) and the SAQA Act (1995).

The South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) Act (Act No. 58 of 1995) introduced a new philosophy for the regulation of qualifications in education and training. This Act makes provision for the establishment of a National Qualifications Framework (NQF) to serve as an integrated national framework with the purpose of relating all qualifications to one another in a single framework of standards. This will facilitate the nation-wide recognition and portability or transferability of qualifications, and the mobility of students.

One of the implications of the NQF is that new, flexible and appropriate programmes which cut across the traditional divide of education and training (knowledge and skills) are needed. Programmes need to be registered on
the NQF and in order to receive accreditation by SAQA and hence earn subsidy, programmes must comply with a variety of prerequisites, amongst others, being internationally comparable, having both specific and generic outcomes which promote lifelong learning, incorporating integrated assessment appropriately using a range of summative and formative assessment methods, etc.

For academic staff the above-mentioned developments have major implications. So far the Department of Education has neither in law nor in policy set out in any detail the specifications for academic programmes other than that they should be coherent, allow for portability and equivalence between institutions, demonstrate relevance to socio-economic needs and support a striving for efficiency and cost saving. Institutions and academic staff have been charged with the responsibility to conceptualise, plan and implement programmes themselves (Ensor n.d.). In this regard, another mind-shift is required from academic staff – a shift from a disciplinary approach to an inter-disciplinary approach, a shift from a collection type curriculum to an integrated type curriculum (Bernstein 1977), a shift from disciplines which are based in departments to programmes which are presented across departments, faculties and possibly even across institutions. Academic staff are not only unsure of their role in the design and implementation of programmes, but have real fears regarding the survival of their disciplines in this new dispensation.

4.4. Focusing on developmental needs in research and community service

One of the universal changes in higher education is its moving out of the ivory tower to become more responsive to the needs of the community which it should serve. Almost a decade ago Ronald Barnett (1990, p. 77) said: “Higher education is not an ivory tower; even if it wished, it could not be one .... Higher education is, as a social fact, incorporated into the modern state”. One of the central features of the new South African higher education system too is greater responsiveness. This can be described as a shift from a closed to a more open and interactive higher education system which is sensitive to social, political, cultural and economic changes in its environment.

Amongst other things such responsiveness implies that higher education should engage with the problems and challenges of the social, political and economic context in which it operates. As far as the research function of higher education is concerned, several innovations are envisaged. According to the National Commission on Higher Education (1996b, p. 7) these include the emergence of new forms of transdisciplinary knowledge production, the involvement of other research agents in addition to academic researchers, and new forms of accountability by higher education researchers to external
constituencies. In the research context, academics will interact with their colleagues in higher education, but also with knowledge producers in a range of other organisations and enterprises. Greater social accountability towards the state and the client in terms of cost-effectiveness, quality and relevance of research programmes is expected of the academic.

The same goes for higher education’s involvement in community service. The NCHE (1996b, p. 76) recommends that higher education institutions should demonstrate their social responsibility and their commitment to the common good by making expertise and infrastructure available for programmes of community service, answering to the needs and contributing to the social, cultural, educational and economic development of their immediate environment. Academics are therefore required, much more than before, to become involved in socially responsive research and community service. “Blue-skies” research and patronising attempts at community involvement must make way for research and service directed at the needs of the immediate community, and will require a much more co-operative approach. A number of pilot projects in Community – Higher Education Service Partnerships have been launched for this purpose. Many experienced and well-established researchers and academics will in this respect too, be required to make paradigm shifts and adopt new policies and practices.

4.5. Redressing inequalities in terms of race and gender

The principle of equity underpinning the new South African higher education encompasses both impartiality and fairness. Whereas the previous higher education dispensation was characterised by imbalances in the distribution of opportunities resulting from racial and gender-biased policies and practices, the transformed context in which South African academics are working, is truly a non-discriminatory one. Many institutions have formally adopted or informally agreed upon an affirmative action policy in staff appointments, and although appropriate qualifications and experience are still of importance, there is a much-needed sensitivity for redressing the wrongs of the past.

“Addressing gender equity goes hand in hand with addressing racial equity, for no country or university or programme can be called ‘transformed’ if gender biases and other exclusionary practices still exist” (Schmitz 1998b, p. 8). As far as gender issues are concerned too, there is a much greater realisation of the importance of gender balances in staff contingents. Although female academic staff members are still mostly found at the lower levels of the hierarchy, there are already a number of female vice-chancellors and deputy vice-chancellors serving as role models for women academics, and at many institutions all or most discriminatory policies and practices have been eliminated.
A study conducted in universities by Gwele (1998) indicates, however, that in practice, inequalities still exist. For women and Blacks, a heavy teaching load took up most of their time, whereas university committee administration occupied most of the time of White males. Particularly as far as the system of university promotion procedures is concerned, the general perception was that there was little equity in the system. "Shifting goal posts, lack of transparency, and lack of clarity regarding criteria for promotion emerged as major themes from perceptional data on the universities' promotional procedures" (Gwele 1998, p. 18).

This issue is not peculiar to South African universities. Statistics quoted by Moody (1995, p. 406) indicate that the proportion of Black faculty members in US higher education has actually decreased from 4.4% in 1975 to 4.1% in 1985. Johnsrud and Sadao (1998, p. 316) report that "(e)ffectively recruiting and retaining ethnic and racial minority faculty members has been a major concern in higher education for the past decade. Nonetheless, the increase in the small percentages of minorities across faculty ranks has been negligible".

Policies and practices to bring about racial and gender equity have dissimilar effects on academic staff. White males particularly feel seriously threatened and see a bleak future for themselves in South African higher education. Black and female academics, on the other hand, are faced with many new opportunities for which they often lack the necessary expertise and experience. The absence of role models and mentors for Black and female academics and researchers is a serious handicap. One possible solution, amongst others, is the forming of collegial support and discussion groups.

5. Concluding remarks

This discussion has attempted to shed some light on the implications of the transformation of higher education for academic staff at South African universities. On a personal level the impact of transformation has been dramatic. Academics have come face to face with joint decision-making processes, affirmative action policies, a rapidly changing student population and major changes in what and how they should teach and research. In trying to cope with transformation, many academics go through the same psychological stages that terminally ill patients experience, namely denial, anger, bargaining, depression and finally, acceptance. This is echoed in a report by Trowler (1998, p. 153) on the response of British academics to the introduction of an institution-wide innovation such as the adoption of a credit framework: "The attempt to implement the policy will meet with compliance (both enthusiastic and reluctant), with resistance, with coping strategies, and with attempts to reconstruct the policy during the implementation phase".
A small pilot study done by Van Rensburg (1998) at one historically advantaged university showed interesting differences in staff attitudes to transformation according to, for example, discipline and race. Staff in the arts and social science faculty had a much higher incidence of job insecurity as a result of transformation than staff in the natural sciences. Also, White staff experienced transformation generally more negatively than Black staff. Although the results of such a small pilot study at one institution cannot be generalised, it does seem as if academics have been growing more negative about transformation over the past few years. Staff are demoralised and demotivated because they feel unsure and disempowered.

The necessity of staff development programmes focusing specifically on transformation issues is indisputable. At an international seminar on staff and educational development with the theme ‘Transformation in higher education’ held in Cape Town in 1995, one of the working groups identified three major issues for staff development in transformative higher education, i.e.

- The need for intercultural training throughout all institutions of higher learning, which should include knowledge of multicultural education, teaching and learning styles and curriculum development, acquiring skills through role play and critical incidents, and changing attitudes through the development of cultural identity and cross-cultural communication.

- The critical role of management development programmes in the transformation process, which is based on the premise that training and staff development programmes for transformative higher education can only be successful if managers, administrators and academic staff understand and support the transformation process.

- The need to link all training and development efforts to specified outcomes that support transformative higher education and the commitment to evaluating progress in terms of these outcomes. Examples of such outcomes are institutional systems, services and practices that support open access and are responsive to the needs of students from different cultures, bridging programmes for students with special learning needs, and curricula that reflect crosscultural sensitivity (Stoy 1995, pp. 13–14).

It is ironic that, in these circumstances where such a dire need for staff development exists, an investigation of 17 South African universities and technikons by Jacobs (1998) showed that there is a general lack of a centralised strategy for the development of academic staff.

Another important challenge involves organisational reengineering, i.e. to review and redesign the institution’s major administrative and support operations. Having to cope with transformation in so many areas of their
professional lives, academic staff need to be able to rely on the administrative and support functions of the institution to be in line with the transformation at all levels.

For South African higher education there is no turning back. Academics will not only have to face and cope with the challenges posed by transformation, but remain actively involved in the process. The words of Charles Darwin should serve as an important reminder in this regard: “It is not the strongest of the species that survives nor the most intelligent but rather the one most responsive to change”.

References


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